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Terry Morris's Book Feb'y 21st

1834.

Baynes del. J.Barnett sc.

The HOUSE in which the EMPEROR NAPOLEON expired after a confinement of nearly six years.

NAPOLEON IN EXILE;

OR

A VOICE FROM St. HELENA.

BEING THE

Opinions & Reflections of Napoleon,

ON THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS LIFE & GOVERNMENT.

IN HIS OWN WORDS,

By Barry O'Meara, Esq:

HIS LATE SURGEON.

In Two Volumes

VOL. I.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND & MYRMIDON CONVEYING NAPOLEON

TO THE ISLAND OF St HELENA, OCTr 15, 1815.

LONDON.

Published by Jones & Co 3 Acton Place Kingsland Road.

1827.

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OR,

A Voice from St. Helena.

THE

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NAPOLEON

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SIXTH EDITION.

LONDON:
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"JE PRIE MES PARENS ET AMIS DE CROIRE PLUTÔT CE QUE LE
DOCTEUR GMELIN LEUR DIRA RELATIVEMENT À MA DÉCISION
JE ME TROUVE ET AUX SENTIMENS QUE JE CONSERVE"

Si vous Mr Bancal Jeune
je compte de remettre
ainsi tout bas chez
mettre Klopstock

le 25 juillet 1798

Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The Cameo, an engraving from which is given in the frontispiece, was executed before the battle of Marengo, previous to the time when Napoleon became corpulent. *Madame Mère*,* when she presented it to me, informed me that it was then considered to be an excellent likeness; and indeed its resemblance to what he was when I saw him, was striking, making allowance for his features having lost much of the sharpness shewn in the Cameo.

The engraving from the Cameo has been pronounced by M. Revelli, of Duncan-place, Leicester-square, *Professore emerito* of the university of Turin, to be a most striking likeness of Napoleon at the period mentioned. It may be necessary to observe, that no other painter was favoured with such opportunities of forming a correct judgment on the subject as M. Revelli; as, independent of having frequently seen him at an early age, he resided for several months with Napoleon at Elba, as his painter, and executed a beautiful portrait of him, which is now in his possession.

The following is a translation of the fac-simile of Napoleon's hand-writing under the Cameo—"*If he sees my good Louise, I beg of her to permit him to kiss her hand.*"

The engraving from the Medal to be placed after the Prefaces in Vol. I.

The whole length portrait of Napoleon to face the title of the second volume.

* Napoleon's Mother.

Explanation

Explanation of the figures in the representation of the House in front of the Appendix, Volume II.

Fig.

1. Billiard-Room.
2. Drawing-room.
3. Napoleon's Writing-room, afterwards converted into a Bed-Room.
4. His first Bed-Room.
5. Marchand's-Room.
6. Inferior Servant's Hall.
7. Kitchen.
8. Count Las Cases' first Room. The Garret above for his son.
9. Orderly Officer's Room.
10. General Gourgaud's.
11. Mr. O'Meara's.
12. New Rooms built for Count and Countess Montholon and family.

The Commissioners were allowed to come as far as the gate represented in the plate.

PREFACE.

PLACED by peculiar circumstances arising from my profession, near the person of the most extraordinary man perhaps of any age, in the most critical juncture of his life, I determined to profit by the opportunities afforded me, as far as I could consistently with honour. The following volumes are the result. The reader will see in the very outset of the work, how it was that I became attached as a medical officer to the household of Napoleon. That it was in consequence of his own application, by the advice of my superiors, and with the full concurrence of the lords of the admiralty. I never sought the situation; it was in some degree assigned me; and most assuredly I should have shrunk from the acceptance of it, had I contemplated the possibility of being even remotely called on to compromise the principles either of an officer or a gentleman. Before, however I had been long scorched upon the rock of St. Helena, I was taught to appreciate the embarrassments of

my situation. I saw soon that I must either become accessory to vexations for which there was no necessity, or incur suspicions of no very comfortable nature. Fortunately for my honour, my happiness, and indeed for every thing except my interests, I did not hesitate. Humanity required of me a consideration for my patient. The uniform I wore imperiously commanded that I should not soil it by indignities to a captive, and my country's character pledged me to hold sacred the misfortunes of the fallen. This I did. It is my pride to avow it: a pride inferior only to that which I feel in finding those men my enemies who consider it a crime.

The few alleviations which I had it in my power to offer, Napoleon repaid by the condescension with which he honoured me; and my necessary professional intercourse was soon increased into an intimacy, if I may speak of intimacy with such a personage. In fact, in the seclusion of Longwood, he soon almost entirely laid aside the emperor; with those about him, he conversed familiarly on his past life, and sketched the characters, and detailed the anecdotes which are here presented faithfully to the reader. The unre-

served manner in which he spoke of every thing can only be conceived by those who heard him; and though where his own conduct was questioned he had a natural human leaning towards himself, still truth appeared to be his principal if not his only object. In the delineation of character he was peculiarly felicitous. His mind seemed to concentrate its beams on the object he wished to elucidate, and its prominent features became instantly discernible. The intimate acquaintance which he necessarily possessed with all the great characters who figured in Europe for the last thirty years gave to his opinions and observations more than ordinary interest; indeed from no other source could such authentic information be acquired. Notwithstanding the interval which elapsed since many of the occurrences alluded to took place, and the distracting occupations which must have employed his mind, it was wonderful to see how freshly he remembered every transaction which became the subject of inquiry. If there was any thing more extraordinary than this, it was the apathy with which he perused the libels which were written on him—he seemed inspired

with a conviction of posthumous fame, beyond the reach of contemporary depreciation. But perhaps a knowledge of the man may be better acquired from seeing him—as he really was during the first three years of his residence at St. Helena, than from any speculative deduction—as he appeared, spoke, acted, and seemed to feel, the reader shall have him.—It may perhaps be only right to add, that some of the observations or arguments on particular subjects were committed to paper from Napoleon's own dictation.

Before, however, we go further, I feel that the public have a right to demand how far they can depend on the authenticity of these volumes. To the friends who know me I hope no verification is necessary—to my detractors even mathematical proof would be unavailing—to those who are prejudiced neither on one side nor the other, the following corroborations are submitted.

In the first place, then, I refer to the fac simile of Napoleon's hand-writing prefixed to the frontispiece, and given to me by himself as a proof of the confidence with which he treated me—the original of this any person who chooses to apply to me shall see. I refer

also to the whole Longwood household, more particularly to the executors, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and to Count Las Cases, as to the facilities I had, and the familiarity with which I was honoured. This, I hope, will be sufficient on the score of opportunity.

The next point is as to the accuracy of the transcript. Upon this subject my plan was as follows. I spoke as little and listened as attentively as I could, seldom interposing, except for the purpose of leading to those facts on which I wished for information. To my memory, though naturally retentive, I did not entirely trust; immediately on retiring from Napoleon's presence, I hurried to my chamber and carefully committed to paper the topics of conversation, with, so far as I could, the exact words used. Where I had the least doubt as to my accuracy, I marked it in my journal, and by a subsequent recurrence to the topic, when future opportunities offered, I satisfied myself; this, although I have avoided them as much as possible, may account for some occasional repetitions, but I have thought it better to appear sometimes tedious, than ever to run the risk of a mistatement. My long residence at Longwood rendered

those opportunities frequent, and the facility of communication which Napoleon allowed, made the introduction of almost any subject easy. Thus did I form my original journal; as it increased in interest, it became of course to me an object of increased solicitude; and as nothing which could possibly occur at St. Helena would have surprised me, I determined to place its contents at least beyond the power of that spoliation which afterwards was perpetrated on some of my other property. Having purchased in the island, a machine for that purpose, I transmitted at intervals the portions copied, to a friend on board one of his majesty's ships in the roads, who forwarded them as opportunities occurred, to Mr. Holmes of Lyon's Inn, Napoleon's respectable agent in London. The entire of this copy Mr. Holmes duly received some time previous to my return to England, as appears below by his own authentication,* and part of the silver paper manuscript as he received it, I have deposited with my pub-

* 3, *Lyon's Inn, June 22d*, 1822.

I certify that I received all the papers alluded to by Mr. O'Meara in the Preface, a considerable time before his arrival in England. WILLIAM HOLMES.

lishers for the satisfaction of the sceptical. Thus, for the authenticity of the following conversations the reader has the guarantees, first, of the undoubted opportunities afforded me, 2ndly, of their having been taken on the spot, 3rdly, of their having been transmitted at the moment, and 4thly, of the original document itself, authenticated by the person to whom it had been consigned and now submitted to general inspection. Independent of these, I think I may refer with confidence to those third persons, whose interviews with Napoleon are occasionally introduced; and some of the official members of his majesty's government cannot with truth deny, that many of the political conversations were by me communicated at no great interval after their occurrence. Such communications I considered it my duty to make wherever I thought their import might benefit the country. What use ministers may have made of them I know not, but certainly the preventive system with respect to smugglers was adopted soon after the transmission of Napoleon's conversation on the subject. Perhaps, however, after all, the best proof of the authenticity of these volumes will be found in their own contents—independent of the internal evidence

Such were the attempts, certainly not unaccountable, to cancel all recollection of Napoleon, at least in his captivity—those who issued these orders forgot that the *power* did not accompany the *will* to subject the publications of Englishmen to an *imprimatur*. Despising the denunciation as I did, and from my heart do, I have, however, thought it only my duty not to publish these conversations till after Napoleon's death; nor have I done so even now, without the knowledge of his executors. All danger from them is past: the tongue which uttered them is silent for ever, and history has a right to them.

If I was disposed to comment on these letters, I should say that they proceed altogether upon a wrong assumption, namely, that an official footing at Longwood gave to any one the power of obtaining the information which I collected. Nothing can be more absurd. If I had acted a different part from what I did—if, in place of reconciling the allegiance of a subject with the compassion of a Christian, and preserving the rights of my country, while I took care not to compromise the feelings of my nature I tried to make my office the avenue to fortune—if I sunk the man in

the menial—if I became an official slave instead of an honest servant—if I courted power, by straining my loyalty to suit the purposes of mean vexation and unmanly vengeance—if I lifted up my hoof against the dead lion, or displayed my pigmy prowess by a dastard warfare upon the helpless infirmities of a fallen enemy; I should not only have had no opportunities of access, but I should have been proscribed Napoleon's, and man's society. But I acted altogether upon different principles; after having devoted the best fifteen years of my life to combating his soldiers in the field, and on the wave, I forgot when he was my country's prisoner, that he had ever been my country's foe. I thought the conquest of clemency, superior even to that of valour, and that a proud country should make her enemies confess, not only that she conquered, but that she deserved to conquer. In such a place as St. Helena, there could have been no danger from the worst man's deviating into feelings of humanity; fenced round, as it is, with the most frightful precipices, with only one practicable place of egress, and that one not only bristling with cannon, and crowded with guards, but effectually barri-

cadoed by our squadron, escape could scarcely have been effected by a miracle. The simple precaution which Napoleon himself suggested, of never suffering any ship to sail, until his actual safety should be ascertained, might have obviated the necessity of almost any other. Having said thus much upon the motives by which my conduct has been actuated, I have only to add, that although I shall contemptuously pass by any anonymous insinuations, I am ready to meet any charge before any tribunal whatsoever, *where the truth can be investigated.* Let me only have an opportunity of proof and a responsible accuser. In the face of the world, I challenge investigation. With respect to the mandate issued by the Admiralty against publicaton, it is suited to the meridian rather of Algiers, than of England—the very attempt in a free country, need only be mentioned to be reprobated; it must have proved as abortive as it was despotic, for even were any Englishman base enough to obey it, the Frenchman need not; so that it was at best but a bungling refinement on the revolutionary device said to have been proposed, of burning the books in Paris, to annihilate learning, as if no other

copies existed in the world. With this remark, however, I shall dismiss the subject, as it is difficult to say, whether the credit of the measure is due to the present literary board, or to those lay philosophers, whose future censorship has been since cruelly dispensed with by the House of Commons.

With respect to the views of men and things taken by Napoleon in his remarks, I beg to guard myself against any adoption of them as my own. I am merely the narrator. I give them as the substance of his interesting and unreserved conversations, neither vouching for the critical exactness of his dates, nor the justness of his opinions, nor indeed for any thing but the accuracy of my report. I only engage to the reader to lay before him Napoleon's sentiments as that extraordinary man uttered them.

"Warm from the heart, and faithful to its fires."

In making this remark, however, I am bound to add, that I neither avoid nor evade inquiry; in any investigation in which *the truth can be told* I am perfectly willing to take my share, ready to abide the event, whether it bring reward or responsibility.

August 21st, 1822.

P. S.—It has just been communicated to me, that I am in error in having stated (vol. i. p. 127), that it was *Sir G. Cockburn's brother* that was seized in Hamburgh by order of Napoleon; the person, according to the information of the gentleman who write to me, was *Sir George Rumbold*. Although I can scarcely believe that I was mistaken, yet I think it my duty to mention this friendly correction.

October 24th, 1822.

On the subject of the foregoing postscript, the following Letter appeared in The Morning Herald of the 23rd September, 1822:—

To the Editor of the Morning Herald.

Sir.—Dr. O'Meara is correct in his statement of Mr. Cockburn, the consul at Hamburgh being seized and made a prisoner in the manner related. The writer of this was a *co-détenu* with him at Verdun. He owed his liberation to a most singular circumstance. His wife was a French lady, and had been a school-fellow with Madame Beauharnois. Mr. C. was advised to send her to Paris, to obtain an interview with Madame Beauharnois, and solicit her husband's release. She went to Paris: Madame B. recognized her, and shewed her great kindness and attention, promised to exert all her interest with the emperor on the first favourable opportunity; but added, that she could not promise all the success she wished, as at that moment the emperor had, to use her own words, "*grand rancune contre les Anglois.*" In about a month after Mr. Cockburn received a passport for England, and his name ordered to be struck off the list of the *détenus* at the dépôt.

(Signed) A ci-devant detenu at Verdun.

Sept. 15.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE rapidity with which a Second Edition of this Work has been called for, is an unequivocal proof of the favourable opinion of the Public. Its reception has been highly flattering to my feelings, and is the best answer that can be given to the calumnies by which it has been assailed by some of the hirelings of the corrupt journals of the present day.

This edition has been carefully revised, a few verbal inaccuracies corrected, and a new Engraving added of a drawing from the statue presented to me by Napoleon on my leaving St. Helena.

It is with feelings of deep regret that I find it necessary to allude to a transaction, the remembrance of which will always be considered by me as one of the most unfortunate events

of my life, inasmuch as, to an upright mind, it will ever be a source of sorrow to have given, however unintentionally, unmerited pain to those from whom it had never received any injury: nor can this sentiment find any parallel in my breast, unless it be in the regret, which will never cease to accompany the recollection of this affair, that, by a fatal error, the offender, for whom the chastisement was intended, escaped the actual punishment due to his crime. The Public will however feel, that the person to whom I allude, must be considered as having *virtually* received what was due to his brutal attack upon my character; an attack which he failed to support in the only manner that could prove him to be in some degree worthy of the character of a gentleman. His slanders have a prolific birth, but as to himself, he seems to be *impalpable*. As far as respects myself, therefore, I hope the public will perceive that I have not been inattentive to my honour, the protection of which has ever been the sentiment nearest to my heart; and under which impression, all resentment against those who attempted to degrade me ceases, and is sup-

planted by pity for the situation in which such persons must stand before the bar of public opinion.

To the strictest critical scrutiny, or review of these volumes, I can feel no reluctance to their being subjected; if they cannot bear gentlemanly investigation, they are undeserving to remain before the public; and I should consider myself as unworthy of any attention from my countrymen were I to flinch from their inquiries, or to take offence at their scepticism, if they found, after a fair examination, whereon to rest their doubts. But to the personal attack which I have sustained from *The Times Newspaper*, I was not disposed to submit with *passive obedience;* an attack, which was as distant from the duty of an impartial Reviewer, holding the balance even between the public and the writer, as it was from the courtesy, in all matters of controversy, which one gentleman owes to another.

A friend has transmitted to me the following communication:—Napoleon was removed from the Bellerophon on board of the Northumberland on the 7th of August; and the words used by Captain Maitland to Count Las Cases, were as follows:—"That with the

orders which he (Captain Maitland), was acting upon, he conceived that he might receive him on board the Bellerophon, and carry him to England; but that in doing so, he was acting upon his own responsibility, and that he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of the Prince Regent, as Captain M. could not enter into any promise as to the reception Napoleon was to meet with."

The following document, omitted in the first edition, is of too important a nature not to be annexed to the present. It completely refutes the assertions of the ministerialists, touching the alleged refusal of England to recognize the imperial dynasty.

Protocole des Conferences de Chatillon sur Seine.

Fevrier 4.

S. E. M. le Duc de Vicence, ministre des relations extérieures, et plénipotentiaire de France, d'une part, et les plénipotentiaires des cours alliés, savoir: M. le Comte de Stadion, &c. pour l'Autriche; S. E. M. le Comte de Razoumowski, &c. pour la Russie; LL. EE. Lord Aberdeen, &c., Lord Cathcart, &c., et Sir Charles Stewart, &c. pour la Grande Bretagne; et S. E. M. le Baron de

Humboldt, &c. pour la Prusse, d'autre part. S'étant acquittés reciproquement des visites d'usage dans la journée du 4 Fevrier, sont convenus en même temps de se réunir en séance le lendemain 5 du mois de Fevrier.

Séance du 17 *Fevrier, suite du Protocole.*

. . . . . Le plénipotentiaire Autrichien lit ensuite le propos du traité préliminaire suivant.

Projet d'un traité préliminaire entre les hautes puissances alliées et la France.

Au nom de la très sainte et indivisible Trinité.

LL. MM. II. d'Autriche et de Russie, S. M. le Roi du Royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Irlande, et S. M. le Roi de Prusse, agissant au nom de tous leurs alliés d'une part, et S. M. l'Empereur des Français de l'autre ; désirant cimenter le repos et le bien-être futur de l'Europe par une paix solide et durable, sur terre et sur mer, et ayant nommé pour atteindre à ce but salutaire, leurs plénipotentiaires actuellement réunis à Chatillon sur Seine ; pour discuter les conditions de cette paix, les plénipotentiaires sont convenus des articles suivants.

Articles 1er.

Il y aura paix et amitié entre LL. MM. II. d'Autriche et de Russie, S. M. le Roi du Royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Irlande, et S. M. le Roi de Prusse, agissant en même temps au nom de tous leurs alliés, et *S. M. l'Empereur des Français, leurs héritiers et successeurs à perpétuité.*

Les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent &c. &c.

(Signé)

CAULAINCOURT DUC DE VICENCE.

ABERDEEN,
CATHCART,
LE COMTE DE RAZOUMOWSKI,
HUMBOLDT,
LE COMTE DE STADION,
CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut. Gen.

(TRANSLATION.)

Protocol of the Conferences of Chatillon sur Seine.

February 4th.

His excellency the Duke of Vicenza, minister of foreign affairs and plenipotentiary of France, on the one part, and the plenipotentiaries of the

allied courts on the other, to wit: Austria, M. le Comte de Stadion—Russia, S. E. M. le Comte de Razoumowski—Great Britain, their excellencies Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart—and S. E. M. le Baron de Humboldt, on the part of Prussia, having reciprocally received the accustomed visits on the 4th of February, at the same time agreed to assemble in the sitting of the next day, the 5th of February.

Sitting of the 17th Feb. suite of the Protocol.

The Austrian Plenipotentiary then read the preliminary arrangements for the following treaty.

Project of a preliminary treaty between the high allied powers and France.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity.

Their imperial majesties of Austria and Russia, his majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the King of Prussia, acting in the name of all their allies, on the one part, and his majesty the Emperor of the French on the other; wishing to cement the repose and the future welfare of Europe by a solid and durable peace, by land and sea, and to attain this salutary end, having named their plenipotentiaries at present assembled at Chatillon sur Seine, to discuss the conditions of the peace, the plenipotentiaries have agreed on the following articles:

Article 1*st.*

There shall be peace and friendship between their imperial majesties of Austria and Russia, his majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the King of Prussia, acting at the same time in the name of all their allies, *and his majesty the Emperor of the French, their heirs and successors, for ever.*

The high contracting parties engage to, &c. &c.

(Signed, &c. &c.)

CAULAINCOURT, DUC DE VICENCE.

ABERDEEN,
CATHCART,
LE COMTE DE RAZOUMOWSKI,
HUMBOLDT,
LE COMTE DE STADION,
CHARLES STEWART,
Lieut. Gen.

Engraved by T. A. Dean from a Medal in the Poſſeſsion of Mr. O'Meara.

ST. HELENA.

In consequence of the resolution which had been adopted by the British government to send the former sovereign of France to a distant settlement, and communicated to him by Major-General Sir Henry Bunbury, under secretary of state, on board of the Bellerophon, 74, Captain Maitland, at Plymouth, a few days before, Napoleon, accompanied by such of his suite as were permitted by our government, was removed on the 7th of August, 1815, from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland, 74, Captain Ross. The vessel bore the flag of Rear-admiral Sir George Cockburn, G. C. B. who was entrusted with the charge of conveying Napoleon to St. Helena, and of regulating all measures necessary to the security of his personal detention after his arrival at the place of his confinement. Out of the suite that had followed his fortunes on board of the Bellerophon and Myrmidon, his majesty's government permitted four of his officers, his surgeon, and twelve of his household, to share his exile. The undermentioned persons were consequently selected, and accompanied him on board of the Northumberland:—Counts Bertrand,

Montholon, and Las Cases, Baron Gourgaud, Countess Bertrand and her three children, Countess Montholon and child, Marchand, premier valet de chambre, Cipriani, maître d'hôtel, Pieron, St. Denis, Novarre, Le Page, two Archambauds, Santini, Rousseau, Gentilini, Josephine, Bernard, and his wife, domestics to Count Bertrand. A fine youth of about fourteen, son to Count Las Cases, was also permitted to accompany his father. Previous to their removal from the Bellerophon, the swords and other arms of the prisoners were demanded from them, and their luggage was subsequently examined, in order that possession might be taken of their property, whether in bills, money, or jewels. After paying those of his suite who were not permitted to accompany him, only four thousand Napoleons in gold were found, which were taken possession of by persons authorized by his majesty's government.

When the determination of the British ministers to send Napoleon to St. Helena was communicated to his suite, M. Maingaud, the surgeon who had accompanied him from Rochefort, refused to follow him to the tropics. M. Maingaud was a young man unknown to Napoleon, and had been fortuitously chosen to attend him until M. Fourreau de Beauregard, who had been his surgeon in Elba, could join him; and I was informed that even had he been willing to proceed to St. Helena, his services would not have been accepted. On the day that Napoleon first came on

board the Bellerophon, after he had gone round the ship, he addressed me on the poop, and asked if I were the *chirurgien major?* I replied in the affirmative, in the Italian language. He then asked in the same language, what country I was a native of? I replied, of Ireland. "Where did you study your profession?' "In Dublin and London." "Which of the two is the best school of physic! I replied that I thought Dublin the best school of anatomy, and London of surgery. "Oh," said he, smiling, "you say Dublin is the best school of anatomy because you are an Irishman." I answered that I begged pardon, that I had said so because it was true; as in Dublin the subjects for dissection were to be procured at a fourth of the price paid for them in London, and the professors were equally good. He smiled at this reply, and asked what actions I had been in, and in what parts of the globe I had served? I mentioned several, and amongst others, Egypt. At the word Egypt, he commenced a series of questions, which I answered to the best of my ability. I mentioned to him that the corps of officers to which I then belonged messed in a house that had formerly served as a stable for his horses. He laughed at this, and ever afterwards noticed me when walking on deck, and occasionally called me to interpret or explain. On the passage from Rochefort to Torbay, Colonel Planat, one of his orderly officers, was taken very ill, and attended by me, as M. Maingaud was in-

capable, through sea-sickness, of offering any assistance. During the period of his illness, Napoleon frequently asked about him, and conversed with me on the nature of his malady and the mode of cure. After our arrival at Plymouth, General Gourgaud also was very unwell, and did me the honour to have recourse to me for advice. All those circumstances had the effect of bringing me more in contact with Napoleon than any other officer in the ship, with the exception of Captain Maitland; and the day before the Bellerophon left Torbay, the Duke of Rovigo, with whom I was frequently in the habit of conversing, asked me if I were willing to accompany Napoleon to St. Helena as surgeon, adding, that if I were, I should receive a communication to that effect from Count Bertrand, the grand maréchal. I replied that I had no objection, provided the British government and my captain were willing to permit me, and also under certain stipulations. I communicated this immediately to Captain Maitland, who was good enough to favour me with his advice and opinion; which were, that I ought to accept of the offer, provided the sanction of Admiral Lord Keith and of the English government could be obtained, adding, that he would mention the matter to his lordship. On our arrival at Torbay, Count Bertrand made the proposal to Captain Maitland and to myself, which was immediately communicated to Lord Keith. His lordship sent for me on board of the Tonnant, and after some

preliminary conversation, in which I explained the nature of the stipulations I was desirous of making, did me the honour to recommend me in strong terms to accept of the situation, adding, that he could not order me to do so, as it was foreign to the naval service, and a business altogether extraordinary; but that he advised me to accept of it, and expressed his conviction that government would feel obliged to me, as they were very anxious that Napoleon should be accompanied by a surgeon of his own choice. His lordship added, that it was an employment which I could hold perfectly consistent with my honour, and with the duty I owed to my country and my sovereign.

Feeling highly gratified that the step which I had in contemplation had met with the approbation of characters so distinguished in the service, as Admiral Lord Keith, and Captain Maitland,*

* It is no small gratification to me to be able to produce such a testimonial as the following from a captain with whom I served in three different ships.

November 5th, 1814.

Dear Sir,

The attention and meritorious conduct of Mr. Barry O'Meara, while surgeon with me in the Goliath, calls upon me as an act of justice to him and of benefit to the service, to state, that during the fifteen years I have commanded some one of his majesty's ships, I have never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully answered my expectations. Not being a judge of his professional abilities, though I have every reason to believe them of the first class, and know that to be the opinion of some of the oldest and most respectable surgeons in the navy, I shall only state, that du-

I accepted of the situation, and proceeded on board of the Northumberland, stipulating, however, by letter to his lordship, that I should be always considered as a British officer, and upon the list of naval surgeons on full pay, paid by the British government, and that I should be at liberty to quit so peculiar a service, should I find it not to be consonant to my wishes.

During the voyage, which lasted about ten weeks, Napoleon did not suffer much from sea-sickness after the first week. He rarely made his appearance on deck until after dinner. He breakfasted in his own cabin *à la fourchette* at ten or eleven o'clock, and spent a considerable portion of the day in writing and reading. Before he sat down to dinner he generally played a game at chess, and remained at that meal, in compliment to the admiral, about an hour: at which time cof-

ring a period of very bad weather, which occasioned the Goliath to be extremely sickly, his attention and tenderness to the men was such as to call forth my warmest approbation, and the grateful affection of both officers and men. Were it probable that I should soon obtain another appointment, I know of no man in the service I should wish to have as surgeon so much as Mr. O'Meara, As, however, in the present state of the war, that is not likely, I trust you will do me the favour of giving him an appointment, as an encouragement to young men of his description, and believe me.

Dear Sir, &c. &c. &c

FREDERICK L. MAITLAND.

To Dr. Harness, &c. &c. &c.
Transport Board.

* Appendix, No. I.

fee was brought to him, and he left the company to take a walk upon deck, accompanied by Counts Bertrand or Las Cases, while the admiral and the rest continued at table for an hour or two longer. While walking the quarter-deck, he frequently spoke to such of the officers as could understand and converse with him; and often asked Mr. Warden, (the surgeon of the Northumberland), questions touching the prevailing complaints, and mode of treatment of the sick. He occasionally played a game at whist, but generally retired to his cabin at nine or ten o'clock. Such was the uniform course of his life during the voyage.

The Northumberland hove to off Funchal, and the Havannah frigate was sent in to procure refreshments. During the time we were off the anchorage a violent *scirocco levante* prevailed, which did great mischief to the grapes. We were informed that some of the ignorant and superstitious inhabitants attributed it to the presence of Napoleon. Fourteen or fifteen hundred volumes of books were ordered from England for Napoleon's use, by Count Bertrand.

We arrived at St. Helena on the 15th of October. Nothing can be more desolate or repulsive than the appearance of the exterior of the island. When we had anchored, it was expected that Napoleon would have been invited to stop at Plantation House, the country-seat of the governor, until a house could have been got ready for him; as heretofore passengers of distinction had invariably

been asked to pass the time they remained on the island there. Some forcible reason possibly existed, as this courtesy was not extended to him.

On the evening of the 17th, about seven o'clock, Napoleon landed at James Town, accompanied by the admiral, Count and Countess Bertrand, Las Cases, Count and Countess Montholon, &c., and proceeded to a house belonging to a gentleman named Porteous, which had been taken for that purpose by the admiral, and was one of the best in the town. It was not, however, free from inconvenience, as Napoleon could not make his appearance at the windows, or even descend from his bedchamber, without being exposed to the rude and ardent gaze of those who wished to gratify their curiosity with a sight of the imperial captive. There was no house in the town at all calculated for privacy, except the governor's, to which there belonged a court, and in front there was a walk upon the ramparts facing the sea, and overlooking the Marino, which proximity to the ocean probably was the cause of its not having been selected for him.

The inhabitants of the island were in very anxious expectation during the greatest part of the day to obtain a sight of the exiled ruler when he should make his *entrée* to the place of his confinement. Numbers of persons of every description crowded the Marino, the street, and the houses by which he was to pass, in the eager hope of catching a glimpse of him. The expectations of most of them were however disappointed, as he did not land till after

sun-set, at which time, the majority of the islanders, tired of waiting, and supposing that his landing was deferred until the following morning, had retired to their homes. It was also at this time nearly impossible to recognise his person.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon with their ladies, Count Las Cases and son, General Gourgaud, and myself, were also accommodated in Mr. Porteous's house.

At a very early hour on the morning of the 18th, Napoleon, accompanied by the admiral and Las Cases, proceeded up to Longwood, a country-seat of the lieut. governor's, which he was informed was the place deemed most proper for his future residence. He was mounted on a spirited little black horse, which was lent for the occasion by the governor, Colonel Wilks. On his way up he observed a neat little spot called the Briars, situated about two hundred yards from the road, belonging to a gentleman named Balcombe, who, he was informed, was to be his purveyor, and appeared pleased with its romantic situation.

Longwood is situated on a plain, formed on the summit of a mountain about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea; and including Deadwood, comprises fourteen or fifteen hundred acres of land, a great part of which is planted with an indigenous tree called gumwood. Its appearance is sombre and unpromising. Napoleon, however, said that he should be more contented to fix his residence there, than to remain in the town as a

mark for the prying curiosity of importunate spectators. Unfortunately the house only consisted of five rooms on a ground-floor, which had been built one after the other, according to the wants of the family, and without any regard to either order or convenience, and were totally inadequate for the accommodation of himself and his suite. Several additions were consequently necessary, which it was evident could not be accomplished for some weeks, even under the superintendence of so active an officer as Sir George Cockburn. Upon his return from Longwood, Napoleon proceeded to the Briars, and intimated to Sir George that he should prefer remaining there, until the necessary additions were made to Longwood, to returning to town, provided the proprietors consent could be obtained. This request was immediately granted. The Briars is the name of an estate romantically situated about a mile and a half from James Town, comprising a few acres of highly cultivated land, excellent fruit and kitchen gardens, plentifully supplied with water, adorned with many delightful shady walks, and long celebrated for the genuine old English hospitality of the proprietor, Mr. Balcombe. About twenty yards from the dwelling house stood a little pavilion, consisting of one good room on the ground-floor, and two garrets, which Napoleon, not willing to cause any inconvenience to the family of his host, selected for his abode. In the lower room his camp-bed was put up, and in this room he ate, slept, read, and dic-

tated a portion of his eventful life. Las Cases and his son were accommodated in one of the garrets above, and Napoleon's premier valet de chambre, and others of his household, slept in the other, and upon the floor in the little hall opposite the entrance of the lower room. At first his dinner was sent ready cooked from the town; but afterwards, Mr. Balcombe found means to get a kitchen fitted up for his use. The accommodations were so insufficient, that Napoleon frequently walked out after he had finished his dinner, in order to allow his domestics an opportunity of eating theirs in the room which he had just quitted.

Mr Balcombe's family consisted of his wife, two daughters, one about twelve and the other fifteen years of age, and two boys of five or six. The young ladies spoke French fluently, and Napoleon frequently dropt in to play a rubber of whist or hold a little *conversazione*. On one occasion he indulged them by participating in a game of blind-man's buff, very much to the amusement of the young ladies. Nothing was left undone by this worthy family that could contribute to lessen the inconveniences of his situation. A Captain of artillery resided at the Briars as orderly officer; and at first a serjeant and some soldiers were also stationed there as an additional security; but upon a remonstrance being made to Sir George Cockburn, the latter convinced of their inutility, ordered them to be removed. Counts Bertrand and Montholon, with their respective ladies and chil-

dren, General Gourgaud, and myself, lived together, at Mr. Porteous's, where a suitable table in the French style was provided by Mr. Balcombe. When any of them were desirous of paying a visit to the Briars or of going out of the town elsewhere, no further restriction was imposed upon them than causing them to be accompanied by myself or by some other British officer, or followed by a soldier. In this manner, they were permitted to visit any part of the island they pleased, except the forts and batteries. They were visited by Colonel and Mrs. Wilks, Lieutenant-colonel and Mrs. Skelton, the members of council, and by most of the respectable inhabitants, and the officers, both military and naval, belonging to the garrison and squadron, and by their wives and families. Little evening parties were occasionally given by the French to their visitors, and matters were managed in such a manner that there was not much *appearance* of constraint. Sometimes the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, accompanied by one or two casual island visitors, passed an hour or two in viewing and occasionally purchasing some of the productions of the East and of Europe, exhibited in the shops of the tradesmen; which, though far from offering the variety or the magnificence of those of the Rue Vivienne, tended nevertheless to *distraire* them a little from the tedious monotony of a St. Helena residence.

Sir George Cockburn gave several well attended balls, to all of which they were invited; and

where, with the exception of Napoleon, they frequently went. Attention was paid to their feelings; and, upon the whole, matters, if not entirely satisfactory to them upon some points, were at least placed upon such a footing as to render their existence tolerable, had not the island in itself presented so many local wants and miseries. It would, perhaps, have been much better and more consistent with propriety, had Napoleon been accommodated at Plantation House, until the repairs and additions making to Longwood were finished, instead of being so indifferently provided for in point of lodging at the Briars. I must, however, do the admiral the justice to say, that upon this point I have reason to believe he was not at liberty to carry his own wishes into effect. In the mean time, no exertions were spared by Sir George Cockburn to enlarge and improve the old building, so as to render it capable of containing so great an increase of inmates. For this purpose, all the workmen, not only of the squadron, but in the island, were put in requisition; and Longwood, for nearly two months presented as busy a scene as has ever been witnessed during the war, in any of his majesty's dock-yards, whilst a fleet was fitting out under the personal directions of some of our first naval commanders. The admiral, indefatigable in his exertions, was frequently seen to arrive at Longwood shortly after sun-rise, stimulating by his presence the St. Helena workmen, who, in general lazy and indolent, beheld

with astonishment the despatch and activity of a man-of-war succeed to the characteristic idleness which, until then, they had been accustomed both to witness and to practise.

Every day, bodies of two or three hundred seamen were employed in carrying up from James Town, timber and other materials for building, together with furniture, which, though the best was purchased at an enormous expense wherever it could be procured, was paltry and old fashioned. So deficient was the island in the means of transport, that almost every thing, even the very stones for building, were carried up the steep side-path on the heads and shoulders of the seamen, occasionally assisted by fatigue-parties of the fifty-third regiment. By means of incessant labour, Longwood House was enlarged so as to admit, on the 9th of December, Napoleon and part of his household, Count and Countess Montholon and children, Count and young Las Cases.

Napoleon himself had a small narrow bed-room on the ground-floor, a writing-room of the same dimensions, and a sort of small ante-chamber, in which a bath was put up. The writing-room opened into a dark and low apartment, which was converted into a dining room. The opposite wing consisted of a bed-room larger than that of Napoleon's, which, with an ante-chamber and closet, formed the accommodation for Count and Countess Montholon and son. From the dining-room a door led to a drawing-room, about eighteen feet

by fifteen. In prolongation of this, one longer, much higher, and more airy, was built of wood by Sir George Cockburn, with three windows, on each side, and a viranda leading to the garden. This, although it laboured under the inconvenience of becoming intolerably hot towards the evening, whenever the sun shone forth in tropical splendour, by the rays penetrating the wood of which it was composed, was the only good room in the building. Las Cases had a room next the kitchen,* which had formerly been occupied by some of Colonel Skelton's servants, through the ceiling of which an opening was cut so as to admit a very narrow stair, leading to a sort of cock-loft above, where his son reposed. The garrets over the old building were floored, and converted into apartments for Marchand, Cipriani, St. Denis, Josephine, &c. From the sloping structure of the roof, it was impossible to stand upright in those garrets, unless in the centre, and the sun, penetrating through the slating, rendered them occasionally insupportably hot. Additional rooms were constructing for them and for General Gourgaud, the orderly officer, and myself, who, in the mean time, were accommodated with tents. Lieutenant

* Some time afterwards an apartment was built for the count and his son at the back of the house, which was subsequently divided into a bed and sitting room, with one for their servant. They were so small that there was not room for a chair between the bedsteads of the father and son; and so low, that the ceiling could be touched by a person standing on the floor.

Blood, and Mr. Cooper, carpenter of the Northumberland, with several artificers from the ship, also resided upon the premises; the two former under an old studding sail, which had been converted into a tent. A very liberal table, (considering St. Helena,) was found by order of Sir George Cockburn, for the orderly officers and myself.

Count and Countess Bertrand and family were lodged in a little house at Hut's Gate, about a mile from Longwood, which, though uncomfortable, was nevertheless hired at their own request, and was the only one, which could be procured at a moderate rate in the neighbourhood, as it was found impossible to accommodate them at Longwood, until a new house, the foundation of which was immediately laid down by Sir George Cockburn, could be finished.

During the time that Napoleon resided at the Briars, I kept no regular journal, and consequently can give only a brief outline of what took place. His time was occupied principally in dictating to Las Cases and his son, or to Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud, some of whom daily waited upon him. He occasionally received visitors, (who came to pay their respects to him,) on the lawn before the house; and, in a few instances, some who had received that permission, were presented to him, when at Mr. Balcombe's in the evening. During the whole time he was there, he never left the grounds but once, when he strolled down to the little residence of Major Hodson of the St. Helena regiment, where he conversed with

the Major and Mrs. Hodson for half an hour, taking great notice of their children, who were extremely handsome. He frequently, however, walked for hours in the shady paths and shrubberies of the Briars, where care was taken to prevent his being intruded upon. During one of these walks, he stopped and pointed out to me the frightful precipices which environed us, and said, "Behold your country's generosity, *this* is their liberality to the unfortunate man, who, blindly relying on what he so falsely imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour unsuspectingly confided himself to them. I once thought that you were free: I now see that your ministers laugh at your laws, which are, like those of other nations, formed only to oppress the defenceless, and screen the powerful, whenever your government has any object in view."

At another time ne discovered through the interpretation of Las Cases, that an old Malay, who was hired by Mr. Balcombe as gardener, had been entrapped from his native place on board of an English ship several years before, brought to St. Helena, smuggled on shore, illegally sold for a slave, let out to whoever would hire him, and his earnings chiefly appropriated to his master. This he communicated to the admiral, who immediately set on foot an enquiry; the probable result would have been the emancipation of poor Toby, had the admiral remained in command.*

* When Napoleon discovered, some time after the departure of Sir George Cockburn, that the poor man had not

Arrangements were made with the purveyor to supply certain quantities of provisions, wines, &c. The scale of allowances was liberal, and such as was deemed sufficient for the service of the house by Cipriani, the maitre d'hotêl. It is true, that sometimes the provisions were deficient in quantity or bad in quality, but this was often caused, either by the absolute want of resources on the island, or by accident, and was generally remedied wherever such remedy could be applied, by Sir George Cockburn.

A space of about twelve miles in circumference was allotted to Napoleon, within which he might ride or walk, without being accompanied by a British officer. Within this space was placed the camp of the 53d, at Deadwood, about a mile from Longwood House, and another at Hut's Gate, opposite Bertrand's, close to whose door there was an officers guard. An arrangement was made with Bertrand, by means of which persons furnished with a pass from him, had permission to enter Longwood grounds. This was not productive of inconvenience, as no person could, in the first instance, go to Bertrand's, without permission from the admiral, the governor, or Sir George Bingham, and consequently no improper persons were permitted to have access to him. The French also

been emancipated, he directed Mr. Balcombe to purchase him from his master, set him at liberty, and charge the amount to Count Bertrand's private account. Sir Hudson Lowe, however thought proper to prohibit this, and the man was still in a state of slavery when I left St. Helena.

were allowed to send sealed letters to the inhabitants and others *residing* upon the island, a regulation not likely to prove injurious, as it was evident, that if they wished to transmit letters to Europe, this could only be attempted after previous arrangements having been made; and it was highly improbable that they would send, through the medium of an English servant, or dragoon, letters, the contents of which would compromise either themselves or their friends, when the more simple and natural mode of delivering them *personally* to the individuals for whom they were intended, was entirely in their power, and with whom they were at liberty to visit and converse at pleasure.*

A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and picquets, were placed round the limits. At nine o'clock the sentinels were drawn in and stationed in communication with each other; surrounding the house in such positions, that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinized by them. At the entrance of the house double sentinels were placed, and patroles were continually passing backward and forward. After nine Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field-officer; and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the counter-sign. This

* A strong proof of this is, that during the nine months Sir George Cockburn had this system put in force, not a single letter was ever sent to Europe, unless through the regular government channels.

state of affairs continued until day-light in the morning. Every landing-place in the island, and, indeed, every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a picquet, and sentinels were even placed upon every *goat-path* leading to the sea, though, in truth, the obstacles presented by nature in almost all the paths in that direction, would, of themselves, have proved insurmountable to so unwieldy a person as Napoleon.

From the various signal-posts on the island ships are frequently discovered at twenty-four leagues distance, and always long before they can approach the shore. Two ships of war continually cruised, one to windward and the other to leeward, to whom signals were made as soon as a vessel was discovered from the posts on shore. Every ship, except a British man of war, was accompanied down to the road by one of the cruizers, who remained with her until she was either permitted to anchor or was sent away. No foreign vessels were allowed to anchor unless under circumstances of great distress, in which case, no person from them was permitted to land, and an officer and party from one of the ships of war was sent on board to take charge of them as long as they remained, as well as in order to prevent any improper communication. Every fishing-boat belonging to the island was numbered, and anchored every evening at sun-set, under the superintendence of a lieutenant in the navy. No boats, excepting guard-boats from the ships of war, which pulled about the island all night, were allowed to

be down after sun set. The orderly officer was also instructed to ascertain the actual presence of Napoleon, twice, in the twenty-four hours, which was done with as much delicacy as possible. In fact, every human precaution to prevent escape, short of actually incarcerating or enchaining him, was adopted by Sir George Cockburn.

The officers of the 53d, and several of the most respectable inhabitants, the officers of the St. Helena corps and their wives were introduced to Napoleon, at whose table some were weekly invited to dine, and amongst them Mr. Doveton, Miss Doveton, Colonel and Mrs. Skelton, Captain and Mrs. Younghusband, Mr. Balcombe and family, &c. Officers and other respectable passengers from India and China, came in numbers to Longwood to request a presentation to the fallen chief; in which expectation, they were rarely disappointed, unless indisposition on his part, or the shortness of their stay on the island prevented it. Many ladies and gentlemen who came up at an inconvenient time, have remained in my room long after the fore-top-sail of the ship, which was to waft them to England, was loosed, in the hope of Napoleon's presenting himself at the windows of his apartments. I have frequently been unable to withstand the solicitations of more than one anxious fair expectant to place some of the servants of the house in a situation, where they might be enabled to apprize them of his approach to the windows or door of the drawing-room, whereby they might be afforded an opportunity of stealing a glance at the renowned captive.

Some short time after his arrival at Longwood, I communicated to him the news of Murat's death. He heard it with calmness, and immediately demanded, if he had perished on the field of battle? At first, I hesitated to tell him that his brother-in-law had been executed like a criminal. On his repeating the question, I informed him of the manner in which Murat had been put to death, which he listened to without any change of countenance. I also communicated the intelligence of the death of Ney. "He was a brave man, nobody more so; but he was a madman," said he. "He has died without having the esteem of mankind. He betrayed me at Fontainbleau: the proclamation against the Bourbons which he said in his defence I caused to be given to him, was written by himself, and I never knew any thing about that document until it was read to the troops. It is true, that I sent him orders to obey me. What could he do? His troops abandoned him. Not only the troops, but the people wished to join me."

I had lent him Miss Williams's "Present State of France" to read. Two or three days afterwards he said to me, while dressing, "That is a vile production of that lady of yours. It is a heap of falsehoods. This," opening his shirt, and shewing his flannel waistcoat, "is the only coat of mail I ever wore. My hat lined with steel too! There is the hat I wore," pointing to the one he always carried. "Oh, she has doubtless been well paid for all the malice and the falsehoods she has poured forth.

Napoleon's hours of rising were uncertain, much

depending upon the quantum of rest he had enjoyed during the night. He was in general a bad sleeper, and frequently got up at three or four o'clock, in which case he read or wrote until six or seven, at which time, when the weather was fine, he sometimes went out to ride, attended by some of his generals, or laid down again to repose for a couple of hours. When he retired to bed, he could not sleep unless the most perfect state of darkness was obtained, by the closing of every cranny through which a ray of light might pass, although I have sometimes seen him fall asleep on the sofa, and remain so for a few minutes in broad daylight. When ill, Marchand occasionally read to him until he fell asleep. At times he rose at seven, and wrote or dictated until breakfast time, or, if the morning was very fine, he went out to ride. When he breakfasted in his own room, it was generally served on a little round table, at between nine and ten; when along with the rest of his suite, at eleven: in either case *à la fourchette.* After breakfast, he generally dictated to some of his suite for a few hours, and at two or three o'clock received such visitors, as, by previous appointment, had been directed to present themselves. Between four and five, when the weather permitted, he rode out on horseback, or in the carriage for an hour or two, accompanied by all his suite; then returned, and dictated or read until eight, or occasionally

played a game at chess, at which time dinner was announced, which rarely exceeded twenty minutes or half an hour in duration. He ate heartily and fast, and did not appear to be partial to high seasoned, or rich food. One of his most favourite dishes was a roasted leg of mutton, of which I have seen him sometimes pare the outside brown part off; he was also partial to mutton chops. He rarely drank as much as a pint of claret at his dinner, which was generally much diluted with water. After dinner when the servants had withdrawn, and when there were no visitors, he sometimes played at chess or at whist, but more frequently sent for a volume of Corneille, or of some other esteemed author, and read aloud for an hour, or conversed with the ladies and the rest of his suite. He usually retired to his bed-room at ten or eleven, and to rest, immediately afterwards. When he breakfasted or dined in his own apartment, in the inner rooms, *(dans l'intérieur)*, he sometimes sent for one of his suite to converse with him during the repast. He never ate more than two meals a day, nor, since I knew him, had he ever taken more than a very small cup of coffee after each repast, and at no other time. I have also been informed by those who have been in his service for fifteen years, that he had never exceeded that quantity since they first knew him.

On the 14th of April, the Phaeton frigate, Captain Stanfell, arrived from England, having on

board Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Lady Lowe, Sir Thomas Reade, Deputy Adjt. General, Major Gorrequer, aid-de-camp to Sir Hudson Lowe, Lieut.-colonel Lyster, inspector of militia, Major Emmet of the engineers, Mr. Baxter, deputy inspector of hospitals, Lieutenants Wortham and Jackson of the engineers and staff corps, and other officers. The following day, Sir Hudson Lowe landed and was installed as governor, with the customary forms. A message was then sent to Longwood that the new governor would visit Napoleon at nine o'clock on the following morning. Accordingly, a little before that time, Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, in the midst of a pelting storm of rain and wind, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, and followed by his numerous staff. As the hour fixed upon was rather unseasonable, and one, at which Napoleon had never received any person, intimation was given to the governor on his arrival, that Napoleon was indisposed, and could not receive any visitors that morning. This appeared to disconcert Sir Hudson Lowe, who, after pacing up and down before the windows of the drawing-room for a few minutes, demanded at what time on the following day he could be introduced: two o'clock was fixed upon for the interview, at which time he arrived, accompanied as before by the admiral, and followed by his staff. They were at first

ushered into the dining-room behind which was the saloon, where they were to be received. A proposal was made by Sir George Cockburn to Sir Hudson Lowe, that the latter should be introduced by him, as being, in his opinion, the most official and proper manner of resigning to him the charge of the prisoner; for which purpose, Sir George suggested, that they should enter the room together. This was acceded to by Sir Hudson Lowe. At the door of the drawing room stood Novarre, one of the French valets, whose business it was to announce the names of the persons introduced. After waiting a few minutes, the door was opened and the governor called for. As soon as the word Governor, was pronounced, Sir Hudson Lowe started up, and stepped forward so hastily, that he entered the room before Sir George Cockburn was well apprised of it. The door was then closed, and when the admiral presented himself, the valet, not having heard his name called, told him that he could not enter. Sir Hudson Lowe remained about a quarter of an hour with Napoleon, during which time, the conversation was chiefly carried on in Italian, and subsequently the officers of his staff were introduced. The admiral did not again apply for admittance.

On the 18th I brought up some newspapers to Napoleon, who, after asking me some questions

concerning the meeting of parliament, inquired who had lent the newspapers? I replied, that the admiral had lent them to me. Napoleon said, "I believe that he was rather ill-treated the day he came up with the new governor, what does he say about it?" I replied, "the admiral conceived it as an insult offered to him, and certainly felt greatly offended at it. Some explanation has, however, been given by General Montholon upon the subject." Napoleon said, "I shall never see him with pleasure, but he did not announce himself as being desirous of seeing me." I replied, "he wished to introduce officially to you the new governor, and thought, that, as he was to act in that capacity, it was not necessary to be previously announced." Napoleon answered, "He should have sent me word that he wanted to see me by Bertrand; but," continued he, "he wished to embroil me with the new governor, and for that purpose persuaded him to come up here at nine o'clock in the morning, though he well knew that I never had received any persons, nor ever would, at that hour. It is a pity that a man who really has talents, for I believe him to be a very good officer in his own service, should have behaved in the manner he has done to me. It shews the greatest want of generosity to insult the unfortunate; because insulting those who are in your power, and consequently cannot make any op-

position, is a certain sign of an ignoble mind." I said, that I was perfectly convinced the whole was a mistake, that the admiral never had the smallest intention of insulting or embroiling him with the governor. He resumed, "I, in my misfortunes, sought an asylum, and instead of that, I have found contempt, ill-treatment, and insult. Shortly after I came on board of his ship, as I did not wish to sit at table for two or three hours, guzzling down wine to make myself drunk, I got up from table, and walked out upon deck. While I was going out, he said, in a contemptuous manner, 'I believe the *general* has never read Lord Chesterfield;' meaning, that I was deficient in politeness, and did not know how to conduct myself at table." I endeavoured to explain to him that the English, and above all, naval officers, were not in the habit of going through many forms, and that it was wholly unintentional on the part of the admiral. "If," said he, "Sir George wanted to see Lord St. Vincent, or Lord Keith, would he not have sent beforehand, and asked, at what hour it might be convenient to see him; and should not I be treated with at least as much respect as either of them? Putting out of the question that I have been a Crowned head, I think," said he, laughing, "that the actions which I have performed, are at least as well known as any thing they have done." I

endeavoured again to excuse the admiral, upon which he recalled to my mind, what he had just related about Lord Chesterfield, and asked me "what could *that* mean?"

General Montholon came in at this moment with a translation of a paper sent by Sir Hudson Lowe, which the domestics, who were willing to remain, were required to sign; it was accompanied by a translation of the following letter;—*

Downing Street, 10*th January*, 1816.

I have at present to let you know, that it is the pleasure of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that on your arrival at St. Helena, you should communicate to all the persons forming the suite of Napoleon Bonaparte, including the domestics, that they are at liberty to quit the island immediately to return to Europe; adding, that none will be permitted to remain at St. Helena, unless those who shall give a written declaration, which shall be deposited in your hands, that it is their desire to remain in the island, and to participate in the restrictions which it is necessary to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally.

(Signed) BATHURST.

Those amongst them who shall determine to return to Europe, must be sent by the first fa-

* The translation is given in Appendix No. 2.—The reader will not consider me accountable for the accuracy of the French sent from Plantation House to Longwood.

vourable occasion to the Cape of good Hope; the governor of that colony will be charged to provide those persons with the means of passage to Europe.

(Signed) BATHURST.

The tenor of the accompanying declaration, which the domestics were thus required to sign, was not approved of by Napoleon, who, moreover, pronounced it to be too literally translated to be easily comprehended by a Frenchman. He accordingly desired Count Montholon to retire into the next room, where the following was substituted:—"Nous soussignés, voulant continuer à rester au service de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, consentons, quelqu' affreux que soit le séjour de Ste. Hélène, à y rester, nous soumettant aux restrictions, quoiqu'injustes et arbitraires, qu'on a imposées à S. M. et aux personnes de son service."* —"There," said he, "let those who please sign that; but do not attempt to influence them, either one way or the other."

The demand made to the domestics to sign the

* *Translation.*—We the undersigned, desiring to remain in the service of the Emperor Napoleon, consent, *however frightful the abode in St. Helena may be,* to remain there, submitting ourselves to the restrictions, *however unjust and arbitrary,* which are imposed upon his majesty, and the persons in his service.

(Here followed the signatures.)

paper sent by Sir H. Lowe, had produced a wish for further explanation amongst them; and some who applied to Sir Thomas Reade for that purpose, received answers of a nature to inculcate a belief that those who signed it, would be compelled to remain in the island during the life-time of Bonaparte. This, however, did not prevent any of them from signing the paper which was presented to them.

19*th*.—The weather has been extremely bad for some days, which has contributed, with other circumstances, to make Napoleon a little dissatisfied. "In this accursed island (*isola maladetta*)," said he, "there is neither sun nor moon to be seen for the greatest part of the year. Constant rain and fog, It is worse than Capri. Have you ever been at Capri?" continued he. I replied in the affirmative. "There," said he, "you can have every thing you want from the continent in a few hours." He afterwards made a few remarks upon some absurd falsehoods which had been published in the ministerial papers respecting him; and asked if it were "possible that the English could be so foolishly credulous as to believe all the stuff we published about him."

21*st*.—Captain Hamilton of the Havannah frigate had an audience with Napoleon in the garden. Napoleon told him, that when he (Napoleon) had arrived on the island, he had been asked what he desired to have? He therefore begged of him to

say that he desired his liberty, or, the executioner (*le bourreau*). That the English ministers had unworthily violated the most sacred rights of hospitality towards him by declaring him a prisoner, which savages would not have done in the situation in which he stood.

Colonel and Miss Wilks were to proceed to England in the Havannah. Before their departure, they came up to Longwood, and had a long interview with Napoleon. He was highly pleased with Miss Wilks, (a highly accomplished and elegant young lady,) and gallantly told her that "she exceeded the description which had been given of her to him."

24*th*.—The weather still gloomy. Napoleon at first was out of spirits, but gradually became enlivened. Conversed much about the admiral, whom he professed to esteem as a man of talent in his profession. "He is not," said he, "a man of a bad heart; on the contrary, I believe him to be capable of a generous action; but he is rough, overbearing, vain, choleric, and capricious; never consulting any body; jealous of his authority; caring little of the manner in which he exercises it, and sometimes violent without dignity."

He then made some observations about the bullocks which had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope by the government, and amongst which a great mortality had taken place. "The

admiral, said he, "ought to have contracted for them, instead of making them government property. It is well known that whatever belongs to a government is never taken any care of, and is plundered by every body. If he had contracted with some person, I will venture to say very few would have died, instead of a third, as has been the case." He then asked me many questions about the relative price of articles in England and St. Helena, and concluded by inquiring if I took any fees for attending sick people on the island. I replied in the negative, which seemed to surprise him. "Corvisart," said he, "notwithstanding his being my first physician, possessed of great wealth, and in the habit of receiving many rich presents from me, constantly took a Napoleon for each visit he paid to the sick. In your country particularly every man has his trade: the member of parliament takes money for his vote, the ministers for their places, the lawyers for their opinion."

26*th*.—Napoleon asked several questions relative to the ships which had been sent to approach the island. Was anxious to know if Lady Bingham, who had been expected for some time, had arrived. Observed how anxious Sir George Bingham must be about her. Asked me if the ship was furnished with a chronometer by government; to which I replied in the negative. He observed

that the vessel might very probably miss the island, through the want of one. "How shameful it is," said he, "for your government to put three or four hundred men on board of a ship destined for this place without a chronometer. thereby running the risk of ship and cargo, of the value perhaps of half a million, together with the lives of so many poor devils, (*poveri diavoli*) for the sake of saving three or four hundred francs for a watch. I," continued he, ordered that every ship employed in the French service should be supplied with one. It is a weakness in your government not to be accounted for." He then asked me if it were true that a court of inquiry was then holding upon some officer for having made too free with the bottle. "Is it a crime added he, "for the English to get drunk, and will a court-martial be the consequence? for, if that were the case, you would have nothing but courts-martial every day. —— was a little merry on board every day after dinner." I observed that there was a wide difference between being merry and getting drunk. He laughed and repeated what he had said relative to courts-martial. "Is it true," said he then, "that they are sending out a house and furniture for me, as there are so many lies in your newspapers, that I have my doubts, especially as I have heard nothing about it officially? I told him that Sir Hudson Lowe had assured me of the

fact, and that Sir Thomas Reade professed to have seen both the house and the furniture.

Many changes relative to the treatment of the French have taken place since Sir Hudson arrived. Mr. Brooke, the colonial secretary, Major Gorrequer, Sir Hudson's aid-de-camp, and other official persons went round to the different shopkeepers in the town, ordering them, in the name of the governor, not to give credit to any of the French, or to sell them any article, unless for ready money, under pain of not only losing the amount of the sum so credited, but of suffering such other punishment as the governor might think proper to award. They were further directed to hold no communication whatsoever with them, without special permission from the governor, under pain of being turned off the island.

Many of the officers of the 53d, who were in the habit of calling to see Madame Bertrand at Hut's Gate, received hints that their visits were not pleasing to the authorities lately arrived; and the officer of the Hut's Gate guard was ordered to report the names of all persons entering Bertrand's house. Sentinels were placed in different directions to prevent the approach of visitors, several of whom, including some ladies, were turned back. A sensation of unwillingness, or rather fear, to approach the exiles, very different from the feeling which existed a few days ago, appeared

to be pretty general amongst the inhabitants, and even amongst the military and naval officers. The governor was very minute in his inquiries to those persons who had formerly conversed with Napoleon, or any of his suite. Several of the officers of the 53d went to Hut's Gate to take leave of Countess Bertrand, (to use their own words,) as they declared the impossibility there was for men of honour to comply with the new regulations. It was expected and required that all persons who visited at Hut's Gate, or at Longwood, should make a report to the governor or to Sir Thomas Reade of the conversations they had held with the French. Several additional sentinels were placed around Longwood House and grounds.

May 3*rd.*—The weather has been extremely wet and foggy, with high wind for several days, during which time Napoleon did not stir out of doors, Messengers and letters continually arrived from Plantation House. The governor was apparently very anxious to see Napoleon, and seemingly distrustful, although the residents of Longwood were assured of his actual presence by the sound of his voice. He had some communications with Count Bertrand relative to the necessity which he said there was, that some of his officers should see Napoleon daily. He also came to Longwood frequently himself, and, finally, after some difficulty, succeeded in obtaining an interview with

Napoleon in his bed-chamber, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Some days before, he sent for me, asked a variety of questions concerning the captive, walked round the house several times, and before the windows, measuring and laying down the plan of a new ditch, which he said he would have dug, in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing. On his arrival at the angle, formed by the union of two of the old ditches, he observed a tree, the branches of which considerably overhung it. This appeared to excite considerable alarm in his excellency's breast, as he desired me to send instantly for Mr. Porteous, the superintendent of the company's gardens. Some minutes having elapsed after I had despatched a messenger for that gentleman, the governor, who had his eyes continually fixed upon the tree, desired me, in a hasty manner, to go and fetch Mr. Porteous instantly myself. On my return with him, I found Sir Hudson Lowe walking up and down, contemplating the object which appeared to be such a source of alarm. In a hurried manner, he ordered Mr. Porteous to send some men instantly to have the tree grubbed up, and before leaving the ground, directed me in an undertone to "see that it was done."

On the 4th, Sir Hudson Lowe went to see Count Bertrand, with whom he had an hour's conversation, which did not appear to be of a

nature very pleasing to him, as, on retiring, he mounted his horse, muttering something, and evidently out of humour. Shortly afterwards, I learned the purport of his visit. He commenced by saying, that the French made a great many complaints without any reason; that, considering their situations, they were very well treated, and ought to be thankful, instead of making any complaints. It appeared to him, however, that instead of being so, they abused the liberal treatment which was practised towards them. That he was determined to assure himself of General Bonaparte's actual presence daily, by the observation of an officer appointed by him, and that this officer should visit him, at fixed hours, for such purpose. During the whole of it, he spoke in a very authoritative and indeed contemptuous manner, frequently referring to the great powers with which he was invested.

5th.—Napoleon sent Marchand for me at about nine o'clock. Was introduced by the back-door into his bed-room, a description of which I shall endeavour to give as minutely and as correctly as possible. It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering paper, and destitute of surbace. Two small windows, without pullies, looking towards the camp of the 53d re-

giment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. Window-curtains of white long cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby grate, and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Marie Louise, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of the mother. A little more to the right hung also a miniature picture of the Empress Josephine, and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the consular watch, engraved with the cypher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Marie Louise, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp-bedstead, with green silk curtains, upon which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers: and an old book-case with green blinds, stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door, there was

a screen covered with nankeen, and between that and the fire-place, an old-fashioned sofa covered with white long cloth, upon which reclined Napoleon, clothed in his white morning gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one. A chequered red madras upon his head, and his shirt collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay, in confusion upon the carpet, a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the foot of the sofa, facing him, was suspended a portrait of the Empress Marie Louise, with her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast, and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty emperor of France, nothing was present except a superb wash-hand stand, containing a silver basin, and water-jug of the same metal, in the left hand corner.

Napoleon, after a few questions of no importance, asked me in both French and Italian in the presence of Count Las Cases, the following questions:—"You know that it was in consequence of my application that you were appointed to attend upon me. Now I want to know from you precisely and truly, as a man of honour, in what situation you conceive yourself to be, whether as my surgeon, as M. Maingaud was, or the surgeon

of a prison-ship and prisoners? Whether you have orders to report every trifling occurrence, or illness, or what I say to you, to the governor? Answer me candidly; What situation do you conceive yourself to be in?" I replied, "As your surgeon, and to attend upon you and your suite. I have received no other orders than to make an immediate report in case of your being taken seriously ill, in order to have promptly the advice and assistance of other physicians." "First obtaining my consent to call in others," demanded he, "is it not so?" I answered, that I would certainly obtain his previous consent. He then said, "if you were appointed as surgeon to a prison, and to report my conversations to the governor, whom I take to be, the head of the spies, (*un capo di spioni*) I would never see you again. Do not," continued he, (on my replying that I was placed about him as a surgeon, and by no means as a spy,) "suppose that I take you for a spy; on the contrary, I have never had the least occasion to find fault with you, and I have a friendship for you and an esteem for your character, a greater proof of which I could not give you than asking you candidly your own opinion of your situation; as you being an Englishman, and paid by the English government, might perhaps be obliged to do what I have asked." I replied as before, and that in my professional capacity I did not consider myself to belong to any

particular country. "If I am taken seriously ill," said he, "then acquaint me with your opinion, and ask my consent to call in others. This governor, during the few days that I was melancholy, and had a mental affliction in consequence of the treatment I receive, which prevented me from going out, in order that I might not weary (*ennuyer*) others with my afflictions, wanted to send his physician to me under the pretext of enquiring after my health. I desired Bertrand to tell him that I had not sufficient confidence in his physician to take any thing from his hands. That if I were really ill, I would send for you, in whom I have confidence, but that a physician was of no use in such cases, and that I only wanted to be left alone. I understand that he proposed an officer should enter my chamber to see me, if I did not stir out. Any person," continued he, with much emotion, "who endeavours to force his way into my apartment, shall be a corpse the moment he enters it. If he ever eats bread or meat again, I am not Napoleon. This I am determined on; I know that I shall be killed afterwards, as what can one do against a *camp?* I have faced death too many times to fear it. Besides, I am convinced that this governor has been sent out by Lord ———— I told him a few days ago, that if he wanted to put an end to me, he would have a very good opportunity by sending somebody to force his way into my chamber. That

I would immediately make a corpse of the first that entered, and then I should be of course despatched, and he might write home to his government that '*Bonaparte*' was killed in a brawl. I also told him to leave me alone, and not to torment me with his hateful presence. I have seen Prussians, Tartars, Cossacs, Calmucks, &c. but never before in my life have I beheld so ill favoured, and so forbidding a countenance. He carries the —— impressed upon his face. *(Il porte le —— empreint sur son visage.")*

I endeavoured to convince him that the English ministry would never be capable of what he supposed, and that such was not the character of the nation. "I had reason to complain of the admiral," said he: "but, though he treated me roughly, he never behaved in such a manner as this *Prussian*. A few days ago, he in a manner insisted upon seeing me, when I was undressed in my chamber, and a prey to melancholy. The admiral never asked to see me a second time, when it was intimated to him that I was unwell or undressed; as he well knew, that although I did not go out, I was still to be found."

After this, he mentioned his apprehensions of being afflicted with an attack of gout. I recommended him to take much more exercise. "What can I do," replied he, "in this execrable isle, where you cannot ride a mile without being wet

through: an island that even the English themselves complain of, though used to humidity ?" He concluded by making some severe remarks upon the governor's conduct, in having sent his aid-de-camp and secretary round the shops, forbidding the shopkeepers to give the French credit, under pain of severe punishment.

6*th.*—Had some conversation with Napoleon upon the same subject as yesterday, which commenced by my submitting to him, that according to the strict letter of the conversation of yesterday, it would be impossible for me to reply to any question addressed to me relative to him or to his affairs, whether made by the governor or any one else, which he must be aware, was, in my situation, impossible. Moreover, that I had been, from the time of my arrival, and was then, frequently employed as a medium of communication to the authorities of the island, which I hoped I had executed to his satisfaction. He replied, "Are you to be my surgeon, or surgeon of a galley (*d'une galère*); and are you expected to report what you observe or hear ?" I answered, "I am your surgeon, and not a spy, and one in whom I hope you may place confidence; I am not surgeon of a galley, (*d'une galère*) nor do I consider it imperative on me to report any thing which is not contrary to my allegiance as a British officer, &c." I also endeavoured to explain, that I would regulate my conduct with

respect to his conversations by the rules which existed to that effect amongst gentlemen, (*galantuomini*) and as I would do, were I attached in a similar capacity to an English nobleman; but that total silence was out of my power, if he wished me to preserve any communication with the governor or with any other English persons on the island. He replied, that all he wanted of me was to act as a gentleman, (*galantuomo*) and "as you would do were you surgeon to Lord St. Vincent. I do not mean to bind you to silence, or to prevent you from repeating any idle chat (*bavardage*) you may hear me say; but I want to prevent you from allowing yourself to be cajoled and made a spy of, unintentionally on your part, by this governor. After that to your God, your duty is to be paid to your own country and sovereign, and your next, to your patients."

"During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bed-chamber," continued he, "one of the first things which he proposed was to send you away, and to take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated twice; and so earnest was he to gain his object, that although I gave him a most decided refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it. I never saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite to my sofa, and on the little table between us there was a cup of coffee. His physiognomy made such an unfavourable impres-

sion upon me, that I thought his looks had poisoned it, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window; I could not have swallowed it for the world."

Count Las Cases, who entered Napoleon's room a few minutes after the departure of the governor, told me, that the emperor had said to him,—"*Mon Dieu! c'est une figure bien sinistre, j'ose à peine le dire, mais c'est à ne pas prendre une tasse de café, s'il était démeuré un instant seul auprès.*"*

12*th.*—A proclamation was issued yesterday by Sir Hudson Lowe, prohibiting "any person from receiving or being the bearer of any letters or communications from General Bonaparte, the officers of his suite, his followers or servants, of any description, or to deliver any to them, under pain of being arrested immediately and dealt with accordingly."

14*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room; he complained of being affected with catarrhal symptoms, the cause of which I attributed to his having walked out in the wet with very thin shoes, and recommended him to wear galoches, which he ordered Marchand to provide. "I have promised," added he, "to see a number of people to-day; and, though I am indisposed, I shall do so." Just at this moment some of the visitors came close to the window of his dressing-room, which was open,

* My God! what a rascally countenance, I regret to say so, but it would prevent me from taking a cup of coffee, if he had been near it but for an instant.

tried to put aside the curtain and peep in. Napoleon shut the window, asked some questions about Lady Moira, and observed, "The governor sent an invitation to Bertrand for General Bonaparte to come to Plantation House to meet Lady Moira. I told Bertrand to return no answer to it. If he really wanted me to see her, he would have put Plantation House in the limits; but to send such an invitation knowing that I must go in charge of a guard if I wished to avail myself of it, was an insult. Had he sent word that Lady Moira was sick, fatigued, or pregnant, I would have gone to see her; although I think, that under all the circumstances, she might have come to see me, or Madame Bertrand, or Montholon, as she was free and unshackled. The first sovereigns in the world have not been ashamed to pay me a visit."

"It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blucher, and is the writer of some official letters to your government, descriptive of part of the operations of 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him, and asked him, Is it you, Sir (*Est-ce vous Monsieur*) ? He replied, 'Yes.' I told him that they were full of lies, and of nonsense (*pleines de faussetés et de sottises*). He shrugged up his shoulders, appeared confused, and replied, I anticipated seeing that (*J'ai cru voir cela*). If," continued he, "those letters were the only accounts he sent, he betrayed his country."

Count Bertrand came in, and announced that several persons had arrived to see him, besides those who had received appointments for the day. Amongst other names, that of Arbuthnot was mentioned. Napoleon asked me who he was. I answered, that I believed him to be brother to the person who had been ambassador at Constantinople. "Ah, yes, yes," said Napoleon with a sly smile. "when Sebastiani was there. You may say that I shall receive them."

"Have you conversed much with the governor's physician?" said Napoleon. I replied in the affirmative, adding, that he was the chief of the medical staff, but not attached to the governor as his body physician. "What sort of a man is he—does he look like an honest man, or a man of talent?" I replied, that his appearance was very much in his favour, and that he was considered to be a man of talent and of science.

16*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe had an interview of about half an hour with Napoleon, which did not appear to be satisfactory. Saw Napoleon walking in the garden, in a very thoughtful manner a few minutes subsequent to the governor's departure, and gave to him the Dictionary of the Weathercocks (*Dictionnaire des Girouettes*), and a few newspapers. After he had asked me from whom I had procured them, he said, "Here has been this jackanapes to torment me (*viso di boja a tormentarmi*).

Tell him that I never want to see him, and that I wish he may not come again to annoy me with his hateful presence. Let him never again come near me, unless it is with orders to despatch me; he will then find my breast ready for the blow; but until then, let me be free of his odious countenance; I cannot accustom myself to it."

17*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Demanded what the news was. I informed him that the ladies he had received a few days before were highly delighted with his manners, especially as from what they had read and heard, they had been prepossessed with opinions of a very different nature. "Ah," said he, laughing, "I suppose that they imagined I was some ferocious horned animal."

Some conversation occurred touching what Sir Robert Wilson had written respecting him about Jaffa, Captain Wright &c. I observed, that as those assertions had never been fully contradicted, they were believed by numbers of English. "Bah," replied Napoleon, "those calumnies will fall of themselves, especially now that there are so many English in France, who will soon find out that they are all falsehoods. Were Wilson himself not convinced of the untruth of the statements which he had once believed, do you think that he would have assisted Lavalette to escape out of prison?"

19*th*.—Napoleon in very good humour. Told

him that the late governor of Java, Mr. Raffles, and his staff, had arrived on their way to England, and were very desirous of having the honour of paying their respects to him. "What kind of a man is the governer?" I replied, Mr. Urmston informed me, that he is a very worthy man (*un bravissimo uomo*); and possessed of great learning and talents. "Well then," said he, "I shall see them in two or three hours when I am dressed."

"This governor," said he, "is a fool (*è un embecille*). He asked Bertrand the other day, if he (Bertrand) ever had asked any of the passengers bound to England, whether they intended to go to France, as, if he had done so, he must not continue such a practice. Bertrand replied, that he certainly had, and moreover had begged of some to tell his relations that they were in good health. 'But,' says this imbecile, 'you must not do so.' 'Why,' says Bertrand, 'has not your government permitted me to write as many letters as I like, and can any government deny me the liberty of speaking?' Bertrand," continued he "ought to have replied, that galley-slaves and prisoners under sentence of death were permitted to inquire after their relations." He then observed how unnecessary and vexatious it was to require that an officer should accompany him, should he be desirous of visiting the interior of the island. "It is all right," continued he, "to keep me away from the

town and the sea-side. I would never desire to approach either the one or the other. All that is necessary for my security, is to guard well the sea-borders of this rock. Let him place his picquets round the island close by the sea and in communication with each other, which he might easily do, with the number of men he has, and it would be impossible for me to escape. Cannot he moreover put a few horsemen in motion when he knows I am going out? Cannot he place them on the hills, or where he likes, without letting me know any thing about it, *I will never appear to see them.* Cannot he do this, without obliging me to tell Poppleton that I want to ride out—not that I have any objection to Poppleton—I love a good soldier of any nation; but I will not do any thing which may lead people to imagine that I am a prisoner—I have been forced here contrary to the law of nations and I will never recognise their right in detaining me. My asking an officer to accompany me would be a tacit acknowledgement of it. I have no intention to attempt an escape, although I have not given my word of honour not to try. Neither will I ever give it, as that would be acknowledging myself a prisoner which I will never do. Cannot they impose additional restrictions when ships arrive; and above all, not allow any ship to sail until my actual presence is ascertained, without inflicting

such useless, and because useless, vexatious restrictions. It is necessary for my health that I should ride seven or eight leagues daily, but I will not do so with an officer, or a guard over me. It has always been my maxim, that a man shews more real courage in supporting and resisting the calamities and misfortunes which befal him, than by making away with himself. *That* is the action of a losing gamester, or a ruined spendthrift, and is a want of courage, instead of a proof of it. Your government will be mistaken, if they imagine, that, by seeking every means to annoy me, such as sending me here depriving me of all communication with my nearest and dearest relatives, so that I am ignorant if one of my blood exists, isolating me from the world, imposing useless and vexatious restrictions which are daily getting worse, sending the dregs of society (*les féces des hommes*) as keepers, they will weary out my patience, and induce me to commit suicide. They are mistaken. Even if I ever had entertained a thought of the kind, the idea of the gratification it would afford to them, would prevent me from completing it."

"That *palace*," said he, laughing, "which they say they have sent out for me, is so much money thrown into the sea. I would rather that they had sent me four hundred volumes of books, than all their furniture and houses. In the first place it

will require some years to build it, and before that time I shall be no more. All must be done by the labour of those poor soldiers and sailors. I do not wish it, I do not wish to incur the hatred of those poor fellows, who are already sufficiently miserable by having been sent to this detestable place, and harrassed in the manner they are. They will load me with execrations, supposing me to be the author of all their hardships, and perhaps may wish to put an end to me." I observed, that no English soldier would become an assassin. He interrupted me, by saying, "I have no reason to complain of the English soldiers or sailors; on the contrary, they treat me with every respect, and even appear to feel for me."

He then spoke of some English officers. "Moore," said he, "was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent. He made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and caused perhaps by his information having misled him," This eulogium he repeated more than once; and observed, that he had commanded the reserve in Egypt, where he had behaved very well, and displayed talent. I remarked, that Moore was always in front of the battle, and was generally unfortunate enough to be wounded. "Ah!" said he, "It is necessary sometimes. He

died gloriously—he died like a soldier. Menou was a man of courage, but no soldier. You ought not to have taken Egypt. If Kleber had lived, you would never have conquered it. An army without artillery or cavalry. The Turks signified nothing. Kleber was an irreparable loss to France and to me. He was a man of the brightest talents and the greatest bravery. I have composed the history of my own campaigns in Egypt, and of yours, while I was at the Briars. But I want the Moniteurs for the dates."

The conversation then turned upon French naval officers. "Villeneuve," said he, "when taken prisoner and brought to England, was so much grieved at his defeat, that he studied anatomy that he might destroy himself. For this purpose he bought some anatomical plates of the heart, and compared them with his own body, in order to ascertain the exact situation of that organ. On his arrival in France, I ordered that he should remain at Rennes, and not proceed to Paris. Villeneuve afraid of being tried by a court martial for disobedience of orders and consequently losing the fleet, for I had ordered him not to sail, or to engage the English, determined to destroy himself, and accordingly took his plates of the heart, and compared them with his breast. Exactly in the centre of the plate, he made a mark with a large pin, then fixed

the pin as near as he could judge in the same spot in his own breast, shoved it in to the head, penetrated his heart, and expired. When the room was opened, he was found dead; the pin in his breast, and a mark in the plate corresponding with the wound in his breast. He need not have done it," continued he, "as he was a brave man, though possessed of no talent."

"Barré," said he, "whom you took in the Rivoli, was a very brave and good officer. When I went to Egypt I gave directions, after I had disembarked and had taken Alexandria in a few hours, to sound for a passage for the fleet. A Venetian sixty-four (and a fifty-gun ship I think he said) got in, which I suppose you have seen there, but it was reported that the large ships of the line could not. I ordered Barré to sound. He reported to me that there was a sufficiency of water in one part of the channel. Brueys, on the contrary, said there was not enough of water for the eighty-gun ships. Barré insisted that there was. In the mean time I had advanced into the country after the Mamelukes. All communication with the army from the town by messengers, was cut off by the Bedouins, who took, or killed them all. My orders did not arrive, or I would have obliged Brueys to enter; for you must know that I had the command of the fleet as well as of the army. In the mean time, Nelson came and destroyed Brueys and his fleet. By

what I have learned from you, I see that Barré was right, as you saw the Tigre and Canopus enter."

After this, he made some observations upon the island. "Such," said he, "is the deplorable state of this rock, that the absence of actual want or starvation is considered as a great blessing. Pointkowski went down to Robinson's, the other day, where they said to him, 'Oh, how happy you *must* be to have *fresh meat* every day to dinner. Oh, if we could enjoy *that*, how happy should we be." Is this a place," continued he, "fit for any person who has been accustomed to live amongst human beings?"

28*th*.—Napoleon asked me if I had not had a very large party to dinner yesterday. I replied, "a few." "How many of you were drunk?" I said, "none." "Bah, bah; what, none? Why they could not have done any honour to your entertainment. Was not Captain Ross a little gay?' I replied, "Captain Ross is always gay." He laughed at this, and said, "Ross is a very fine fellow *(un bravissimo uomo)*, and the ship's company are very happy in having such a captain. I saw," said he, "that poor clergyman, Jones.* They have used that poor man most cruelly in depriving him of his employment. For the sake of his family, if not for himself, they ought not to have

* Mr. Jones had been a tutor to Mr. Balcombe's children during Napoleon's residence at the Briars.

superseded him. He is a good man, is he not?" I replied, that he was a man of good heart, but that he was accused of being too fond of meddling with what did not concern him.

I told him, that news had arrived that the Queen of Portugal was dead, and also, that a French frigate had arrived at Rio Janeiro to demand one of the king's daughters in marriage for the Duc de Berri. "The queen," said he, "has been mad for a long time, and the daughters are all ugly."

29*th*.—A ship arrived from England; went to town; saw the governor, and on my return went to Napoleon, who was playing at nine pins with his generals in his garden. I told him (by desire of the governor) that a bill concerning him had been brought into parliament, to enable ministers to detain him in St. Helena, and to provide the necessary sums of money for his maintenance. He asked if it had met with opposition? I replied, "scarcely any." "Brougham or Burdett," said he, "did they make any?" I replied, "I have not seen the papers, but I believe that Mr. Brougham said something." Gave him some French newspapers, which the admiral had given me before he had read them himself. "Who gave you those papers?" "The admiral." "What, for me?" (with some surprise). "He told me to give them to Bertrand, but in reality they were intended for you." After some conversation, he desired me to

endeavour to procure the Morning Chronicle, the Globe, or any of the opposition or neutral papers.

June 7th.—Breakfasted with Napoleon in the garden. Had a long medical argument with him, in which he maintained, that *his* practice in case of malady, viz. to eat nothing, drink plenty of barley-water and no wine, and ride for seven or eight leagues to promote perspiration, was much better than mine.

Some conversation took place about the mode of solemnizing marriage, in which I said, that in England, when a protestant and catholic were married, it was necessary that the ceremony should be performed, first by a protestant clergyman, and afterwards by a Roman Catholic priest. "That is wrong," said he "marriage ought to be a civil contract; and on the parties going before a magistrate in the presence of witnesses, and entering into an engagement, they should be considered as man and wife. This is what I caused to be done in France. If they wished it, they might go to the church afterwards and get a priest to repeat the ceremony; but this ought not to be considered as indispensable. It was always my maxim that those religious ceremonies should never be above the laws, take the lead or upper hand (*prendre l'essor*). I also ordained, that marriages contracted by French sub-

jects in foreign countries when performed according to the laws of those countries, should be valid on the return of the parties to France."

15*th.*—Napoleon at breakfast in his bath, a little sliding table was put over the bath, upon which the dishes were placed. I told him that Warden had found a book belonging to him, which was supposed to have been lost on board of the Northumberland. "Ah! Warden, that worthy fellow (*ce brave homme*), how is he? Why does he not come and see me—I shall be glad to see him? How is the chief of the medical staff (*médecin en chef?*" I said that he would feel highly honoured by being presented to him, if he would consent to see him as a private person, and not as a physician. "As you say that he is a worthy man (*un galantuomo*), I shall see him; you may introduce him to me in the garden any day you like. Have you seen Miledi Lowe; I have been told that she is a graceful and a fine woman." I replied, that I had heard so, and also that she was very lively. "It is a pity," said he, "that she cannot bestow a portion of her wit and grace upon her husband: as, for a public character, I never saw a man so deficient in both." He asked me a number of questions about London, of which I had lent him a history, which had been made a present to me by Captain Ross. He appeared to be well acquainted with the contents of the book, though he had not had it in his posses-

sion many days; described the plates, and tried to repeat several of the cries,—said that if he had been king of England he would have made a grand street on each side of the Thames, and another from St. Paul's to the river. The conversation afterwards turned upon the manner of living in France and England. "Which eats the most," said he, "the Frenchman or the Englishman?" I said, "I think the Frenchman." "I don't believe it," said Napoleon. I replied, that the French, though they nominally make but two meals a day, really have four. "Only two," said he. I replied, "they take something at nine in the morning, at eleven, at four, and at seven or eight in the evening." "I," said he, "never eat more than twice daily. You English always eat four or five times a day. Your cookery is more healthy than ours. Your soup is, however, very bad: nothing but bread, pepper, and water. You drink an enormous quantity of wine." I said, not so much as is supposed by the French. "Why," replied he, "Pointkowski, who dines sometimes in camp with the officers of the 53rd, says that they drink by the hour; that after the cloth is removed, they pay so much an hour and drink as much as they like, which sometimes lasts until four o'clock in the morning." I said, "So far from the truth, is it, that some of the officers do not drink wine more than twice a week, and that on days in which

strangers are permitted to be invited. There is a third of a bottle put on for each member who drinks wine, and when that is exhausted, another third is put on, and so on. Members only pay in proportion to what they drink." He appeared surprised with this explanation, and observed how easily a stranger, having only an imperfect knowledge of the language, was led to give a wrong interpretation to the customs and actions of other nations.

17*th*.—Told Napoleon that the Newcastle frigate was in sight, with the new admiral. He desired me to fetch my glass, and point her out to him. Found him on my return on his way to the stables. Pointed out the vessel beating up to windward. Shortly afterwards, Warden came up, and Napoleon invited me to breakfast with him, and to bring Warden and Lieutenant Blood with me. At breakfast, some conversation took place about the Abbé de Pradt, &c.; and about some of the absurd falsehoods detailed in the Quarterly Review, respecting his conduct while at the Briars, were repeated to him.—"That will amuse the public,—(*Cela amusera le public,*)" replied Napoleon. Warden observed that all Europe was very anxious to know his opinion of Lord Wellington as a general. To this he made no reply, and the question was not repeated.

Three commissioners arrived in the Newcastle:

Count Balmaine for Russia; Baron Sturmer for Austria, accompanied by the Baroness, his wife; Marquis Montchenu for France; with Captain Gor, his aid-de-camp. An Austrian botanist also accompanied Baron Sturmer.

18*th*.—Told Napoleon that I had been to town, and that the commissioners for Russia, France, and Austria had arrived. "Have you seen any of them?" "Yes, I saw the French commissioner." "What sort of a man is he?" "He is an old emigrant, named the Marquis of Montchenu, extremely fond of talking; but his looks are not against him. While I was standing in a group of officers on the terrace opposite the admiral's house, he came out, and addressing himself to me, said in French, 'if you or any of you speak French, for the love of God make it known to me, for I do not speak a word of English. I have arrived here to finish my days amongst those rocks (pointing to Ladder Hill), and I cannot speak a word of the language.'" Napoleon laughed very heartily at this, and repeated, "chatterbox, fool, (*bavard, imbecille,*)" several times. "What folly it is," said he, "to send those commissioners out here. Without charge or responsibility, they will have nothing to do but to walk about the streets and creep up the rocks. The Prussian government has displayed more judgment and saved its money." I

told him that Drouot had been acquitted, which pleased him much. Of Drouots talents and virtues he spoke in the highest terms, and observed, that by the laws of France he could not be punished for his conduct.

20*th*.—Rear-admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm Captain Meynel (the flag-captain), and some other naval officers, were presented to Napoleon.

21*st*.—Saw Napoleon walking in the garden, and went down towards him with a book that I had procured for him. After he had made some inquiries about the health of Mrs. Pierie, a respectable old lady whom I visited, he said that he had seen the new admiral. "Ah, there is a man with a countenance really pleasing, open, intelligent, frank, and sincere. There is the face of an Englishman. His countenance bespeaks his heart, and I am sure he is a good man: I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine soldier-like old man. He carries his head erect, and speaks out openly and boldly what he thinks, without being afraid to look you in the face at the time. His physiognomy would make every person desirous of a further acquaintance, and render the most suspicious confident in him."

Some conversation now passed relative to the protest which had been made by Lord Holland

against the bill for his detention.* Napoleon expressed that opinion of Lord Holland, to which his talents and virtues so fully entitle him. He was highly pleased to find that the Duke of Sussex had joined his lordship in the protest, and observed, that when passions were calmed the conduct of those two peers would be handed down to posterity with as much honour, as that of the proposers of the measure would be loaded with ignominy. He asked several questions concerning the reduction of the English army, and observed, that it was absurd in the English government to endeavour to establish the nation as a great military power, without having a population

* PROTEST

To the second Reading of Bonaparte's Detention Bill.

Because, without reference to the character or previous conduct of the person who is the object of the present bill, I disapprove of the measure it sanctions and continues.

To consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief, who, after the abdication of his authority, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us in preference to his other enemies, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great country; and the treaties by which, after his captivity, we have bound ourselves to detain him in custody, at the will of sovereigns, to whom he had never surrendered himself, appear to me repugnant to the principles of equity, and utterly uncalled for, by expedience or necessity.

(Signed) VASSALL HOLLAND.

And on the third reading, His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex entered his protest for the same reasons.

sufficiently numerous to afford the requisite number of soldiers to enable them to vie with the great, or even the second-rate continental powers, while they neglected and seemed to undervalue the navy, which was the real force and bulwark of England. "They will yet," said he, "discover their error."

23*rd.*—Several cases of books which had been ordered by Bertrand at Madeira, and were brought out in the Newcastle by Sir Pulteney Malcolm, were sent up to him the day before. Found him in his bed-chamber, surrounded with heaps of books: his countenance was smiling, and he was in perfect good humour. He had been occupied in reading nearly all the night. "Ah," said he, pointing to some books that he had thrown on the floor, according to his custom, after having read them, "what a pleasure I have enjoyed. What a difference. I can read forty pages of French in the time that it would require me to comprehend two of English." I found afterwards that his anxiety to see them was so great, that he had laboured hard himself, with a hammer and chisel, in opening the cases which contained them.

24*th.*—Saw Napoleon in the garden. Told him that Sir Thomas Reade had sent up seven cases of books to me for him, and that the governor had sent me two guns on the percussion principle for his use, and had desired me to explain the manner in which they were constructed. "It is useless,"

replied he, to send me guns, when I am confined to a place where there is no game." I told him that Mr. Baxter had come up to have the honour of being introduced to him. He desired me to call him. On being presented, he said, smiling, "Well, Mr. Physician (*signor medico*), how many patients have you killed in your time?" Afterwards he conversed with him for nearly an hour, on various subjects.

Sir Hudson Lowe told me that "he was so far from wishing to prevent any letters or complaints being sent to Europe, that he had offered to Bonaparte to forward any letters or statements he wished to England, and not only would he do so, but he would have them printed in the newspapers, in French and English."

28*th*.—A proclamation issued by Sir Hudson Lowe, declaring that any person holding any correspondence or communication with Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers or attendants, receiving from or delivering to him or them letters or communications, without express authorization from the governor, under his hand, was guilty of an infraction of the acts of parliament for his safe custody, and would be prosecuted with all the rigour of the law. Also, that any person or persons who received any letters or communications from him, his followers, or attendants, and did not immediately deliver or make known the same

to the governor, or, who should furnish the said Napoleon Bonaparté, his followers or attendants, with money, or any other means whatever, whereby his escape might be furthered, would be considered to be aiding and assisting in the same, and would be proceeded against accordingly.

July 1*st.*—A letter sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, prohibiting all sort of communications, either written or verbal, with the inhabitants, except such as shall have been previously made known to him (the governor) through the orderly officer.

Since the arrival of the books, the emperor has been daily occupied for several hours in reading and collecting dates and other materials for the history of his life, which is written up to his landing in France from Egypt. The state of the weather also, the almost constant rain or fog, with the strong wind continually blowing over the bleak and exposed situation of Longwood, has contributed much to keep him within doors, and disgust him with his present residence. He expressed a wish to be removed to the leeward side of the island, which is warmer, and protected from the eternal sharp south-east wind.

4*th.*—Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm had an interview of nearly two hours with Napoleon, who was much pleased with both, During the conversation he entered deeply into a description of

the battle of Waterloo, naval tactics, &c. The officers of the Newcastle were also presented to him. The meat, which has generally been of a bad quality, is to-day so detestable, that Captain Poppleton felt himself obliged to send it back, and write a complaint to the governor.

6*th*.—Madame Bertrand informed Captain Poppleton and myself, that she had written a letter to Montchenu, in which she requested of him to call and see her at Hut's Gate, as she had heard that he had seen her mother, who was in an indifferent state of health, and was very desirous to inquire about her. That Las Cases would also come and meet him on his arrival at her house, as he was informed that Montchenu had seen his wife a short time before his departure from Paris.

8*th*.—The servants from Longwood, bringing the provisions to Bertrand's stopped by the sentinels, and not allowed to enter the court. The viands were, at last, handed over the wall, in presence of a sentinel, who said, he could not permit any conversation to take place. A similar scene took place, when my servant brought some medicines for Bertrand's servant, Bernard, who was dangerously ill. Round one of the bottles there was a label in my hand-writing, containing directions how to take the medicine. This was written in French, and the sentinel not being able to understand it, thought it his duty not to suffer it to

enter, and it was accordingly torn off. A sentinel was relieved the day before and sent to camp to be tried by a court-martial, for having allowed a black to go into Bertrand's court to get a drink of water, which probably has given rise to this increased rigour on the part of the soldiers.

9*th*.—A letter of expostulation sent this morning to Sir Hudson Lowe. Some conversation at Longwood relative to a machine for making ice, said by some of the officers of the Newcastle to have been sent by Lady Holland for Napoleon's use, but which has not yet made its appearance.

10*th*.—A great deficiency has existed for several days in the quantity of wine, fowls, and other necessary articles. Wrote to Sir Thomas Reade about it. Captain Poppleton also went to town himself to lay the matter before Sir Hudson Lowe.

11*th*.—While at Hut's Gate, a serjeant came in with a message from Sir Hudson Lowe, desiring me to follow him. His excellency inquired of me in what part of the island General Bonaparte would wish to have his new house built? I replied, "He would like the Briars." Sir Hudson said, that would never do, that it was too near the town, and in fact out of the question. He then asked me if I thought he would prefer any part of the island to Longwood? I said, "most certainly he would prefer a habitation on the other side of the island." His excellency then

desired me to find out from himself what part of the island he would prefer. He also said, that Napoleon had refused to see the commissioners, and desired me to ascertain whether he was still of that opinion. His excellency asked me whether I knew what they wanted with the Marquis Montchenu. I replied, that Madame Bertrand wished to inquire after her mother's health, and that Las Cases was to have met him at Hut's Gate; and that I was informed he was very anxious to enquire about his wife, as he had been told that Montchenu had seen her shortly before his departure from Paris. Sir Hudson observed that he would report Las Cases to the British government, for having contemptuously refused to receive or accept some articles sent for the supply of the generals and others with Bonaparte, while at the same time he wrote a letter to Lady Clavering, desiring that some articles of a similar nature to those so offered might be purchased and sent out to him. He then again assured me of his readiness, not only to transmit their complaints to his majesty's government, but that he would also cause them to be published; and told me that he much wished me to let him know General Bonaparte's wants and wishes, in order that he might communicate them to his government, which would thus know how to anticipate and provide for any demands. Desired me also to tell Ma-

dame Bertrand that he was very sorry any restrictions which he had imposed were disagreeable to her or hurtful to her feelings, though it appeared to him that she had been made a tool of, which he advised her not to try again. After this, he went to Longwood, where he had a long conversation with General Montholon, chiefly about altering, enlarging, and improving Longwood House.

12*th*.—Napoleon rather melancholy. I informed him that the governor had been at Longwood yesterday, in order to see if he could afford greater comfort and accommodation to him, either by building some additional rooms to the house already existing at Longwood, or erecting a new house in some other part of the island; and that the governor had charged me to inquire from him which he would prefer. He replied, "At this house, or in this wretched place, I wish for nothing from him (*A questa casa, o in questo luogo tristo non voglio niente di lui*)." I hate this Longwood. The sight of it makes me melancholy. Let him put me in some place where there is shade, verdure, and water. Here it either blows a furious wind, loaded with rain and fog, which afflicts my soul, or, which oppresses me (*che mi taglia l'anima*); or, if that is wanting, the sun broils my brain (*il sole mi brucia il cervello*), through the want of shade, when I go out. Let him put me on the Plantation House side of the island, if he really wishes to do

any thing for me. But what is the use of his coming up here proposing things, and doing nothing. There is Bertrand's house not the least advanced since his arrival. The admiral at least sent his carpenter here, who made the work go on." I replied, that the governor had desired me to say, that he did not like to undertake any thing without first knowing that it would meet with his approval; but, that if he (Napoleon) would fix, or propose a plan for the house, he would order every workman on the island, with a proportionate number of engineer officers, &c. to proceed to Longwood, and set about it. That the governor feared, that making additions to the present building would annoy him by the noise of the workmen. He replied, "Certainly it would. I do not wish him to do any thing to this house, or on this dismal place. Let him build a house on the other side of the island, where there is shade, verdure, and water, and where I may be sheltered from this furious wind (*vento agro*). If it is determined to build a new house for my use, I would wish to have it erected on the Estate of Colonel Smith, which Bertrand has been to look at, or at Rosemary Hall. But his proposals are all a delusion. Nothing advances since he came. Look there," pointing to the window. "I was obliged to order a pair of sheets to be put up as curtains, as the others were so dirty I could not approach them, and none could be obtained to replace them.

He is a sad fellow, and worse than the island (*'E un trist' uomo, è peggio dell' isola)*. Remark his conduct to that poor lady (*quella povera dama*), Madame Bertrand. He has deprived her of the little liberty she had, and has prevented people from coming to visit and to chat (*bavarder*) for an hour with her, which was some little solace to a lady who had always been accustomed to see company." I observed that the governor had said, it was in consequence of Madame Bertrand's having sent a note to the Marquis Montchenu, without having first caused it to pass through the governor's hands. "Trash," replied he; "By the regulations in existence when he arrived, it was permitted to send notes to residents, and no communication of an alteration having taken place was made to them. Besides, could not she and her husband have gone to town to see Montchenu? Weak men are always timorous and suspicious. This man is fit to be, the head of a police-gang (*un capo di sbirri*), but not a governor."

13*th*.—Went to town and communicated Napoleon's reply to Sir Hudson Lowe, who did not seem to like it; and said that he could not so easily be watched. I observed that I thought, easier, as he would then be in the midst of his (Sir Hudson's) staff; and moreover, as the spots in question were nearly surrounded with high and unequal rocks, it would be extremely easy to place picquets in such a manner as to preclude

the possibility of escape, and at the same time, be unseen by the captive. His excellency at first assented to this ; but a moment afterwards observed, that he should not know where to place the Austrian commissioner, who had taken Rosemary Hall. I ventured to suggest to him, that, however desirable an object the accommodation of the Baron Sturmer might be, still it was one of much minor importance to that of the principal person detained (*détenu*). Sir Hudson Lowe, after a moment's silence, asked me if I had communicated his message to Madame Bertrand, to which I replied in the affirmative. He observed, that he had not sufficiently explained his motives in imposing some additional restrictions, as the fact was, that Sir George Cockburn, prior to his departure, had pointed out to him the great inconveniency of the existing order of things, and the necessity there was of preventing such free access to Bertrand's House. That he had strongly recommended the adoption of the restrictions which he (Sir Hudson) had since thought it his duty to impose, which the admiral declared it was his own intention to have ordered, had he not been in daily expectation of the new governor's arrival. That the liberal access to Bertrand had been originally permitted in consequence of a supposition, that the new house for his use at Longwood would soon be finished ; after which he would be placed on a similar footing with the other attendants of General Bona-

parte. This he desired me to communicate to the countess; and said that he would consider about building the new house upon the spot which I had pointed out; adding, that "Colonel Smith's and Rosemary Hall must go together."

15*th.*—Napoleon out very early in the carriage.

16*th.*—Napoleon, who had gone down to the stables at an early hour, and ordered the horses to be put to, himself, overtook me in the park, and made me get into the carriage. Complained of his teeth. Breakfasted with him. During the meal, the subject of the commissioners was introduced. He asked, if Madame Sturmer had ever seen him at Paris. I replied, that she had, and was very desirous to see him again. "And who prevents her?" said he. I replied, that herself and her husband, as well as the rest of the commissioners, believe that you will not receive them. "Who told them so?" said he, "I am willing to receive them, whenever they please to ask through Bertrand. I shall receive them as private characters. I never refuse to see any person, when asked in a proper way, and especially, I should be always glad to see a lady."

"It appears," said he, "that your ministers have sent out a great many articles of dress for us, and other things, which it was supposed might be wanted. Now, if this governor was possessed of the feelings of a gentleman, he would have sent a list of them to Bertrand, stating that the Eng-

lish government had sent a supply of certain articles which it was thought we might want, and that if we stood in need of them, we might order such as we pleased. But, instead of acting in a manner pointed out by the rules of politeness, this gaoler (*geolier*) converts into an insult, what, probably your government intended as a civility, by selecting what things he himself pleases, and sending them up in a contemptuous manner, without consulting us; as if he were sending alms to a set of beggars, or clothing to convicts. Truly he has the heart of an executioner (*Veramente ha il cuore di boja*), for nobody but an executioner (*boja*) would unnecessarily increase the miseries of people situated like us, already too unhappy. His hands soil every thing that passes through them. See how he torments that poor lady, Madame Bertrand, by depriving her of the little society she was accustomed to, and which is necessary to her existence. It is not punishing her husband, who, if he has a book is contented. I am astonished that he allows you or Poppleton to remain near me. He would willingly watch me himself always, were it in his power. Have you any galley-slaves in England?" I replied, No; but that we had some convicts who were condemned to work at Portsmouth and elsewhere. "Then," said he, "he ought to have been made keeper of them. It would be exactly the office suited to him."

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and had an interview with him for a short time.

17*th.*—Napoleon called me into the garden to him. Informed me that he had told the governor that he had unnecessarily increased their restrictions; that he had, without any reason, punished Madame Bertrand; that he had insulted them by his manner of sending up the articles sent for their use; that he had insulted Las Cases, by telling him that he had read his letters, and by informing him, that if he wanted a pair of shoes or stockings, he must first send to him. "I told him," added he, "that if Bertrand or Las Cases wanted to form a plot with the commissioners, (which he appeared to be afraid of,) that he had nothing more to do, than to go to the town and make an appointment with any of them to come up inside of the alarm-house, and meet him. I told him that it was a disgrace to him who was vested with authority, to insult a man like Bertrand, who was esteemed by all Europe."

He then spoke about the new house, said, that if he expected to remain long in St. Helena, he should wish to have it erected at the Plantation House side; "but," continued he, "I am of opinion that as soon as the affairs of France are settled, and things quiet, the English government will allow me to return to Europe, and finish my days in England. I do not believe that they are foolish enough to be at the expense of eight millions annually, to keep me here, when I am no longer to be feared; I therefore am not very anx-

ious about the house." He then spoke about escape, and said, that even if he were inclined to try it, there were ninety-eight chances out of a hundred against his succeeding; "notwithstanding which," continued he, "this gaoler imposes as many restrictions, as if I had nothing more to do than to step into a boat and be off. It is true, that while one lives there is always a chance, although chained, enclosed in a cell, and every human precaution taken, there is still a chance of escape, and the only effectual way to prevent it is to put me to death. It is only the dead, who never come back (*Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas*). Then all uneasiness on the part of the European powers, and Lord Castlereagh, will cease: no more expense, no more squadrons to watch me, or poor soldiers fatigued to death with picquets and guards, or harassed carrying loads up those rocks."

18*th*.—Sir Hudson came to Longwood, and arranged some matters with General Montholon relative to the house. Every thing connected with the alterations in the building put under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Wynyard, assisted by Lieutenant Jackson of the staff corps. A billiard-table brought up to Longwood.

19*th*.—The drawing-room of Longwood House discovered to be on fire at about five o'clock in the morning. It was extinguished in about half an hour, by great exertions on the part of Captain

Poppleton, and the guard, aided by the household. It had reached within a few inches of the upper flooring, which was formed of a double boarding. Had this caught fire, it would have been nearly impossible to have saved the building, as there is no water at Longwood.

20*th*.—Some curtains for the emperor's bed, sent up to me by Sir Thomas Reade.

22*nd*.—Dined in camp on occasion of the anniversary of the battle of Salamanca. Present, his excellency and staff, heads of departments, &c.

24*th*.—The admiral sent up a lieutenant and party of seamen to pitch a tent, formed of a lower studding-sail, as no shade was afforded by the trees at Longwood. Colonel Maunsell, of the 53rd, asked me to exert myself in order to procure, through Count Bertrand, for Dr. Ward (who had been eighteen years in India) an interview with Napoleon. Count Bertrand accordingly made the application to the emperor, who replied, that "Dr. Ward must apply in person to Count Bertrand."

25*th*.—Told Napoleon that the Griffon had arrived from England the night before, and had brought the news of the condemnation of General Bertrand to death, though absent. He appeared for a moment lost in astonishment, and much concerned; but recollecting himself, observed, that by the laws of France, a man accused of a capital offence might be tried, and condemned to death,

by outlawry *(par contumace)*, but that they could not act upon such a sentence; that the individual must be tried again, and be actually present; that if Bertrand were now in France, he would be acquitted, as Drouot had been. He expressed, however, much sorrow at it, on account of the effect which it might probably produce upon Madame Bertrand. "In revolutions," continued he, "every thing is forgotten. The benefits you confer to day, are forgotten to-morrow. The side once changed, gratitude, friendship, parentage, every tie vanishes, and all sought for is self-interest."

26*th*.—Saw Napoleon at his toilette. While dressing, he is attended by Marchand, St. Denis, and Novarre. One of the latter holds a looking-glass before him, and the other the necessary implements for shaving, while Marchand is in waiting to hand his clothes, Cologne water *(eau de Cologne)*, &c. When he has gone over one side of his face with the razor he asks St. Denis or Novarre, "Is it done?" and after receiving an answer, commences on the other. After he has finished, the glass is held before him to the light, and he examines whether he has removed every portion of his beard. If he perceives or feels that any remains, he sometimes lays hold of one of them by the ear, or gives him a gentle slap on the cheek, in a good-humoured manner, crying, "Ah, rogue *(coquin)*, why did you tell me it was done?" This,

probably has given rise to the report of his having been in the habit of beating and otherwise ill-treating his domestics. He then washes with water, in which some Cologne water *(eau de Cologne)* has been mingled, a little of which he also sprinkles over his person, very carefully picks and cleans his teeth, frequently has himself rubbed with a flesh-brush, changes his linen and flannel waistcoat, and dresses in white kerseymere (or brown nankeen) breeches, white waistcoat, silk stockings, shoes and gold buckles, and a green single-breasted coat with white buttons, black stock, with none of the white-shirt collar appearing above it, and a three-cornered small-cocked hat, with a little tricoloured cockade. When dressed, he always wears the cordon and grand cross of the legion of honour. When he has put on his coat, a little sprucely *(bonbonnière)*, his snuff-box, and handkerchief scented with Cologne water *(eau de Cologne)*, are handed to him by Marchand, and he leaves the chamber.

Napoleon complained of a slight pain in his right side. I advised him to get it well rubbed with Cologne water *(eau de Cologne)* and flannel, and also suggested a dose of physic. At this last he laughed, and gave me a friendly slap on the cheek. He asked the causes of the liver complaint, now very prevalent in the island. I enumerated several, and amongst others, drunkenness and hot

climates. "If," said he, "drunkenness be a cause, I ought never to have it."

27*th.*—Colonel Keating, late governor of the isle of Bourbon had an interview with Napoleon, which lasted for nearly an hour.

28*th.*—Informed by Cipriani, that in the beginning of 1815, he had been sent from Elba to Leghorn, to purchase 100,000 francs worth of furniture for Napoleon's palace. During his stay, he became very intimate with a person named ***, who had a *** at Vienna, from whom a private intimation was sent to him, that it was the determination of the congress of Vienna to send the emperor to St. Helena, and even had sent him a paper containing the substance of the agreement, a copy of which he gave to Cipriani, who departed instantly for Elba, to communicate the information he had received to the emperor. This, with the confirmation which he afterwards received from M *** A ** and M * ** at Vienna contributed to determine Napoleon to attempt the recovery of his throne.

Accompanied Napoleon in his evening-drive. Informed him that Sir Thomas Reade had begged me to acquaint him that the Russian commissioner had taken no part in the official note addressed to the governor, and containing a request to see him (Napoleon). He observed, that if they wished to see him, they had taken very bad mea-

sures, as all the powers of Europe should not induce him to receive them as official characters. They might break open the door, or level the house down and find him. He then observed, that a book* relative to his last reign in France had been lately sent out by the author, (an Englishman,) to Sir Hudson Lowe, with a request that it should be delivered to him. On the back was inscribed, in letters of Gold,—to the Emperor Napoleon, or, to the Great Napoleon. "Now," continued he, "this galley-slave *(galeriano)* would not allow the book to be sent to me, because it had the 'Emperor Napoleon' written upon it; because he thought that it would give me some pleasure to see that all men were not like him, and that I was esteemed by some of his nation. I could not have believed that a man could be so base and so vile *(Non credevo che un uomo poteva essere basso e vile a tal segno)*."

Since the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, there has been a great alteration in the number of newspapers sent to Longwood. Instead of receiving, as heretofore, a regular series of some papers, as well as many detached ones, only a few irregular numbers of the times have arrived, and occasionally a Courier. This has caused great anxiety at Longwood to those who have relations in France, and given much displeasure to Napoleon, to whom

* "The last reign of the Emperor Napoleon" by Mr. Hobhouse.

Sir George Cockburn frequently sent up papers, before perusing them himself.

August 2nd.—Made a complaint to the purveyors that no vegetables, except potatoes, had been sent up for three days; and requested, that if they were not permitted to furnish any more, my letter might be transmitted to Major Gorrequer.

3rd.—Received an answer from Mr. Fowler, clerk to the purveyors, informing me that they had been ordered to send no more vegetables, which, they had been informed by Major G., were in future to be furnished from the honorable company's garden.

Colonel Maunsell presented this day by Sir George Bingham. Napoleon conversed for a short time with the latter.

5th.—Sir Hudson Lowe came to Longwood, and calling me aside in a mysterious manner, asked if I thought that "General Bonaparte" would take it well if he invited him to come to a ball at Plantation house, on the Prince Regent's birth-day? I replied, that under all circumstances, I thought it most probable that he would look upon it as an insult, especially if made to "*General Bonaparte.*" His excellency remarked, that he would avoid that, by asking him in person. I said, that I would recommend him to consult Count Bertrand on the subject, which he said he would do. He then referred to a prior conver-

sation and informed me that he was of opinion my salary ought to be augmented to 500*l.* per annum, and that he would certainly write to Lord Bathurst and recommend it. After this, he spoke about Mr. Hobhouse's book, observed, that he could not send it to Longwood as it had not been forwarded through the channel of the secretary of state; moreover that Lord Castlereagh was extremely ill spoken of, and that he had no idea of allowing General Bonaparte to read a book in which a British minister was treated in such a manner, or even to know that a work containing such reflections could be published in England. I ventured to observe to his excellency, that Napoleon was very desirous to see the book, and that he could not confer a much greater favour than to send it up. Sir Hudson replied, that Mr. Hobhouse, in the letter which accompanied it, had permitted him to place it in his own library, if he did not think himself authorized to send it to its original destination.

6*th.*—Napoleon again entered on the subject of the book, the detention of which by the governor he declared to be illegal; and that even if he were a prisoner under sentence of death, the governor's conduct would not be justifiable in detaining a printed and published book, in which there was no secret correspondence or treason, because there were some fooleries (*bêtises*) in it. By "fooleries (*bêtises*)" he meant the inscription addressed to him.

A lieutenant, two midshipmen, and a party of

seamen employed in repairing the tent, which had suffered materially in the late bad weather. Napoleon went up and conversed for a short time with the midshipmen, one of whom by a strange coincidence, happened to be the son of Mr. Drake, notorious for his conduct at Munich.

10*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe came up, while Napoleon was at breakfast in the tent, in order to see him, but did not succeed.

12*th.*—Grand field-day at camp, in honour of the Prince Regent. Explained to him that in all our colonies his royal highness's birth-day was celebrated. "Ay, ay, *(Giu, gia,)*" said he, "naturally *(naturalmente)*." Asked me if I were asked to dine with the governor? I replied, no; but that I was asked to the ball in the evening.

14*th.*—Napoleon went out to ride this morning for the first time for eight weeks. Informed me that he had so severe a headach, that he had determined to try the effect of a little exercise. "But," continued he, "the limits are so circumscribed that I cannot ride for more than an hour; and in order to do me any good, I should ride very hard for three or four. Here has been," continued he, "that Sicilian thief-catcher *(sbirro Siciliano)*. I would have remained in the tent an hour longer if I had not been informed of his arrival. My mind recoils to see him *(Mi ripugna l'anima il vederlo)*. He is perpetually unquiet, and appears always in a passion with somebody, or uneasy as if some-

thing tormented his conscience, and that he was anxious to run away from himself."

"A man to be well fitted for the situation of governor of St. Helena," he observed, "ought to be a person of great politeness, and at the same time of great firmness—one who could gloss over a refusal, and lessen the miseries of the persons detained (*détenus*), instead of eternally putting them in mind that they were considered as prisoners. Instead of such a man, they had sent out *un uomo non conosciuto, che non a mai comandato, che non ha nessun ordine, nè sistema, che non sa farsi ubbidire, che non ha nè maniera nè creanza—e che pare che abbia sempre vissuto con dei ladri.*"*

15*th.*—Anniversary of Napoleon's birth-day. Breakfasted in the tent with the ladies and all his suite including Piontkowski, and the children. There was, however, no change of uniform or additional decorations. In the evening, the second class of domestics, including the English, had a grand supper, and a dance afterwards. To the astonishment of the French, not an Englishman got drunk.

16*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe came up, and had a long conversation with Gen. Montholon and myself, principally about the necessity of reducing the

* A man not known, who has never had command, who has neither regularity nor system, who cannot make himself obeyed, who has no breeding nor civility—and who seems to have always associated with thieves.

expenses of the establishment, which, he observed, was not conducted with a due regard to economy. Amongst other examples of what he considered wasteful expenditure, he stated to General Montholon, that he had observed on looking over the accounts of Plantation House and Longwood, that there was a much greater quantity of basket-salt consumed at the latter than at the former; he desired, therefore, that in future, common salt *(sel-gris)* should be used as much as possible in the kitchen and at the table of the servants.

One of Leslie's pneumatic machines for making ice sent up to Longwood this day. As soon as it was put up, I went and informed Napoleon, and told him that the admiral was at Longwood. He asked several questions about the process, and it was evident that he was perfectly acquainted with the principles upon which air-pumps are formed. He expressed great admiration of the science of chemistry, spoke of the great improvements which had of late years been made in it, and observed, that he had always promoted and encouraged it to the best of his power. I then left him, and proceeded to the room where the machine was, in order to commence the experiment in the presence of the admiral. In a few minutes Napoleon, accompanied by Count Montholon, came in and accosted the admiral in a very pleasant manner, seemingly gratified to see him. A cup full of water was then frozen in his presence in about

fifteen minutes, and he waited for upwards of half an hour to see if the same quantity of lemonade would freeze, which did not succeed. Milk was then tried, but it would not answer. Napoleon took into his hand the piece of ice produced from the water, and observed to me, what a gratification that would have been in Egypt. The first ice ever seen in St. Helena, was made by this machine, and was viewed with no small degree of surprise by the *yam stocks*,* some of whom could with difficulty be persuaded that the solid lump in their hands was really composed of water, and were not fully convinced until they had witnessed its liquefaction.

17*th*.—Went to Hut's Gate to visit Bertrand's servant Bernard, who was very ill. The serjeant of the guard ordered the sentry to be confined for letting me in. Went out to inquire, and was informed by the serjeant that he had orders to prevent every one from going in, except the general staff. Sir Hudson Lowe had, it appeared, given some directions yesterday himself, on going out of Bertrand's, to whom he showed a letter from Lord Bathurst, stating that the expences of the establishment must be reduced to 8,000*l*. per annum for every thing. The men who brought the provisions were not allowed to enter but were obliged to hand them over the wall. The servants from Longwood were also refused admittance.

* A cant name for the natives of the island.

Mr. Brookes, the colonial secretary, was also denied entrance. A letter sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Montholon, making a demand of 12,000*l.* a year for the maintenance of Napoleon and suite.*

18*th.*—The governor and admiral, accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, arrived at Longwood, while Napoleon was walking in the garden with Counts Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and son. His excellency sent to ask an interview, which was granted. It took place in the garden. The three principal personages, Napoleon, Sir Hudson, and Sir Pulteney, were a little in front of the others. Captain Poppleton and myself stood at some distance from them, but sufficiently near to observe their gestures. We remarked, that the conversation was principally on the part of Napoleon, who appeared at times considerably animated, frequently stopping and again hurried in his walk, and accompanying his words with a good deal of action. Sir Hudson's manner also appeared hurried and greatly agitated. The admiral was the only one who seemed to discourse with calmness. In about half an hour we saw Sir Hudson Lowe abruptly turn about, and withdraw without saluting Napoleon. The admiral took off his hat, made his bow, and departed. Sir Hudson Lowe came up to where Poppleton and myself were standing, paced up

* See Appendix, No. III.

and down in an agitated manner, while his horses were coming, and said to me, "General Bonaparte has been very abusive to me. I parted with him rather abruptly, and told him, You are uncivil, Sir *(Vous êtes malhonnête, Monsieur)*." He then mounted his horse, and galloped away. The admiral appeared troubled and pensive. It was evident that the interview had been very unpleasant.

19*th*.—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room. He was in very good humour—asked how Gourgaud was, and on being informed that I had given him some medicine he laughed and said, "He would have done better to have *dieted* himself for some days; let him drink plenty of water, and eat nothing. Medicines," he said, "were only fit for old people."

He then said, "that governor came here yesterday to annoy me. He saw me walking in the garden, and in consequence I could not refuse to see him. He wanted to enter into some details with me about reducing the expenses of the establishment. He had the audacity to tell me that things were as he found them, and that he came up to justify himself: that he had come up two or three times before to do so, but that I was in a bath. I replied, 'No, Sir, I was not in a bath, but I ordered one on purpose not to see you. In endeavouring to justify yourself you make matters worse.' He said that I did not know him; that if

I knew him, I should change my opinion. 'Know you, Sir,' I answered, 'How could I know you? People make themselves known by their actions; by commanding in battles. You have never commanded in battle. You have never commanded any but vagabond Corsican deserters, Piedmontese and Neapolitan brigands. I know the name of every English general who has distinguished himself, but I never heard of you except as a *scrivano** to Blucher, or as a commandant of brigands. You have never commanded or been accustomed to men of honour.' He said, that he had not sought for the employment. I told him that such employments were not asked for; that they were given by governments to people who had dishonoured themselves. He said that he only did his duty, and that I ought not to blame him, as he only acted according to his orders. I replied, 'So does the hangman. He acts according to his orders. But when he puts a rope round my neck to finish me, is that a reason that I should like that hangman, because he acts according to his orders? Besides, I do not believe that any government could be so mean as to give such orders as you cause to be executed.' I told him, that if he pleased, he need not send up any thing to eat. That I would go over and dine at the table of the brave officers of the 53rd; that I was

* Clerk.

sure there was not one of them who would not be happy to give a plate at the table to an old soldier. That there was not a soldier in the regiment who had not more heart than he had. That in the iniquitous bill of parliament, they had decreed that I was to be treated as a prisoner, but that he treated me worse than a condemned criminal, or a galley-slave, as they were permitted to receive newspapers and printed books, which he deprived me of. I said, 'you have power over my body, but none over my soul. That soul is as proud, fierce, and determined at the present moment, as when it commanded Europe.' I told him that he was a Sicilian thief-catcher *(sbirro Siciliano)*, and not an Englishman; and desired him not to let me see him again until he came with orders to despatch me, when he would find all the doors thrown open to admit him."

"It is not my custom," continued he, "to abuse any person, but that man's effrontery produced bad blood in me, and I could not help expressing my sentiments. When he had the impudence to tell me before the admiral that he had changed nothing; that all was the same as when he had arrived, I replied, call the captain of ordinance *(ordonnance)* here, and ask *him*. I will leave it to his decision.' This struck him dumb, he was mute."

"He told me, that he had found his situation so difficult that he had resigned. I replied, that

a worse man than himself could not be sent out, though the employment was not one which a man of spirit *(galantuomo)* would wish to accept. If you have an opportunity," added he, "or if any one asks you, you are at liberty to repeat what I have told you."

Gave him Sarrazin's "Account of the Campaign in Spain." "Sarrazin," said he, "was a traitor, and a man without honour, truth, or probity. When I returned from Elba to Paris, he wrote an offer of his services to me, in which he proposed, if I would forgive and employ him, to betray to me all the secrets and plans of the English. It was my intention to have had him tried as a traitor, as he deserved, instead of accepting his offer, but I was so much hurried that it escaped my memory."

21*st*.—A ship arrived from England. Went to town, where I saw Captain Stanfell, to whom I mentioned in the course of conversation, that a very unpleasant conversation had taken place between the governor and Napoleon, and that Sir Hudson Lowe had told the latter that he had given in his resignation. On my return, called at Hut's Gate, along with Captain Maunsell of the 53rd, and Captain Poppleton. Madame Bertrand asked if there were any letters. Captain Maunsell said that he had seen some for them at the post office. On my arrival at Longwood, Napoleon asked me

the same question, to which I replied, that Captain Maunsell had informed Madame Bertrand there were some at the post-office. It was not my intention to have mentioned them until I had ascertained whether they would be sent to Longwood, as I did not wish to embroil him further with the governor ; but as I was assured that he would hear it from Hut's Gate, I could not conceal my knowledge of the fact.

22*nd.*—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me to Plantation House. Found him walking in the path to the left of the house. He said that he had some communication to make to government, wished to know the state of General Bonaparte's health, and whether I had any thing to say. "I understand," continued he, "that Bonaparte told you I had said that I had given in my resignation as governor of this island, is it true?" I replied, "he told me that you had said so to him." Sir Hudson added, "I never said any such thing, nor ever had an idea of it. He has either invented it, or perhaps mistaken my expressions. I merely said, that if the government did not approve of my conduct, I would resign. I wish you therefore to explain to him that I never either said so, or had any intention of doing it." He then asked me if I had heard the subject of their conversation. I replied, "some part of it." He wished to know

what it was. I replied, "that I supposed he remembered it, and that I did not wish to repeat what must be disagreeable to him." He observed that I had mentioned it elsewhere, and that he had a right to hear it from my own lips. Although I had permission to communicate it, I was not pleased to be obliged to repeat to a man's face opinions such as those which had been expressed of him; but under the circumstances of the case, I did not think proper to refuse; I therefore repeated some parts. Sir Hudson said, that though he had not commanded an army against him, yet that he had probably done him more mischief, by the advice and information which he had given, prior to and during the conferences at Chatillon, some of which had not been published, as the conferences were going on at the time—than if he had commanded against him. That what *he* had pointed out, had been acted upon afterwards, and was the cause of his downfal from the throne. "I should like," added he, "to let him know this, in order to give him some cause for his hatred. I shall probably publish an account of the matter."

Sir Hudson Lowe then walked about for a short time, biting his nails, and asked me if Madame Bertrand had repeated to strangers any of the conversation which had passed between General Bonaparte and himself? I replied that I

was not aware that Madame Bertrand was yet acquainted with it. "She had better not," said he, "lest it may render her and her husband's situation much more unpleasant than at present," He then repeated some of Napoleon's expressions in a very angry manner, and said, "did General Bonaparte tell you, sir, that I told him his language was impolite and indecent, and that I would not listen any longer to it?" I said, "no," "Then it shewed," observed the governor, "great littleness on the part of General Bonaparte not to tell you the whole. He had better reflect on his situation, for it is in my power to render him much more uncomfortable than he is. If he continues his abuse, I shall make him feel his situation. He is a prisoner of war, and I have a right to treat him according to his conduct. I'll build him up." He walked about for a few minutes repeating again some of the observations, which he characterised as ungentleman-like, &c. until he had worked himself into a passion, and said, "tell General Bonaparte that he had better take care what he does, as, if he continues his present conduct, I shall be obliged to take measures to increase the restrictions already in force." After observing that he had been the cause of the loss of the lives of millions of men, and might be again, if he got loose, he concluded by saying, "I consi-

der Ali Pacha to be a much more *respectable scoundrel than Bonaparte.*"*

23*rd.*—Told Napoleon, in the course of conversation, that the governor had said that he had mistaken his expressions, as he had never said, or intended to say, that he had given in his resignation; that he had certainly expressed, that if the government did not approve of his conduct, he would resign, &c. "That is very extraordinary," said Napoleon, "as he told me himself that he had resigned, at least I understood him so. *Tanto peggio.*" I then observed, that in consequence of what had occurred at the last interview, it was probable that he would not seek another. "*Tanto meglio,*" said the emperor, "as then I shall be freed from the embarrassment *del suo brutto viso,* &c."

26*th.*—Napoleon asked me "if I had seen the letter written by Count Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe, containing a list of their grievances." I replied that I had. "Do you think," said he, "that this governor will send it to England?" I assured him that there was not a doubt of it. That moreover, the governor told me, that he had offered to him not only to send their letters home, but even to get them published in the newspapers. "It is a falsehood," replied the emperor.

* Mr. Baxter came up and joined us about the moment that this expression was used.

"He said, that he would send letters to Europe, and have them published, with this proviso however, that *he approved of their contents.* Besides, if even he wished to do so, his government would not permit it. Suppose for example, that I sent him an address to the French nation?—I do not think," continued he, "that they will allow a letter, which covers them with so much disgrace, to be published. The people of England want to know why I call myself emperor, after having abdicated—I have explained it in that letter. It was my intention to have lived in England as a private person *incognito*, but as they have sent me here, and want to make it appear that I was never chief magistrate or emperor of France, I still retain the title; *** told me, that he heard Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh say, that one of the principal reasons why they sent me here, was a dread of my caballing with the opposition. It is likely enough that they were afraid of my telling the truth of them, and of my explaining some things which they would not like, as they knew, that if I remained in England, they must permit people of rank to see me."

He afterwards complained of the unnecessary severity exercised in depriving him of a series of newspapers, and restricting him to some unconnected numbers of the Bourbon paper, "The Times."

Within a few days, some more picquets have

been established, and several additional sentinels placed, some in sight of Napoleon, if he chose to walk after sun-set. Ditches of eight or ten feet deep, nearly completed round the garden.

27*th.*—Napoleon asked me if the French commissioner and Madame Sturmer had not had a quarrel? I replied, that Montchenu had said that Madame Sturmer did not know how to come into a drawing-room. He laughed at this, and said, "I will venture to say, that the old booby says so because she is not sprung from some of those imbeciles, the old noblesse. Because her father is a plebeian. These old emigrants hate, and are jealous of all who are not hereditary asses like themselves." I asked him if the king of Prussia was a man of talent, "Who," said he, "the king of Prussia?" He burst into a fit of laughter. "*He* a man of talent! The greatest blockhead on earth. *Un ignorantaccio che non ha nè talento, nè informazione.* A Don Quixote in appearance. I know him well. He cannot hold a conversation for five minutes. Not so his wife. She was a very clever, fine woman, but very unfortunate. *Era bella, graziosa, e piena d'intelligenza.*" He then conversed for a considerable time about the Bourbons. "They want," said he, "to introduce the old system of nobility into the army. Instead of allowing the sons of peasants and labourers to be eligible to be made ge-

nerals, as they were in my time ; they want to confine it entirely to the old nobility, to *emigrés* like that old blockhead Montchenu. When you have seen Montchenu, you have seen all the old nobility of France before the revolution. Such were all the race, and such they have returned, ignorant, vain, and arrogant as they left it. *Ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié.* They were the cause of the revolution, and of so much bloodshed ; and now, after twenty-five years of exile and disgrace, they return loaded with the same vices and crimes for which they were expatriated, to produce another revolution. I know the French. Believe me, that after six or ten years, the whole race will be massacred and thrown into the Seine. They are a curse to the nation. It is of such as them that the Bourbons want to make generals. I made most of mine, *de la boue.* Wherever I found talent and courage, I rewarded it. My principle was, *la carrière ouverte aux talens,* without asking whether there were any quarters of nobility to shew. It is true, that I sometimes promoted a few of the old nobility, from a principle of policy and justice, but I never reposed great confidence in them. The mass of the people," continued he, "now see the revival of the feodal times : they see that soon it will be impossible for their progeny to rise in the army. Every true Frenchman reflects with anguish, that

a family for so many years odious to France, *has been forced upon them over a bridge of foreign bayonets.* What I am going to recount will give you some idea of the imbecility of the family. When the Count d'Artois came to Lyons, although he threw himself on his knees before the troops, in order to induce them to advance against me, he never put on the cordon of the legion of honour, although he knew that the sight of it would be most likely to excite the minds of the soldiers in his favour, as it was the order so many of them bore on their breasts, and required nothing but bravery to obtain it. But no, he decked himself out with the order of the Holy Ghost, to be eligible for which, you must prove one hundred and fifty years of nobility, an order formed purposely to exclude merit, and one which excited indignation in the breasts of the old soldiers. 'We will not,' said they, 'fight for orders like that, nor for *emigrés* like those,' he had ten or eleven of these *imbecilles* as aid-de-camps. Instead of shewing to those troops some of those generals who had so often led them to glory, he brought with him a set of *miserables,* who served no other purpose than to recall to the minds of the veterans their former sufferings under the noblesse and the priests."

"To give you an instance of the general feeling in France towards the Bourbons, I will relate to you

an anecdote. On my return from Italy, while my carriage was ascending the steep hill of Tarare, I got out and walked up without any attendants, as was often my custom. My wife and my suite were at a little distance behind me. I saw an old woman, lame, and hobbling about with the help of a crutch endeavouring to ascend the mountain. I had a great coat on, and was not recognised. I went up to her and said, Well, *ma bonne*, where are you going with a haste which so little belongs to your years? What is the matter? '*Ma foi*,' replied the old dame, 'they tell me the emperor is here, and I want to see him before I die.' Bah, bah, said I, what do you want to see him for? What have you gained by him? He is a tyrant as well as the others. You have only changed one tyrant for another, Louis for Napoleon. '*Mais, monsieur*, that may be; but, after all he is the king of the *people*, and the Bourbons were the kings of the nobles. We have chosen *him*, and if we are to have a tyrant, let him be one chosen by ourselves.' There," said he, you have the sentiments of the French nation expressed by an old woman."

I asked his opinion about Soult, and mentioned that I had heard some persons place him in the rank next to himself as a general. He replied, "he is an excellent minister at war, or major-general of an army: one who knows much better the

arrangement of an army than to command in chief."

Some officers of the 53rd told Madame Bertrand that Sir Thomas Reade had said, that Bonaparte did not like the sight of them, or of any other red coat, as it put him in mind of Waterloo. Madame Bertrand assured them, that it was directly contrary to every thing that he had ever expressed in her hearing. The same was mentioned to me yesterday by Lieutenants Fitzgerald and Mackay.

28*th.*—Informed that the famous letter was shewn to several officers of the army and the navy, and probably some copies sent to England.

A letter given by Count Montholon this evening, to Captain Poppleton, for the governor, expressing a wish, that, if the governor did not think proper to put matters with respect to passes on the same footing as they were in Sir George Cockburn's time, which had been approved of by his government, he should no longer grant passes to any person.

30*th.*—Napoleon rose at three, a. m. Continued writing until six; when he retired to rest again. At five o'clock Count Bertrand came to Captain Poppleton, and told him that the emperor desired to see him. Poppleton, being in his morning walking-dress, wished to retire and change, but was desired to come *sans cérémonie.* He was

accordingly ushered into the billiard-room, in his dishabille. Napoleon was standing with his hat under his arm. "Well, *M. le Capitaine*," said he, "I believe you are the senior captain of the 53rd?" "I am." "I have an esteem for the officers and men of the 53rd. They are brave men, and do their duty. I have been informed that it is said in camp, that I do not wish to see the officers. Will you be so good as to tell them, that whoever asserted this, told a falsehood. I never said or thought so, I shall be always happy to see them. I have been told also, that they have been prohibited by the governor from visiting me." Captain Poppleton replied, that he believed the information which he had received was groundless, and that the officers of the 53rd were acquainted with the good opinion which he had previously expressed of them, which was highly flattering to their feelings. That they had the greatest respect for him. Napoleon smiled, and replied, "*Je ne suis pas vieille femme.* I love a brave soldier who has undergone, *le baptême du feu*, whatever nation he may belong to."

31*st.*—Sir George Bingham and Major Fehrzen of the 53rd, had a long conversation with Napoleon.

September 1*st.*—Sir Hudson Lowe came to Longwood. Two or three days ago, the "*letter*" had been shewn and read by Count Las Cases,

to Captain Grey of the artillery, and some other officers. Sir Hudson was very desirous to know whether any of them had taken a copy of it. I informed him, that any person at Longwood who liked, might get one. His excellency appeared greatly alarmed at this, and observed, that it was an infraction of the act of parliament in any person, not belonging to Longwood, to receive it. He then asked if I had communicated to General Bonaparte, what he had directed me to say on the 22nd instant. I replied that I had, that Napoleon had said, "That he might act as he pleased, that the only thing left undone now, was to put sentinels to the doors and windows to prevent him from going out; that as long as he had a book, he cared but little about it." The governor remarked, that he had sent his letter of complaints to the British government, and that it rested with the ministers how to act. That he had put them in full possession of every thing, which he desired me to tell him. He added, that it was true he could not be much worse than he was.

4*th*.—Told Napoleon that the governor had directed me to say that Count Montholon's letter had been sent to his majesty's government, and that it rested with the ministers how to act. That he had put them in full possession of every thing. "Perhaps," replied he, "it will be published in the English newspapers before his copy arrives."

5th.—Major Gorrequer came up to Longwood to arrange matters with General Montholon, relative to the proposed reduction of the expenditure, at which he begged me to be present. The purport of his communication was, that when the British government had fixed 8,000*l.* as the maximum of the whole of the expense attendant upon General Bonaparte's establishment, they had contemplated that a great reduction would take place in the number of persons composing it, by some of the general officers and others returning to Europe. But as that had not taken place, the governor had on his own responsibility directed that an additional sum of 4,000*l.* should be added, making in the whole 12,000*l.* for all and every expense; that General Montholon must therefore be informed, that on no account could the expenditure be allowed to exceed 1,000*l.* per month. Should General Bonaparte be averse to the reductions necessary to bring the disbursements within that sum, the surplus must be paid by himself, by bills drawn upon some banker in Europe, or by such of his friends as were willing to pay them. Count Montholon replied, that the emperor was ready to pay all the expenses of the establishment, if they would allow him the means of doing so; and that if they permitted a mercantile or banking-house in St. Helena, London, or Paris, chosen by the British government itself, to serve

as intermediators, through whom they could send sealed letters and receive answers, he would engage to pay all the expenses. That on the one side, his honour should be pledged that the letters should relate solely to pecuniary matters; and on the other that the correspondence should be held sacred. Major Gorrequer replied, that this could not be complied with; that no sealed letters would be suffered to leave Longwood.

Major Gorrequer shortly afterwards told Count Montholon, that the intended reductions would take place on the 15th of the present month, and begged of him to arrange matters with Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, about the disposition of the 1,000*l.* monthly, unless he chose to give drafts for the surplus. Count Montholon replied, that he would not meddle with it; that the governor might act as he pleased; that at the present moment there was not any superfluity of provisions supplied; that as soon as the reductions took place, he, for his part would give up all charge, and would not meddle further in the matter. That the conduct of the English ministry was infamous, in declaring to Europe that the emperor should not be suffered to want for any thing, and refusing the offers of the allied powers to defray a part of the expenses, and now reducing him and his suite nearly to rations. Major Gorrequer denied that the allied powers had ever made such an

offer. Montholon replied that he had read it in some of the papers. Major Gorrequer then observed, that a great reduction could be made in the wine, viz. that it could be reduced to ten bottles of claret daily, and one of madeira; that at Plantation House, the consumption was regulated on the average of one bottle to each person. Montholon replied, that the French drank much less than the English; and that he had already done at the emperor's table what he never had done in his own private house in France, viz. corked up the remnants of the bottles of wine, in order to produce them on the table the next day; that moreover, at night there was not a morsel of meat remaining in the pantry. Gorrequer observed, that 12,000*l.* a year was a very handsome allowance. "About as much as 4,000*l.* in England," replied Montholon. The business was then deferred until Saturday. Before leaving Longwood, Major Gorrequer himself allowed to me that the establishment could not be carried on for 12,000*l.* annually; but that he thought a reduction of about 2,000*l.* yearly might be made. I observed that it might, provided a store of every thing necessary was established at Longwood, together with a stock-yard, under the direction of a proper person.

7th.—Major Gorrequer came up, and had a long conversation with Count Montholon, in my presence. The latter told him that orders had been

given to discharge seven servants, which, with the consequent saving of provisions, and a reduction of wine, would diminish the expenses of the establishment to about 15,194*l.* annually; but that sum was the *minimum of minimums*, and that no further reductions could possibly take place. Major Gorrequer observed, that it was nearly what he had calculated himself. However, he still persisted in declaring that on the 15th, not more than 1,000*l.* per month would be allowed. Count Montholon then, after renewing the offer made on the last conversation, said, that as the emperor was not permitted by the British government to have access to his property, he had no other means left than to dispose of his property, and that accordingly a portion of his plate would be sent to the town for sale, in order to obtain the sum required monthly, in addition to that allowed by Sir Hudson Lowe, to provide them with the necessaries of life. Major Gorrequer said, that he would acquaint the governor with it.

Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by General Meade, (who had arrived a day or two before) came up and rode round Longwood. He appeared to point out to the general the limits, and other matters connected with the prisoners.

At night Napoleon sent for me, and complained of severe headach. He was sitting in his bedroom, with only a wood fire burning, the flames

of which, alternately blazing and sinking, gave at moments a most singular and melancholy expression to his countenance, as he sat opposite to it with his hands crossed upon his knees, probably reflecting upon his forlorn condition. After a moment's pause, "*Dottore*," said he; "*potete dar qualcosa a far dormire un uomo che non può ?* This is beyond your art. I have been trying in vain to procure a little rest. I cannot," continued he, "well comprehend the conduct of your ministers. They go to the expense of 60, or 70,000*l.* in sending out furniture, wood, and building materials for my use, and at the same time send orders to put me nearly on rations, and oblige me to discharge my servants, and make reductions incompatible with the decency and comfort of the house. Then we have aid-de-camps, making stipulations about a bottle of wine and two or three pounds of meat, with as much gravity and consequence as if they were treating about the distribution of kingdoms. I see contradictions that I cannot reconcile: on the one hand, enormous and useless expenditure; on the other, unparalleled meanness and littleness. Why do not they allow me to provide myself with every thing, instead of disgracing the character of the nation ? They will not furnish my followers with what they have been accustomed to, nor will they allow me to provide for them by sending sealed letters

through a mercantile house even of their own selection. For no man in France would answer a letter of mine, when he knew that it would be read by the English ministers, and that he would consequently be denounced to the Bourbons, and his property and person exposed to certain destruction. Moreover, your own ministers have not given a specimen of good faith in seizing upon the trifling sum of money that I had in the Bellerophon ; which gives reason to suppose that they would do the same again, if they knew where any of my property was placed. It must be," continued he, " to gull the English nation. John Bull, seeing all this furniture sent out, and so much parade and shew in the preparations made in England, concludes that I am well treated here. If they knew the truth and the dishonour which it reflects upon them they would not suffer it." He then asked who was " that strange general officer ?" I replied, General Meade, who with Mrs. Meade, had arrived a few days back. That I had been under his command in Egypt, where he had been severely wounded. " What, with Abercrombie ?" " No," I replied, " during the unfortunate attack upon Rosetta." " What sort of a man is he ?" I replied, that he bore a very excellent character. " That governor," said he, " was seen stopping him frequently, and pointing in different directions. I suppose that he has been filling his head

with *bugie* about me, and has told him that I hate the sight of every Englishman, as some of his *canaille* have said to the officers of the 53rd. I shall order a letter to be written to tell him that I will see him."

8th.—A letter written by Count Montholon to General Meade, containing an invitation to come to Longwood, and stating that the emperor would be glad to see him. This was given to Captain Poppleton, who was also requested to inform Mrs. Meade that Napoleon could scarcely request a lady to visit him; but that, if she came, he should be happy to see her likewise. Captain Poppleton delivered this letter open to Sir Hudson Lowe. His excellency handed the note to General Meade. On the road down to James Town, General Meade reined back his horse, and spoke to Captain Poppleton nearly as follows: that he should have been very happy to have availed himself of the invitation, but that he understood restrictions existed, and that he must apply to the governor for permission, and in the next place the vessel was under weigh, and he could not well detain her. This he begged of him to convey to Longwood. A written apology was afterwards sent by him to the count, expressing his thanks for the honour done to him, and excusing himself on the ground of the vessel's being under weigh.

9th.—Napoleon complained of head-ach, colic, &c.—I wished him to take a dose of physic, which he declined, saying, that he would cure himself by diet and chicken water. He said, that General Meade had written an apology to Count Montholon, expressing his inability to accept of the invitation; "but I am convinced," continued he, "that in reality he was prevented by the governor. Tell him the first time you see him that I said he prevented General Meade from coming to see me."

General Gourgaud and Montholon complained of the wine, which they suspected contained lead, as it gave them the colic, and desired me to get some tests in order to analyze it.

Young Las Cases and Pointkowski went to town this day, and had a conversation with the Russian and French commissioners. On their return, Pointkowski said, that on their arrival Sir Thomas Reade had sent orders to the lieutenant who accompanied them, not to allow them to separate; and that he must follow them everywhere, and listen to their conversation. While they were speaking to the Rose-bud, (a very pretty young lady, so denominated from the freshness and fineness of her complexion), one of Sir Thomas Reade's orderlies brought out their horses by his command, with directions to inform them that their servant was drunk, and that if they did not leave the town, directly, he, (Sir

Thomas), would confine him as he was a soldier, and punish him for being drunk. That young Las Cases, who was cooler, had desired him to demand an order in writing to that effect; but that in his passion he could not help saying that he would horsewhip any person who attempted to lead the horses away.

10*th.*—Napoleon after some conversation touching the state of his health, said, that "while young Las Cases was speaking to the Russian commissioner, yesterday, the governor was walking up and down before the house where they were, watching them. I could not have believed it possible before, that a lieutenant-general and a governor, could have demeaned himself by acting as a *gendarme.* Tell him so the next time you see him."

Napoleon then made some observations upon the bad quality of the wine furnished to Longwood, and remarked, that when he was a *sous lieutenant* of artillery, he had a better table, and drank better wine than at present.

I saw Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards, who asked me if General Bonaparte had made any observations relative to General Meade's not having accepted the offer made to him? I replied that he had said he was convinced that he, (Sir Hudson), had prevented him from accepting of it, and had desired me tell him that such was his opinion. No sooner had I pronounced this, than his excel-

lency's countenance changed, and he exclaimed in a violent tone of voice, "He is a d——d lying rascal, a d——d black-hearted villain. I wished General Meade to accept it, and told him to do so." He then walked about for a few minutes in an agitated manner, repeating, "that none but a black-hearted villain would have entertained such an idea;" then mounted his horse, and rode away. He had not proceeded more than about a hundred paces, when he wheeled round, rode back to where I was standing, and said in a very angry manner, "Tell General Bonaparte that the assertion that I prevented General Meade from going to see him, *è una bugia infame, e che è un bugiardone chi l' ha detto.** Tell him my exact words."

Sir Thomas Reade informed me that Pointkowski's account of the transaction in town was false; that the only orders he had given to Lieutenant Sweeny, were not to lose sight of them. That seeing their servant was so drunk, that he could not sit on horseback, he had sent his own orderly to assist in bringing the horses out, merely as an act of civility.

12*th.*—Napoleon still unwell; complained of slight colic. Recommended him strongly to take a dose of Epsom salts. In a good humoured man-

* The words were delivered in Italian, and signify in English, "*is an infamous lie, and the person who said it, is a great liar.*"—It is almost unnecessary for me to say, that I did not deliver this message in the manner I was directed to convey it.

ner he gave me a slap in the face, and said if he was not better to-morrow, he would take his own medicine, crystals of tartar. During the conversation I informed him that the governor had assured me that he had not only not prevented General Meade from seeing him, but that he had recommended him to accept of the invitation. "I do not believe him," said Napoleon, "or if he did, it was done in such a manner as to let the other know that he would rather wish he did not avail himself of it."

I related afterwards to him the explanation given to me by Sir Thomas Reade, of Pointkowski's affair. "What I complain of," said he, "is the disingenuous manner in which they act, in order to prevent any of the French from going to the town. Why do they not say at once manfully, 'You cannot go to town,' and then nobody will ask, instead of converting officers into spies and *gendarmes*, by making them follow the French every where, and listen to their conversation. But their design is to throw so many impediments in the way, and render it so disagreeable to us as to amount to a prohibition, without giving any direct orders, to enable this governor to say that we have the liberty of the town, but that we do not choose to avail ourselves of it."

I saw Sir Hudson Lowe in town, to whom I explained what I had said to Napoleon about

Pointkowski, his reply, also the complaint made by Generals Gourgaud and Montholon of the wine, and his request that I might procure some tests to analyze it. A few bottles of claret have been borrowed from Capt. Poppleton for Napoleon's own use.

13*th*.—Napoleon much better. Had a conversation with Mr. Balcombe relative to the concerns of the establishment.

A large quantity of plate weighed for the purpose of being broken up for sale. Information given of this by Captain Poppleton to Sir Hudson Lowe. Complaints made by Count Montholon and Cipriani of the state of the copper saucepans at Longwood. Found them, on examination, to be in want of immediate tinning. Communicated the above to Major Gorrequer, with a request that a tradesman might be sent forthwith to repair them. A letter came from Mr. Balcombe to Count Montholon, containing the scale of provisions,* &c. which had been fixed for their daily use, according to the reduction ordered by the governor. Montholon refused to sign any more receipts.

In the evening, Cipriani went to Capt. Maunsell, and requested of him to obtain for him a dozen or two of the same claret which for two or three days they had borrowed from Captain Poppleton for the emperor, and which had been got from the

* See Appendix, No. IV.

53rd's mess, as that sent up from James Town had given him the colic, adding that they would either pay for it, or return an equal quantity. This request was interpreted by me to Capt. Maunsell, who said that he would endeavour to procure it.

Received an answer from Major Gorrequer, acquainting me that he had ordered a new *batterie de cuisine* to be sent to Longwood, &c. &c.

Sir Hudson Lowe and staff in camp; he was very angry at the request which had been made to Captain Maunsell to procure the wine. It appeared that Capt. Maunsell had mentioned it to his brother, and to the wine-committee of the regiment, who proposed to send a case of claret to Napoleon. This was told to Sir George Bingham, and reported by him to the governor, who sent for me, and said, that I had no business to act as interpreter on such an occasion. Major Gorrequer observed, that the wine had been sent out for the use of General Bonaparte, and that he ought to be obliged to drink it, or get nothing else.

15*th*.—Wrote to Major Gorrequer, in answer to some points of his last letter, and gave him an explanation about the wine affair of yesterday; in which I stated that General Gourgaud had affirmed that there was lead in the wine, and had begged of me to procure some tests for the purpose of ascertaining the fact; adding, that I had acquainted Sir Hudson Lowe with this request the last time I had

seen him in town. I hinted also that it was very natural for Napoleon to believe General Gourgaud's assertion (who was considered to be a good chemist), until it was proved not to be correct. This letter I requested him to lay before the governor.

17*th.*—Gave a minute explanation to Sir Hudson Lowe in person of the wine transaction between Captain Maunsell, Cipriani, and myself, with which his excellency was pleased to say he was perfectly satisfied.

This day, Major Gorrequer, in the course of conversation with me relative to the provisioning of Longwood, said, that Sir Hudson Lowe had observed, that any soldiers who would attend at Longwood as servants to General Bonaparte, *were unworthy of rations.* Sir Thomas Reade begged of me to try and get him some of Napoleon's plate *whole,* which he observed, would *sell* better in that state than if it were broken up.

18*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Sir Thomas Reade told me that Bertrand had injured himself very much in his conversation with the governor, as the latter had found it to be his duty to write a strong letter on the subject to Lord Bathurst.

19*th.*—A large portion of Napoleon's plate broken up, the imperial arms and the eagles cut out and put by. Count Montholon applied to Captain Poppleton for an officer to accompany

him to James Town, for the purpose of disposing of the plate, with which the latter acquainted the governor forthwith by an orderly. Received back an order to acquaint Count Montholon, "that the money produced by the sale of the silver should not be paid to him, but be deposited in the hands of Mr. Balcombe the purveyor, for the use of General Bonaparte."

21*st*.—Sir Pulteney Malcolm came up to Longwood, in order to take leave of Napoleon, prior to his departure for the Cape of Good Hope, which was expected to take place in a few days. Had a long interview, and was received very graciously by Napoleon, the conversation was chiefly relative to the Scheldt, Antwerp, battles in Germany, the Poles, &c.

Wrote last night to Sir Thomas Reade, by request of Madame Bertrand, to know whether permission would be granted that a phaeton, which had been purchased with Napoleon's own money, and afterwards given by him to Madame Bertrand, might be sent to the Cape for sale by Sir Pulteney Malcolm's ship. Concluded by requesting him to let me know, before he applied to the governor, if there was any impropriety in the request, as in that case it should not be made.

23*rd*.—Received an answer from Sir Thomas Reade, announcing that the governor had given his consent for the sale of the phaeton, with a pro-

viso, that the money derived from it should not be paid to themselves, but deposited in Mr. Balcombe's hands. Three of Bertrand's servants very seriously ill.

Heard a curious anecdote of Gen. Vandamme. When made prisoner by the Russians, he was brought before the emperor Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding, that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, whilst the other prisoners were sent to a much less northern destination. Vandamme replied with great *sang froid*, "It may be, sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I have not to reproach myself with having soiled my hands with the blood of a father!!"

Met Sir Hudson Lowe on his way to Longwood, who observed, that General Bonaparte had done himself a great deal of mischief by the letters which he caused Count Montholon to write, and that he wished him to know it. That by conducting himself properly for some years, the ministers might believe him to be sincere, and allow him to return to England. He added, that he (Sir Hudson) had written such letters to England about Count Las Cases, as would effectually prevent his ever being permitted to return to France.

On his arrival at Longwood, the fowls which had been sent up for the day's consumption were shewn to his excellency by Captain P. He was pleased to admit that they were very bad.

27*th.*—The commissioners came up to Longwood gate, and wanted to enter, but were refused admission by the officer of the guard, as their passes did not specify Longwood, but merely "wherever a British officer might pass."

28*th.*—Napoleon occupied in reading Denon's large work on Egypt, from which he was making some extracts with his own hand.

October 1*st.*—Repeated to Napoleon what Sir Hudson Lowe had desired me on the 23rd. He replied, "I expect nothing from the present ministry but ill treatment. The more they want to lessen me, the more I will exalt myself. It was my intention to have assumed the name of Colonel Meuron, who was killed by my side at Arcola, covering me with his body, and to have lived as a private person in England, in some part of the country where I might have lived retired, without ever desiring to mix in the grand world. I would never have gone to London, nor have dined out. Probably I should have seen very few persons. Perhaps I might have formed a friendship with some *savans*. I would have rode out every day, and then returned to my books." I observed, that as long as he kept up the title of majesty, the English

ministers would have a pretext for keeping him in St. Helena. He replied, "they force me to it. I wanted to assume an *incognito* on my arrival here, which was proposed to the admiral, but they will not permit it. They insist on calling me General Bonaparte. I have no reason to be ashamed of that title, but I will not take it from them. If the republic had not a legal existence, it had no more right to constitute me general, than first magistrate. If the admiral had remained," continued he, "perhaps matters might have been arranged. He had some heart, and to do him justice was incapable of a mean action. Do you think," added he, "that he will do us an injury on his arrival in England?" I replied, "I do not think that he will render you any service, particularly in consequence of the manner in which he was treated when he last came up to see you, but he will not tell any falsehoods: he will strictly adhere to the truth, and give his opinion about you, which is not very favourable." "Why so," replied he, "we were very well together on board ship. What can he say of me? that I want to escape, and mount the throne of France again?" I replied, that it was very probable he would both think and say so. "Bah," replied Napoleon. "If I were in England now, and a deputation from France were to come and offer me the throne, I would not accept of it, unless I knew such

to be the unanimous wish of the nation. Otherwise I should be obliged to turn *bourreau*, and cut off the heads of thousands to keep myself upon it—oceans of blood must flow to keep me there.—I have made noise enough in the world already, perhaps too much, and am now getting old, and want retirement. These," continued he, "were the motives which induced me to abdicate the last time." I observed to him, that when he was emperor, he had caused Sir George Cockburn's brother to be arrested, when envoy at Hamburg, and conveyed to France, where he was detained for some years. He appeared surprised at this, and endeavoured to recollect it. After a pause, he asked me, if I was sure that the person so arrested was Sir George Cockburn's brother. I replied, that I was perfectly so, as the admiral had told me the circumstance himself. "It is likely enough," replied he, "but I do not recollect the name. I suppose, however, that it must have been at the time when I caused all the English I could find on the continent to be detained, because your government had seized upon all the French ships, sailors, and passengers they could lay their hands upon in harbour, or at sea, before the declaration of war. I, in my turn, seized upon all the English that I could find at land, in order to shew them that if they were all-powerful at sea, and could do what they liked there, I was

equally so by land, and had as good a right to seize people on my element as they had upon theirs. *Now*," said he, "I can comprehend the reason why your ministers selected him. I am surprised, however, that he never told me any thing about it. A man of delicacy would not have accepted the task of conducting me here under similar circumstances. You will see," continued he, "that in a short time the English will cease to hate me. So many of them have been, and are in France, where they will hear the truth, that they will produce a revolution of opinion in England—I will leave it to them to justify me, and I have no doubts about the result."

Learned that the commissioners had obtained permission from Sir Hudson Lowe to come as far as the inner gate of Longwood.

Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by Sir Thos. Reade, Major Gorrequer, Wynyard, and Prichard, and followed by three dragoons and a servant, rode into Longwood, alighted in front of the billiard-room, and demanded to "see General Bonaparte." A reply was given by General Montholon, that he was indisposed. This did not satisfy his excellency, who sent again in rather an authoritative manner, to say, that he had something to communicate, which he wanted to deliver in person to General Bonaparte, and to no other person would he give it. An answer was sent,

that notice would be given to him when he could be received, that Napoleon was then suffering with a bad tooth. At four, p. m. Napoleon sent for me, and desired me to look at one of the *dentes sapientiæ*, which was carious and loose. He then asked me if I knew what the governor wanted, or why he wished to see him? I replied, that perhaps, he had some communication from Lord Bathurst, which he did not like to deliver to any other person. "It will be better for us not to meet," said Napoleon. "It is probably some *bêtise* of Lord Bathurst, which he will make worse by his ungracious manner of communicating it. I am sure it is nothing that is good, or he would not be so anxious to deliver it himself, Lord **** is a bad man, his communications are bad, and *he* is worse than all. Nothing good can arise from an interview."

"The last time I saw him he laid his hand upon his sabre two or three times in a violent manner, therefore go to him or to Sir T. Reade to-morrow, and tell him that if he has any thing to communicate, he had better send it to Bertrand, or Bertrand will go to his house: assure him that he may rely upon Bertrand's making a faithful report. Or let him send Colonel Reade to me to explain what he has to say; I will receive and hear him, because he will be only the bearer of orders and not the giver of them; therefore if he

comes upon a bad mission, I shall not be angry, as he will only obey the orders of a superior." I endeavoured to induce him to meet the governor. in order, if possible, to make up the differences between them; but he replied, "to meet him would be the worst mode of attempting it, as he was confident it was some *bêtise* of Lord Bathurst's which he would make worse, and convert into an insult by his brutal mode of delivering it. You know," added he, "I never got into a passion with the admiral, because even when he had something bad to communicate, he did it with some feeling; but this man treats us as if we were so many deserters,"

Knowing that Sir Thomas Reade was quite incapable of explaining to him in either French or Italian the purport of any communication exceeding a few words, I asked him, "In case Sir Thomas Reade should not find himself capable of explaining perfectly every particular, and should commit what he had to say to paper, if he would read it, or allow it to be read to him?" he replied "certainly, let him do this, or send it to Bertrand. As to me, perhaps I shall not see him for six months. Let him break open the doors or level the house, I am not subject to the English laws, because they do not protect me. I am sure," continued he, "that he has nothing pleasant to communicate, or he would not be so anxious to do it personally. Nothing

but insults or bad news ever came from Lord Bathurst. I wish they would give orders to have me despatched. I do not like to commit suicide; it is a thing that I have always disapproved of. I have made a vow to drain the cup to the last draught; but I should be most rejoiced if they would send directions to put me to death."

2nd.—Saw Napoleon in the morning. A tooth-ach, he said, had prevented him from sleeping a great part of the night: his cheek was swelled. After having examined the tooth, I recommended the extraction of it. He desired me to go to the governor and deliver a message, the purport of which was, that in consequence of indisposition, pain, and want of sleep, he found himself unfit to listen calmly to communications, or to enter into discussions; therefore that he wished the governor would communicate to Count Bertrand whatever he had to say. That Count Bertrand would faithfully report it to him. If he would not communicate it to Count Bertrand, or to any other resident at Longwood, Napoleon would have no objection to receive it from Colonel Reade. The remainder of the message was similar to what he had said on the same subject yesterday. "If," added he, "that man were to bring me word that a frigate had arrived for the purpose of taking me to England, I should conceive it to be bad news, because he was the bearer of it.

With such a temper of mind, you must see how improper it would be that an interview should take place. He came up here yesterday, surrounded with his staff, as if he were going in state to assist at an execution, instead of asking privately to see me. Three times has he gone away in a passion, therefore it will be better that no more interviews should take place between us, as no good can arise from it; and, as he represents his nation here, I do not like to insult or make severe remarks to him, similar to those I was obliged to express before.

Went to Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I made known the message with which I had been charged, suppressing the offensive parts, but communicating all that was necessary to elucidate its meaning. His excellency desired me to give it to him in writing, and then told me, that the secretary of state had sent directions to him to inquire very minutely concerning a letter which had appeared in one of the Portsmouth papers concerning Bonaparte, and which had given great offence to his majesty's ministers; particularly as it had been reported to them by Captain Hamilton of the Havannah frigate, that I was either the author, or had brought it on board. His excellency then asked me who I had written to, adding, "there is no harm in the letter. It is very correct in general, but the ministers do not like that any thing should be published about

him. Every thing must come through them;" also that Captain Hamilton had reported that it was an anonymous letter, and expressly intended for publication. I replied to Sir Hudson Lowe, that I had never written an anonymous letter in my life, and that several letters had been published in the newspapers, of which I had been supposed the author, until another individual had acknowledged them to have been written by him. Sir Hudson Lowe desired me to write a letter of explanation to him on the subject; after which, he dictated to Sir Thomas Reade what he wished me to express in answer to General Bonaparte, of which I took the following copy; which the governor read before I left the house.

"The principal object of the governor's visit to Longwood to see General Bonaparte, was from a sense of attention towards him, in order to acquaint him, first, with instructions received concerning his officers, which could only be decided by him, before informing them. The governor would wish the communication with General Bonaparte should be made by himself, in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, or some of his own staff, and one of the French generals. He never intended to say any thing which would affront or insult General Bonaparte; on the contrary, he wished to conciliate and modify the strict letter of his instructions, with every attention and re-

spect to him, and cannot conceive the cause of so much resentment manifested by General Bonaparte towards him. If he would not consent to an interview with the governor in the presence of other persons, the governor would send Sir Thomas Reade, (if he consented to it,) to communicate the general purport of what he had to say, leaving some points for future discussion. If Count Bertrand was sent to the governor, some expression of concern would be required from him for the language made use of by him to the governor, on the last interview which the governor undertook, by desire of General Bonaparte himself; and the governor conceives the same expression of concern necessary from Count Bertrand, on the part of General Bonaparte himself, for his intemperate language in the last interview with the governor; and *then* the latter will express his concern for any words made use of by him in reply, which may have been deemed unpleasant, as there was no intention on his part, of saying any thing offensive, his words being merely repelling an attack made upon him, and this he would not do to a person in any other situation than that of General Bonaparte. But if the latter is determined to dispute with the governor for endeavouring to execute his orders, he sees little hope of a proper understanding between them."

On my return to Longwood, I minutely ex-

plained the above to Napoleon, both alone, and in the presence of Count Bertrand. Napoleon smiled contemptuously at the idea of *his* apologizing to Sir Hudson Lowe.

3*rd*.—Saw Napoleon in the morning. After I had inquired into the state of his health, he entered upon the business of yesterday. "As this governor," says he, "declares that he will not communicate the whole to Reade, but intends to reserve some future points for discussion, I shall not see him, for I only agree to see Reade, in order to avoid the sight of the other; and by reserving the points he speaks of, he might come up again to-morrow or next day, and demand another interview. If he wants to communicate let him send his adjutant-general to Bertrand, or to Montholon, or to Las Cases, or Gourgaud, or to you; or send for one of them, and explain it himself; or let him communicate the *whole* to Reade or to Sir George Bingham, or somebody else; and then I will see the person so chosen. If he still insists on seeing me, I will write myself in answer, 'The Emperor Napoleon will not see you, because the last three times you were with him you insulted him, and he does not wish more communication with you.' I well know that if we have another interview there will be disputes and abuse: a suspicious gesture might produce I know not what. He, for his own sake, ought not to desire one,

after the language which I applied to him the last time. I told him, before the admiral, when he said that he only did his duty, that so did the hangman, but that one was not obliged to see that hangman until the moment of execution. *Ci sono state tre scene. Scene vergognose!* I do not wish to renew them. I know that my blood will be heated. I will tell him that no power on earth obliges a prisoner to see and debate with his executioner; for his conduct has made him such to me. He pretends that he acts according to his instructions; a government two thousand leagues distant can do no more than point out the general manner in which things must be conducted, and must leave a great discretionary power, which he distorts and turns in the worst possible manner, in order to torment me. A proof that he is worse than his government is, that they have sent out several things to make me comfortable; but he does nothing but torment, insult, and render my existence as miserable as possible. To complete the business, he writes letters full of smoothness and sweetness, professing every regard, which he afterwards sends home to make the world believe that he is our best friend. I want to avoid another *scena* with him. I never, in the height of my power, made use of such language to any man, as I was compelled to apply to him. It would have been unpardonable at the

Thuilleries. I would sooner have a tooth drawn, than have an interview with him. He has a bad mission, and fulfils it badly. I do not think that he is aware how much we hate and despise him; I should like him to know it. He suspects every body, even his own staff are not free from it. You see that he will not confide to Reade. Why does he not go to Montholon or Las Cases, if he does not like Bertrand?" I replied, that Sir Hudson Lowe had said he could not repose confidence in the fidelity of either of them, in reporting the purport of his conversation. "Oh," said he, "he is offended with Montholon about that letter, written in August last, and with Las Cases, because he not only writes the truth to a lady in London, but tells it every where here." I replied, "the governor has accused Count Las Cases of having written many falsehoods respecting what has passed here." "Las Cases," replied he, "would not be blockhead enough to write lies, when he was obliged to send the letters containing them through his hands. He only writes the truth, which that *geolier* does not wish to be known. I am sure that he wants to tell me that some of my generals are to be removed, and wishes to throw the odium of sending them away upon me, by leaving the choice to me. They would send you away too, if they were not afraid you would do some mischief in England, by telling what you

have seen. Their design, I believe, is to send every body away who might be inclined to make my life less disagreeable. Truly they have chosen a pretty representative for Bathurst. I would sooner have an interview with the corporal of the guard, than with that *galeriano*. How different it was with the admiral! We used to converse together sociably, on different subjects, like friends. But this man is only fit to oppress and insult those whom misfortune has placed in his power."

After this, he conversed upon various subjects. He made some observations upon the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with Prince Leopold and spoke in terms of praise of the latter, whom he had seen at Paris during his reign.

According to his desire, I wrote an account of what he had said to Sir Hudson Lowe; avoiding, however, to repeat the strongest of his expressions.

4*th*.—Sir Thomas Reade came up to my room at Longwood, with a written paper from the governor, containing the new instructions which the latter had received from England. I went to Napoleon and announced him. He asked me, "if he was in full possession of every thing?" I replied, that he had told me so. He desired me to introduce him. When I went back, Sir Thomas Reade told me that his mission was not a very pleasant one, and that he hoped "Bonaparte would not be offended with him," and asked me

how he should explain it to him. I told him how to express himself to this effect in Italian. We then went into the garden where Napoleon was: I introduced him, and left them together. In a few minutes, Napoleon called Count Las Cases, and told him to translate aloud in French, the contents of the paper, according as Reade repeated it. When Reade came to my room on his return, he said that Napoleon had been very civil to him, and that so far from being offended, he had asked him the news and laughed, and only observed (as the knight repeated in his Italian,) "*Più mi si perseguiterà, meglio andrà e mostrerà al mondo che rabbia de persecuzioni. Fra poco tempo mi si leveranno tutti gli altri, e qualche mattina m'ammazzeranno.*" Sir Thomas then allowed me to read the paper, the contents of which were as follows: "That the French who wished to remain with General Bonaparte must sign the simple form, which would be given to them of their willingness to submit to whatever restrictions might be imposed upon General Bonaparte, without making any remarks of their own upon it. Those who refused, would be sent off directly to the Cape of Good Hope. The establishment to be reduced in number four persons; those who remained, were to consider themselves to be amenable to the laws, in the same manner as if they were British subjects, especially to those which had been

framed for the safe custody of General Bonaparte, and declaring the aiding and assisting of him to escape, felony. Any of them, abusing, reflecting upon, or behaving ill to the governor, or the government they were under, would be forthwith sent to the Cape, where no facilities would be afforded for their conveyance to Europe." It explained, also, that it was not to be understood, that the obligation was to be eternal on those who signed. There was also a demand for 1,400*l.* paid for books, which had been sent out. The whole was couched in language of a highly peremptory nature. Sir Thomas then told me that Count Bertrand was to go the following day to Plantation House, and that I might hint to him, that if he behaved himself well, perhaps none but domestics would be sent away, but that all depended upon his "*good behaviour.*"

5th.—While walking down the park in the morning, thinking of the occurrences of yesterday, I heard a voice calling me. Turning about, I was surprised to see the emperor, beckoning to, and calling me. After he asked how I was, he said, "*Ebbene, bugiardo sempre questo governatore!* There was nothing in the intelligence, which he said he could only communicate to myself, which might not have been made known through Bertrand, or any one else. But he thought that he had an opportunity of insulting and grieving

me, which he eagerly embraced. He came up here with his staff, just as if he were going to announce a wedding, with exultation and joy painted on his countenance, at the idea of having it in his power to afflict me. He thought to plant a *stilo* in my heart, and could not deny himself the pleasure of witnessing and enjoying it personally. Never has he given a greater proof of a bad mind, than thus wishing to stab to the heart, one whom misfortunes had placed in his power." He then repeated some parts of the communication of yesterday, and observed that it ought to be sent to them in writing, as it was impossible for a Frenchman to understand a communication in English, by having heard it read only a few minutes. I took the liberty of strongly recommending that matters should be accommodated as much as possible; as I said I had reason to believe that the governor was inclined to grant that domestics should be sent away, instead of any of the generals; but that if irritated, he might act otherwise. He replied, "*Voi ragionate come un uomo libero*, but we are not free; we are in the power of a *boja, non c'è rimedio.* They will send away the rest by degrees, and it is as well for them to go now, as in a little time. What advantage shall I gain by having them here until the arrival of the next ship from England, or until that *animale* finds out some pretext to send them away. I would rather they

were all gone than to have four or five persons trembling about me, having the dread of being forced on board ship constantly hanging over their heads. For, by that communication of yesterday, they are placed entirely at his discretion. Let him send every body away, plant sentinels at the doors and windows, and send up nothing but bread and water, I regard it not. My mind is free. I am just as independent as when I commanded an army of six hundred thousand men; as I told him the other day. This heart is as free as when I gave laws to Europe. He wants them to sign restrictions without knowing what they are. No honest man would sign an obligation, without first knowing what it was. But he wants them to sign to whatever he likes to impose hereafter, and then, with lies always at command, he will assert that he has changed nothing. He is angry with Las Cases because he wrote to his friends that he was badly lodged and badly treated. Was there ever heard of such tyranny? He treats people in the most barbarous manner; heaps insults and injuries upon them, and then wants to deprive them of the liberty of complaint. I do not," continued he, "think that Lord Liverpool, or *even* Lord Castlereagh, would allow me to be treated in the way I am. I believe that this governor only writes to Lord Bathurst, to whom he tells what he likes."

Sir Hudson Lowe signified to me yesterday, that he had done every thing in his power to prove (after my communication to him) that there was nothing vindictive in his conduct towards General Bonaparte; but that not having been met, he was better pleased to leave matters to their natural course, and to the judgment of the authority to which they had been submitted; and that I might most distinctly contradict to General Bonaparte, that he had laid his hand upon his sword; that witnesses could prove it; that none but a confirmed villain could think of doing so against an unarmed man. That with respect to the instructions he had received, and his manner of making them known; never having regarded General Bonaparte's opinion in any point, whether as to matter or manner, as an oracle by which to regulate his judgment, he was not disposed to think less favorably of the instructions, or of his mode of executing them; on the contrary, that Bonaparte was, he feared insensible to any delicacy of proceeding; so that with him, one must either be a blind admirer of his frailties, or a yielding instrument to work with, a mere slave in thought to him. Otherwise, he who has business which opposes his views, must make up his mind to every species of obloquy. He added, that he had sent Sir Thomas Reade with his communication; and concluded by intimating, that before General Bonaparte pro-

posed any other style of appellation, he should himself drop the title of emperor, and if he wished to assume a feigned name, why did he not propose one?

Count Bertrand went to Plantation House, where he learnt that Piontkowski and three of the domestics were to be sent away.

9th.—Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, accompanied by Colonel Wynyard. They went into Captain Poppleton's room, where they appeared to be very busily occupied for two hours. During this time the governor frequently came out, and walked up and down before the door, with one of his arms elevated, and the end of a finger in the angle of his mouth, as was his general custom when in thought. When they had finished, a sealed packet was given to Captain Poppleton, to be delivered to Count Bertrand; after which his excellency came to me, and after some conversation, asked if I thought that any copies of Montholon's letter to him had been distributed? I replied, that it was very probable; as there was no secret made of its contents; and that the French, as he well knew publicly avowed their intention and desire to circulate copies of it. He asked me if I thought that the commissioners had got a copy. I replied, "very likely." He appeared very uneasy at this at first; but afterwards said, that he had shewn the letter to them himself.

He then asked me if I had got a copy. I replied, I had. This alarmed his excellency much; who demanded to see it, and said that it would be *felony* to send it to England. After some discussion upon the subject, during which I observed, that, considering my situation, and my being employed as I was between Longwood and Plantation House, I could not be ignorant of the principal part of what was passing. His excellency said, true; and that it was my duty to tell him every thing that occurred between General Bonaparte and myself. I replied, that if there was any plot for his escape, or correspondence tending to it, or any thing suspicious, I should conceive it my duty to give him notice of it; also if any thing of political importance was uttered by Napoleon, or anecdote, clearing up any part of his history, or which might prove serviceable to him, I would make him acquainted with it; but that I could not think of telling him every thing, especially any thing abusive or injurious, that passed between us, or whatever might tend to generate bad blood, or increase the difference already unhappily existing between them, unless ordered so to do. Sir Hudson at first agreed that it would not be proper to tell him any abuse of himself; but immediately afterwards said, that it was essential for me to repeat it; that *one of the means which General Bonaparte had of escaping, was vilifying*

him; that abusing and lessening the character of the ministry, was an underhand and a vile way of endeavouring to escape from the island; and therefore, that it was incumbent on me to communicate every thing of the kind instantly. That as to himself, he did not care about his abuse, and would never be actuated by vindictive feelings towards him; but that he wished to know every thing: that nothing ought to be made known or communicated in England, except through him; and that he himself only communicated with Lord Bathurst. Not perfectly agreeing with his excellency's sophistry, especially when I reflected upon the conversation which I had had with him under the trees at Plantation House two days after his last interview with Napoleon; I replied, that it did not appear that all the members of his majesty's government were of a similar opinion, as I had received letters from official persons, with a request to communicate circumstances relative to Bonaparte, and returning thanks for my former letters, which had been shewn to some of the cabinet ministers. The governor was excessively uneasy at this, and observed that those persons had nothing to do with Bonaparte; that the secretary of state, with whom he corresponded, was the only one who ought to know any thing about the matter; that *he* did not even communicate what passed to the Duke of York. That

none of the ministers excepting Lord Bathurst, ought to know what passed; and that all communication, even to his lordship ought to go through him, and *him only*. His excellency then observed, that my correspondence ought to be subject to the same restrictions as those on the attendants of General Bonaparte. I replied, that if he was not satisfied with the manner in which matters stood, I was ready to resign the situation I held, and go on board ship, as soon as he liked, as I was determined not to give up any of my rights as a British officer. Sir Hudson said, that there was no necessity for this; that it would be very easy to arrange matters; and concluded by observing that it was a business which required consideration, and that he would renew the subject on another day.

10*th*.—Had some conversation with Napoleon in his dressing-room, during which I endeavoured to convince him that Sir Hudson Lowe might in reality have intended to offer civilities at times when his conduct was supposed to be insulting; that his gestures sometimes indicated intentions far from his thoughts; and particularly explained to him that Sir Hudson Lowe's having laid his hand upon his sword, proceeded entirely from an involuntary habit which he had of seizing his sabre, and raising it between his side and his arm, (which I endeavoured to shew him by gestures); that he had himself expressed to me that none but

a confirmed villain would attempt to draw upon an unarmed man. "*Per i ragazzi dottore*," replied Napoleon, "*se non è boja, almeno ne ha l'aria.* Has he shewn you the new restrictions he has sent to us?" I replied, that he had not said a word about them. "*Ah*," answered the emperor, "*son certo che abbia qualche cosa sinistra in vista.*"

This evening Count Bertrand came to my room in order that I should assist him in translating some part of the new restrictions,* which were, he said of a nature so outrageous to the emperor, that he was induced to flatter himself with the idea that he had not understood them. They were those parts where Napoleon was prohibited from going off the high road; from going on the path leading to Miss Mason's; from entering into any house, and from conversing with any person whom he might meet in his rides or walks. Prepared as I was by the governor's manner, and by what I had observed this day, to expect something very severe, I confess that at the first sight of these restrictions, I remained thunderstruck, and even after reading them over three or four times, could scarcely persuade myself that I had properly understood them. While I was employed in assisting Count Bertrand in the translation, Colonel Wynyard knocked, and came into my room. When

* See Appendix No. V.

the count had gone, I told the colonel what he wanted, and asked him if I was right in the construction which I had given, which I explained to him. Colonel Wynyard replied, that I was perfectly correct.

11*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me to town. Breakfasted in company with him at Sir Thomas Reade's; after which he told me that he had something particular to say, but that the place was not a proper one, and another time would do. Shewed to him and to Sir Thomas, the translation which I had made of those points in the restriction, of which Count Bertrand had been doubtful. Sir Hudson observed, that I had translated one part rather too strongly, viz. "will be required to be strictly adhered to," but that I had given a perfectly correct explanation of the sense. That the French were not to go down into the valley, or separate from the high road, as space was given them to exercise only to preserve their health. That they were not to speak to any person, or enter any house; and that there needed no further explanation, as every restriction upon General Bonaparte equally applied to his followers. He concluded by observing, that I had better take an opportunity of telling Bonaparte that I had heard the governor say that the orders originated with the British government, and that *he*

was merely the person who carried them into execution, and not the framer.

12*th.*—Napoleon, after asking many questions concerning a trial which took place yesterday, at which I had appeared as an evidence, spoke about the new restrictions, and observed that Bertrand could not be brought to think that he had rightly comprehended them, and asked me my opinion, which I explained to him as briefly and delicately as I could. When I had finished, "*Che rabbia di persecuzioni,*" exclaimed Napoleon. I observed, that I had heard the governor say yesterday, that the orders had originated with the British government, and that he was merely the person who carried them into execution, and not the framer. Napoleon looked at me in a most incredulous manner, smiled, and gave me in a good-natured manner a slap in the face.

A quantity of plate sent to town to-day, and sold in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade to Mr. Balcombe, who was ordered by Reade to pay a certain sum an ounce for it, and the money which it produced, viz. about two hundred and forty pounds, was to lie in Balcombe's hands, and to be drawn for in small sums, as their necessities required.

Two letters arrived from Sir Hudson Lowe for Bertrand. I did not see their contents, but was

informed that one related to the new restrictions, and contained assertions that but little alteration had taken place in them, and that very little change in the limits had been ordered. The other a reprimand to Count Las Cases for having presumed to give Mr. Balcombe, (the purveyor), an order on the count's banker in London, without having first asked the governor's permission, and also containing a demand for the price of the books sent out by government for General Bonaparte's use. Notwithstanding this, it appeared that Las Cases had acquainted the governor with his intentions, and obtained his consent, which his excellency had forgotten, and detained Las Cases' order when presented to him by Mr. Balcombe.

13*th*.—Napoleon in his bath. Complained of headach, and general uneasiness; and was a little feverish. He railed against the island, and observed, that he could not walk out when the sun was to be seen, for half an hour, without getting a headach, in consequence of the want of shade. "*Veramente*," said he, "it requires great resolution and strength of mind to support such an existence as mine in this horrible abode. Every day fresh *colpi di stilo al cuore da questo boja, che ha piacere a far di male.* It appears to be his only amusement. Daily he imagines modes of annoying, insulting, and making me undergo fresh

privations. He wants to shorten my life by daily irritations. By his last restrictions, I am not permitted to speak to any one I may meet. To people under sentence of death, this is not denied, A man may be ironed, confined in a cell, and kept on bread and water, but the liberty of speaking is not denied to him. It is a piece of tyranny unheard of, except in the instance of the man with the iron mask. In the tribunals of the inquisition a man is heard in his own defence ; but I have been condemned unheard, and without trial, in violation of all laws divine and human ; detained as a prisoner of war in a time of peace ; separated from my wife and child, violently transported here, where arbitrary and hitherto unknown restrictions are imposed upon me ; extending even to the privation of speech. I am sure," continued he, " that none of the ministers except Lord Bathurst would give their consent to this last act of tyranny. His great desire of secrecy shews that he is afraid of his conduct being made known, even to the ministers themselves. Instead of all this mystery and espionage, they would do better to treat me in such a manner as not to be afraid of any disclosures being made. You recollect what I said to you when this governor told me in presence of the admiral, that he would send any complaints we had to make to England, and get them published in the journals. You see

now, that he is in fear and trembling lest Montholon's letter should find its way to England, or be known to the inhabitants here. They profess in England to furnish all my wants, and in fact they send out many things: this man then comes out, reduces every thing, obliges me to sell my plate in order to purchase those necessaries of life which he either denies altogether, or supplies in quantities so small as to be insufficient; imposes daily new and arbitrary restrictions; insults me and my followers; concludes by attempting to deny me the faculty of speech, and then has the impudence to write, that he has changed nothing. He says, that if strangers come to visit me, they cannot speak to any of my suite, and wishes that they should be presented by him. If my *son* came to the island, and it were required that he should be presented by him, I would not see him. You know," continued he, "that it was more a trouble than a pleasure for me to receive many of the strangers who arrived; some of whom merely came to gaze at me, as they would at a *curious beast;* but still it was consoling to have the right to see them, if I pleased."

Examined his gums, which were spongy, pale, and bled on the slightest touch. Recommended him to use a larger quantity than ordinary of vegetable and acescent food, and acid gargle, and exercise.

14*th.*—The paper sent by the governor to Longwood, containing an acknowledgment from the French of their willingness to submit to such restrictions as had, or might be imposed upon Napoleon Bonaparte, was signed by all, and sent to Sir Hudson Lowe. The only alteration made by them, was the substituting of "*l' Empereur Napoléon*," for "*Napoleon Bonaparte*."

15*th.*—The papers sent back by the governor, to Count Bertrand, with a demand that *Napoleon Bonaparte* should be inserted in the place of *l' Empereur Napoléon.*

Saw Napoleon, who told me that he had advised them not to sign it, but rather to quit the island, and go to the Cape.

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood. I informed him, that I believed the French would not sign the declaration worded in the manner he wished. "I suppose," replied his excellency, "that they are very glad of it, as it will give them a pretext to leave General Bonaparte, which I shall order them to do." He then sent for Count Bertrand, Count Las Cases, and the remainder of the officers (except Piontkowski), with whom he had a long conversation. At eleven o'clock at night, a letter was sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, in which he informed him, that in consequence of the refusal of the French officers to sign the declaration with the words, *Napoleon*

Bonaparte, they and the domestics must all depart for the Cape of Good Hope, *instantly*, in a ship which was ready for their reception ; with the exception of a cook, maître d'hôtel, and one or two of the valets; that in consideration of the advanced state of Countess Bertrand's pregnancy, her husband would be permitted to remain until she was able to bear the voyage.

The prospect of separation from the emperor caused great grief and consternation among the inmates of Longwood, who, without the knowledge of Napoleon, waited upon Captain Poppleton after midnight, and signed the obnoxious paper, (with the exception of Santini, who refused to sign any in which he was not styled *l'Empereur)*, which was transmitted to the governor.

16*th*.—Napoleon sent Novarre for me at half past six in the morning. On my arrival he looked very earnestly at me, and said, laughing, "You look as if you had been drunk last night." I replied, no; but that I had dined at the camp, and sat up very late. "*Quante bottiglie tre ?*" he added, holding up three of his fingers. He then communicated the following to me, viz. that Count Bertrand had had a conversation with the governor yesterday, which partly related to him. That he had sent for me, in order that I might explain to the governor his real sentiments on the subject;

and "here," continued he, taking up a piece of paper, in which were contained words, in his own hand-writing, of a meaning similar to the paper which he subsequently gave to me, is "what I have written, and which I intend to send to him." He then read it out aloud, asking me every now and then if I comprehended him, and said, "You will take a copy of this to the governor, and inform him that such are my intentions. If he asks you why it is not signed by me, you will say, that it was unnecessary, because I have read it out and explained it to you from my own hand-writing." After observing that the name of Napoleon was *troppo ben conosciuto*, and might bring back recollections which it were better should be dropped, he desired me to propose his being called Colonel Meuron, who had been killed at his side at Arcola, or Baron Duroc; that as colonel was a title denoting military rank, it might perhaps give umbrage, and therefore probably it would be better to adopt that of Buron Duroc, which was the lowest feodal title. "If the governor," continued he, "consents, let him signify to Bertrand that he acquiesces in one of them, and such shall be adopted. It will prevent many difficulties and smoothen the way. Your eyes," continued he, "look very much like those of a man who had been committing a debauch last night." I explained to him that it was the effect of the wind and dust. He

then rang the bell, called St. Denis, took the paper which he had copied from him, made me read it aloud, underlined some passages with his own hand, gave it to me, and gently pushing me out of the room in a smiling manner, told me to go to the governor, and tell him that such were his intentions.

The paper was as follows:*

" Il me revient que dans la conversation qui a eu lieu entre le Général Lowe et plusieurs de ces Messieurs, il s'est dit des choses sur ma position qui ne sont pas conformes à mes pensées.

" J'ai abdiqué dans les mains des représentans de la nation et au profit de mon fils, je me suis porté avec confiance en Angleterre pour y vivre là, ou en Amérique, dans la plus profonde retraite, et sous le nom d'un colonel tué à mes côtés, *resolu de rester étranger à toute affaire politique de quelque nature qu'elle puisse être.*

" Arrivé à bord du Northumberland, on me dit que j'étois prisonnier de guerre, qu'on me transportait au delà de la ligne et que je m'appellais le Général Bonaparte. Je dus porter ostensiblement mon titre d'empereur en opposition au titre de Général Bonaparte qu'on voulait m'imposer.

" Il y a sept ou huit mois le Comte de Montholon proposa de pourvoir à des petites difficultés

* The translation will be found in the Appendix, No. VI.

qui naissent à chaque instant en adoptant un nom ordinaire. L'amiral croit devoir en écrire à Londres, cela en reste là.

" On me donne aujourd'hui un nom qui a cet avantage qu'il ne préjuge pas le passé, mais qui n'est pas dans la forme de la société. *Je suis toujours disposé à prendre un nom qui entre dans l'usage ordinaire,* et réitére, que quand on jugera à propos de faire cesser ce cruel séjour, *je suis dans la volonté de rester étranger à la politique quelque chose qui se passe dans le monde.* Voila ma pensée, toute autre chose qui auroit été dite sur cette matière ne le se seroit pas."

I proceeded immediately to Plantation House, where I delivered the paper to the governor, and made known to him the conversation which I had had. His excellency appeared much surprised, and said, that it was a very important communication, and one which required consideration. After I had made a deposition, the governor wrote on a sheet of paper the following words: " The governor will lose no time in forwarding to the British government the paper presented to him this day by Doctor O'Meara. He thinks, however, that it would be more satisfactory if it was signed by the person in whose name it was presented. The governor does not, however, intend to cast by this the slightest doubts upon the authenticity or validity of the paper, either as to the

words or spirit, but merely that it would be better to send it in a form to which no objection could be offered. The governor will consider attentively whether the tenor of his instructions will permit him to adopt either of the names proposed. He would naturally, however, be desirous to defer the use of them in any public communication, until he obtains the sanction of his government for that purpose. The governor will be ready at any time to confer with General Bertrand on the subject. This communication he desired me to shew to Napoleon, and added, " indeed it is no great matter if you leave it with him." He then asked me if I thought Napoleon would sign it. I replied, perhaps he might, particularly if he (Sir Hudson) would authorize him to use either of the names in question. This, however, he said, he could not yet decide upon. After this, his excellency told me that I must have no communication whatever with any official persons in England about Bonaparte; therefore he insisted that I would not mention a word to them of the proposal which I had just made; that he had written to Lord Bathurst about me, and that there was no doubt I should do well; that my situation was one of great confidence, and that none of the ministers, except the one he communicated with, ought to know any thing about what passed at St. Helena. After which he desired me to go back

and endeavour to get Napoleon to sign the paper.

On my return, I explained to Napoleon the governor's reply and wishes. He observed, he had not intended that the paper should be left with the governor, but merely read and shewn to him, and then returned, as had taken place once before. That he wished to communicate his sentiments to him, in order to know if he were inclined to meet him half way. That after communications with Bertrand, a proper letter would be written, and that would be the time to sign. He concluded by directing me to get back the paper.

Went accordingly to Plantation House, and acquainted Sir Hudson Lowe that I was directed to bring back the paper, which he returned to me, after some expression of surprise on the part of the governor, and a hint, that such a demand had been caused by shuffling or want of sincerity on the part of Bonaparte, or bad advice from some of his generals. He then asked my opinion whether "Count Montholon imagined himself secure of remaining in the island because he had signed the declaration?" He desired me to say that applying to the British government, was not asking permission for General Bonaparte to change his name, but merely a demand whether they would recognise such a change. Returned the paper to Napoleon, and explained the governor's sentiments. He observed, that if Sir Hudson Lowe would

make known to Bertrand, or even to me, that he authorized the change of name, and would address him accordingly, he (Napoleon) would write a letter, declaring that he would adopt one of the names which had been proposed, which he would sign and send to the governor. "*La metà de' disgusti che ho provato qui*,"* said he, "has arisen from that title." I observed, that many were surprised at his having retained the title after abdication. He replied, "I abdicated the throne of France, but not the title of emperor. I do not call myself Napoleon, emperor of France, but the emperor Napoleon. Sovereigns generally retain their titles. Thus Charles of Spain retains the title of king and majesty, after having abdicated in favour of his son. If I were in England, I would not call myself emperor. But they want to make it appear that the French nation had not a right to make me its sovereign. If they had not a right to make me emperor, they were equally incapable of making me general. A man, when he is at the head of a few, during the disturbances of a country, is called a chief of rebels; but when he succeeds, effects great actions, and exalts his country and himself, from being styled chief of rebels, he is called general, sovereign, &c. It is only success which makes him such. Had he been unfortunate, he would be still chief of rebels, and perhaps pe-

* "One half of the vexations that I have experienced here."

rish on a scaffold. Your nation," continued he, "called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the constitution of his country; but his successes obliged them to change, and acknowledge both. It is success which makes the great man. It would appear truly ridiculous in me," added he, "were it not that your ministers force me to it, to call myself emperor, situated as I am here, and would remind one of those poor wretches in Bethlem, in London, who fancy themselves kings amidst their chains and straw."

He then spoke in terms of great praise of Counts Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and the rest of his suite, for the heroic devotion which they had manifested, and the proofs of attachment to his person which they had given, by remaining with him contrary to his desire. "They had," continued he, "an excellent pretext to go, first, by refusing to sign Napoleon Bonaparte, and next, because I ordered them not to sign. But, no; they would have signed *tiranno Bonaparte*, or any other opprobrious name, in order to remain with me in misery here, rather than return to Europe, where they might live in splendour. The more your government tries to degrade me, so much more respect will they pay to me. They pride themselves in paying me more respect now than when I was in the height of my glory."

"*Pare*," said he then, "*che questo governatore*

è stato sempre spione. He is fit to be commissary of police in a small town." I asked him, which he thought had been the best minister of police, Savary or Fouché, adding, that both of them had a bad reputation in England. "Savary," said he, "is not a bad man; on the contrary, Savary is a man of a good heart, and a brave soldier. You have seen him weep. He loves me with the affection of a son. The English, who have been in France, will soon undeceive your nation. Fouché is a miscreant of all colours, a priest, a terrorist, and one who took an active part in many bloody scenes in the revolution. He is a man who can worm all your secrets out of you with an air of calmness and of unconcern. He is very rich," added he, "but his riches were badly acquired. There was a tax upon gambling-houses in Paris, but, as it was an infamous way of gaining money, I did not like to profit by it, and therefore ordered, that the amount of the tax should be appropriated to an hospital for the poor. It amounted to some millions, but Fouché, who had the collecting of the impost, put many of them into his own pockets, and it was impossible for me to discover the real yearly sum total."

I observed to him, that it had excited considerable surprise, that during the height of his glory, he had never given a dukedom in France to any person, although he had created many dukes and

princes elsewhere. He replied, "because it would have produced great discontent amongst the people. If, for example, I had made one of my marshals Duke of Bourgogne, instead of giving him a title derived from one of my victories, it would have excited great alarm in Bourgogne, as they would have conceived that some feodal rights and territory were attached to the title, which the duke would claim; and the nation hated the old nobility so much, that the creation of any rank resembling them would have given universal discontent, which I, powerful as I was, dared not venture upon. I instituted the new nobility to *éraser* the old, and to satisfy the people, as the greatest part of those I created had sprung from themselves, and every private soldier had a right to look up to the title of duke. I believe that I acted wrong in doing even this, as it lessened that system of equality which pleased the people so much; but, if I had created dukes with a French title, it would have been considered as a revival of the old feodal privileges, with which the nation had been cursed so long."

His gums were in nearly the same state as before; complained of his general health, and added, that he felt convinced that, under all the circumstances, he could not last long. I advised, as remedies, exercise and the diet I had formerly recommended. He observed, that he had put in practice the diet, and the other remedies, but as to

taking exercise (which was the most essential) the restrictions presented an insurmountable obstacle. He asked many anatomical questions, particularly about the heart, and observed, *Credo che il mio cuore non batte mai, non l'ho sentito mai battere.** He then desired me to feel his heart. I tried for some time, but could not perceive any pulsation, which I attributed to obesity. I had before observed that in him the circulation was very slow, rarely exceeding fifty eight or sixty in a minute, and most frequently fifty-four.

18*th.*—Captain Piontkowski, Rousseau, Santini, and Archambaud, cadet, were the persons named by Sir Hudson Lowe to be removed from Longwood. Count Montholon desired me to inform the governor, that the emperor did not wish to separate the brothers Archambaud, which moreover would totally disorganize the carriage, and must consequently deprive him of the little means he had of taking exercise, as the governor was aware, that in such a place as St. Helena, where the roads were so dangerous, it was very necessary to have careful drivers. He added, that if the choice of those who were to go were left to Napoleon, he would fix upon Rousseau, Santini, and Bernard, who was a useless subject, and much given to intoxication, or Gentilini, as he thought

* "I think that my heart does not beat; I have never felt it pulsate."

that it would be great cruelty to separate two brothers.

Communicated this to Sir Hudson Lowe, who replied, that the choice was not left to General Bonaparte; that the servants were to be taken from Longwood, and not from Count Bertrand; and moreover, that the orders were to send away *Frenchmen*, and not natives of other countries. That Bernard was a Flamand, and Gentilini an Italian, and therefore did not come within the strict application of his orders; that if Santini had not refused to sign the paper, he would not have accepted him as one, as he was a Corsican, and *not* a Frenchman. He had no objection however, that all the *Frenchmen* in General Bonaparte's service should draw lots. These circumstances he desired I might impress upon General Bonaparte's mind. He added, that, as by his instructions the choice was left to him, he would give written directions to Captain Poppleton to send away Piontkowski, and both of the Archambauds, if Rousseau remained, or one of them, if Rousseau were to go. He then directed me to ask if he were to expect any further communication respecting the change of name, as the vessel containing his despatches on the subject would sail for England in the evening.*

* The only reply which His Majesty's ministers condescended to make to this proposal was contained in a scurrilous article in

On my return to Longwood, communicated this to Napoleon: who replied, "Has the governor it in his power to authorize the change; in the note he sent, the contrary appears. I answered, that I knew nothing more than what I had already communicated. "Then," said he, "before any further steps are taken, let him reply positively whether he is authorized or not, *Si o no*." Informed him of his excellency's opinion and decision relative to the domestics who were to leave St. Helena. "Santini not a Frenchman?" said he, "Doctor, you cannot be imbecile enough not to see that this is a pretext to convey an insult to me. All Corsicans are Frenchmen. By taking away my drivers, he wants to prevent me from taking a little carriage-exercise."

19*th*.—Piontkowski, Santini, Rousseau, and Archambaud the younger, sent by order of Sir Hudson Lowe to town in order to embark. Santini had a pension of fifty pounds, Archambaud and Rousseau twenty-five each, annually settled upon them; Piontkowski had also a pension and a letter of recommendation. On embarkation, their persons

the Quarterly Review, No. XXXII. which Sir Hudson Lowe took care should be sent to Longwood as soon as a copy had reached the island. I think that I am justified in attributing the article alluded to, to some ministerial person, as the transaction was known only to officers in their employment, and to the establishment at Longwood, and it is evident that the persons composing the latter, could not have been the authors of it.

and baggage were searched by Captain Maunsell, and the prevost serjeant. They sailed in the evening for the Cape. Piontkowski was stripped to the skin by Captain Maunsell.

Communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe Napoleon's last expressions concerning the change of name, who replied, "I believe that it is in my power to approve of it." I then recommended him to see Count Bertrand upon the subject, and his excellency proceeded to Hut's Gate accordingly.

20*th*.—Count and Countess Bertrand and family moved from Hut's Gate to Longwood.

21*st*.—Dined at Plantation House in company with the Russian and Austrian commissioners, the botanist, and Captain Gor. They generally expressed great dissatisfaction at not having yet seen Napoleon. Count Balmaine in particular observed that they (the commissioners) appeared to be objects of suspicion; that had he been aware of the manner in which they should have been treated, he would not have come out. That the Emperor Alexander had great interest in preventing the escape of Napoleon, but that he wished him to be well treated, and with that respect due to him: for which reason he (Count Balmaine) had only asked to see him as a private person and not officially as commissioner. That they should be objects of ridicule in Europe, as soon as it was known they had been so many months in St. Helena, without ever once seeing the individual, to

ascertain whose presence was the sole object of their mission. That the governor always replied to their questions that Bonaparte had refused to receive any person whatsoever. The botanist held language of a similar tendency, and remarked, that Longwood was "*le dernier séjour du monde*,"* and in his opinion the worst part of the island.

22*nd*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me, and observed that the commissioners seemed to have paid me much attention; that he should think nothing of their speaking as long as they had done to me, to any other person, but that it had an appearance as if they wished something to be conveyed to General Bonaparte, and advised me to be very cautious in my conversations with them. He also informed me that Count Bertrand had confirmed to him every communication that I had made relative to the change of name.

23*rd*.—Napoleon indisposed: one of his cheeks considerably tumefied. Recommended fomentation and steaming the part affected, which he put in practice. Recommended also the extraction of a carious tooth, and renewed the advice I had given on many previous occasions, particularly relative to exercise, as soon as the reduction of the swelling permitted it; also a continuance of diet chiefly vegetable, with fruits.

"There is either a furious wind," replied he,

* "The worst abode in the world."

"with fog, which gives me a swelled face when I go out, or when that is wanting, there is a sun which scorches my brains (*c'è un sole che mi brucia il cervello*) for want of shade. They continue me purposely in the worst part of the island. When I was at the Briars, I had at least the advantage of a shady walk and a mild climate; *mais ici on arrivera au, but qu'on se propose plus vite*," continued he. "Have you seen *lo sbirro Siciliano?*" I replied that Sir Hudson Lowe had informed me that he had written to England an account of his proposal to assume an *incognito* name. "*Non dice altro che bugie*," said Napoleon. "It is his system. Lying," added he, "is not a national vice of the English, but this ***** has all the vices of the little petty states of Italy."

Desired me to endeavour to get him *un fauteuil de malade*, which I communicated to the governor, who returned for answer that he would order one to be made, as no such article was to be found upon the island.

26*th*.—Napoleon out in the carriage for the first time for a considerable period. Observed to me afterwards that he had followed my prescription. His face much better. The *dentes sapientiæ* of the upper jaw were loose and carious. Inquired if there was any news? I replied that we were in daily expectation of hearing the result of Lord Exmouth's expedition, and asked his opinion re-

lative to the probability of success. He replied that he thought it would succeed, especially if the fleet took and destroyed as many of their vessels as they could, then anchored opposite the town, and did not allow a single ship or vessel, not even a fishing-boat, to enter or go out. "Continue that for a short time," added he, "and the dey will submit, or else the *canaille* will revolt and murder him, and afterwards agree to any terms you like. But no treaty will be kept by them. It is a disgrace to the powers of Europe to allow so many nests of robbers to exist. Even the Neapolitans could put a stop to it, instead of allowing themselves to be robbed. They have upwards of fifty thousand seamen in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and with their navy, they might easily prevent a single Barbary ship from stirring out." I observed that the Neapolitans were so great cowards at sea, that the Algerines had the utmost contempt for them. "They are cowards by land as well as by sea," replied the emperor, "but that might be remedied by proper officers and discipline. At Amiens, I proposed to your government to unite with me, either to entirely destroy those nests of pirates, or at least to destroy their ships and fortresses, and make them cultivate their country and abandon piracy. But your ministers would not consent to it, owing to a mean jealousy of the Americans, with whom the barbarians were

at war. I wanted to annihilate them, though it did not concern me much, as they generally respected my flag, and carried on a large trade with Marseilles." I asked him if he thought it would be advisable for Lord Exmouth to disembark his marines and seamen, and attack the town of Algiers. "*Oh que non*," replied he, "if he has but a small force, he will get half his men killed by the *canaglie* in the houses and batteries; and it is not worth sending a large one, unless you are determined to destroy their power altogether."

After this, the conversation turned upon the national debt and the great weight of taxes in England. Napoleon professed himself doubtful that the English could now continue to manufacture goods so as to be able to sell them at the same price as those made in France, in consequence of the actual necessaries of life being so much dearer in England than in France. He professed his disbelief that the nation could support the immense weight of taxes, the dearness of provisions, and the extravagance of a bad administration. "When I was in France," continued he, "with four times the extent of territory, and four times the population I never could have raised one half of your taxes. How the English *popolazzo* bear it, I cannot conceive. The French would not have suffered one fourth of them. Notwithstanding your great successes," continued he, "which are

indeed almost incredible, and to which accident, and perhaps destiny, have much contributed, I do not think that you are yet out of the scrape: though you have the world at command, I do not believe that you will ever be able to get over your debt. Your great commerce has kept you up; but that will fail when you shall no longer be able to undersell the manufacturers of other nations, who are rapidly improving. A few years will shew if I am right. The worst thing England has ever done," continued he, "was that of endeavouring to make herself a great military nation. In attempting that, England must always be the slave of Russia, Austria, or Prussia, or at least subservient to some of them; because you have not a population sufficiently numerous to combat on the continent with France, or with any of the powers I have named, and must consequently hire men from some of them; whereas, at sea, you are so superior; your sailors are so much better, that you can always command the others, with safety to yourselves and with little comparative expense. Your soldiers have not the requisite qualities for a military nation. They are not equal in address, activity, or intelligence to the French. When they get from under the fear of the lash, they obey nobody. In a retreat they cannot be managed: and if they meet with wine, they are so many devils *(tanti diavoli)*, and adieu to subordination.

I saw the retreat of Moore, and I never witnessed any thing like it. It was impossible to collect or to make them do any thing. Nearly all were drunk. Your officers depend for promotion upon interest or money. Your soldiers are brave, nobody can deny it; but it was bad policy to encourage the military mania, instead of sticking to your marine, which is the real force of your country, and one which, while you preserve it, will always render you powerful. In order to have good soldiers, a nation must *always be at war*."

"If you had lost the battle of Waterloo," continued he, "what a state would England have been in? The flower of your youth would have been destroyed; for not a man, not even Lord Wellington, would have escaped." I observed here that Lord Wellington had determined never to leave the field alive. Napoleon replied, "he could not retreat. He would have been destroyed with his army, if instead of the Prussians, Grouchy had come up." I asked him if he had not believed for some time that the Prussians who had shewn themselves were a part of Grouchy's corps. He replied, "certainly; and I can now scarcely comprehend why it was a Prussian division and not that of Grouchy." I then took the liberty of asking, whether, if neither Grouchy nor the Prussians had arrived, it would not have been a drawn battle. Napoleon answered, "the English army would

have been destroyed. They were defeated at mid-day. But accident, or more likely destiny, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it. I could scarcely believe that he would have given me battle; because if he had retreated to Antwerp, as he ought to have done, I must have been overwhelmed by the armies of three or four hundred thousand men that were coming against me. By giving me battle there was a chance for me. It was the greatest folly to disunite the English and Prussian armies. They ought to have been united; and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was folly in Wellington to give me battle in a place, where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat. There was a wood in his rear, and but one road to gain it. He would have been destroyed. Moreover, he allowed himself to be suprised by me. This was a great fault. He ought to have been encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I intended to attack him. He might have lost every thing. But he has been fortunate; his destiny has prevailed; and every thing he did will meet with applause. My intentions were, to attack and to destroy the English. This I knew would produce an immediate change of ministry. The indignation against them for having caused the loss of forty thousand of the flower of the English army, would have excited such a popular

commotion, that they would have been turned out. The people would have said, 'What is it to us who is on the throne of France, Louis or Napoleon; are we to sacrifice all our blood in endeavours to place on the throne a detested family? No, we have suffered enough. It is no affair of ours,—let them settle it amongst themselves.' They would have made peace. The Saxons, Bavarians, Belgians, Wirtemburghers, would have joined me. The coalition was nothing without England. The Russians would have made peace, and I should have been quietly seated on the throne. Peace would have been permament, as what could France do after the treaty of Paris? What was to be feared from her?"

"These," continued he, "were my reasons for attacking the English. I had beaten the Prussians. Before twelve o'clock I had succeeded. I may say, every thing was mine, but accident and destiny decided it otherwise. Doubtless the English fought most bravely, nobody can deny it. But they must have been destroyed.

"Pitt and his politics," continued he, "nearly ruined England by keeping up a continental war with France." I remarked, that it was asserted by many able politicians in England, that if we had not carried on that war, we should have been ruined, and ultimately have become a province of France. "It is not true," said Napoleon, "Eng-

land being at war with France, gave the latter a pretence and an opportunity of extending her conquest under me to the length she did, until I became emperor of nearly all the world, which could not have happened, if there had been no war. The conversation then turned upon the occupation of Malta. "Two days," said he, "before Lord Whitworth left Paris, an offer was made to the minister and to others about me of thirty millions of francs, and to acknowledge me as king of France, provided I would give up Malta to you." —He added, however, that the war would have broken out, had Malta been out of the question. Some conversation then took place relative to English seamen. Napoleon observed, that the English seamen were as much superior to the French, as the latter were to the Spaniards. I ventured to say that I thought the French would never make good seamen, on account of their impatience and volatility of temper. That especially they would never submit without complaining, as we had done at Toulon, to blockade ports for years together, suffering from the combined effects of bad weather, and of privations of every kind. "I do not agree with you there, *Signor dottore*," said he, "but I do not think that they will ever make as good seamen as yours. The sea is yours, — your seamen are as much superior to ours as the Dutch were once to yours.

I think, however, that the Americans are better seaman than yours, because they are less numerous." I observed that the Americans had a considerable number of English seamen in their service, who passed for Americans, which was remarkable, as, independent of other circumstances, the American discipline on board of men-of-war was much more severe than ours. And, that if the Americans had a large navy, they would find it impossible to have so many able seamen in each ship as they had at present. When I observed that the American discipline was more severe than ours, he smiled and said, "*sarebbe difficile a credere.*"

Five, p. m.—Napoleon sent for me. Found him sitting in a chair opposite to the fire. He had gone out to walk, and was seized with rigors, headach, severe cough. Examined his tonsils, which were swelled. Cheek inflamed. Had severest rigors while I was present. "*Je tremble,*" said he to Count Las Cases, who was present, "*comme si j'eusse peur.*" Pulse much quickened. Recommended warm fomentations to his cheek, a liniment to his throat, warm diluents, a gargarism, pediluvium, and total abstinence ; all of which he approved of, except the liniment. He asked a great many questions about fever.

Saw him again at nine in bed. He had strictly complied with my directions; I was desirous that

he should take a diaphoretic, but he preferred trusting to his warm diluents. He imputed his complaint to the *ventaccio** eternally blowing over the bleak and exposed site of Longwood. "I ought," said he, "to be at the Briars, or at the other side of the island, instead of being on this horrid spot. While I was there last year at this season, I was very well." He asked what I thought was the easiest mode of dying, and observed that death by cold was the easiest of all others, because "*si muore dormendo*," (one dies sleeping).

Sent a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, acquainting him with Napoleon's illness.

27*th.*—A free perspiration took place in the night, and Napoleon was considerably better. Recommended a continuance of the means he had adopted, and not to expose himself to the wind. He made nearly the same observations as he had done yesterday relative to the exposed and unhealthy situation of Longwood, adding, that it was so bleak a spot that scarcely any vegetable would grow upon it.

Had some conversation with him relative to the Empress Josephine, of whom he spoke in terms the most affectionate. His first acquaintance with that amiable being commenced after the disarming of the sections in Paris, subsequently to the 13th

* *Ventaccio* is a provincial word which means a nasty or acrid wind.

of Vendemiaire, 1795. "A boy of twelve or thirteen years old presented himself to me," continued he, "and entreated that his father's sword, (who had been a general of the republic,) should be returned. I was so touched by this affectionate request, that I ordered it to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnois. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears. I felt so much affected by his conduct that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her *esprit*. This first impression was daily strengthened, and marriage was not long in following."

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe. Informed him of Napoleon's state of health and that he had attributed his complaints to the violence of the wind, and the bleak and exposed situation of Longwood; also that he had expressed a desire to be removed either to the Briars, or to the other side of the island. His excellency replied, "The fact is, that General Bonaparte wants to get Plantation House; but the East India company will not consent to have so fine a plantation given to a set of Frenchmen, to destroy the trees and ruin the gardens."

Eight, p. m.—Napoleon not so well; right jaw much tumefied, with difficulty of swallowing, caused by the inflammation of the tonsils, &c. He

would not consent to use any thing except diluents and fomentations. Recommended a purgative to be taken in the morning, and also some other active remedies, which he declined doing, observing that he had never taken any medicine since his childhood; that he knew his own constitution, and was convinced that even a very small dose would produce violent effects: that moreover, perhaps its effects would be contrary to the efforts of nature. That he would trust to diet, diluents, &c.

29*th*.—Napoleon rather better. Told him that if he were attacked by any of the diseases of the climate, he would, in all probability, be a dead man in a few days, as the means which he was willing to put in execution, were totally inadequate to subdue a formidable complaint, although they might be sufficient to relieve the trifling one under which he had laboured. Notwithstanding all the reasoning and the representations which I made to him, he appeared to think that it was better to do nothing than to take medicines, which he was of opinion were dangerous, or at least doubtful, as they might disturb the operations of nature.

30*th*.—Napoleon consented to make use of a gargle of infusion of roses and sulphuric acid. There were many vesicles on the inside of his cheek and gums. He inveighed against the *clima*

barbaro (the barbarous climate) of Longwood, and again mentioned the Briars.*

Informed Sir Hudson Lowe of the state of his health, and of his desire to be removed to the Briars. His excellency replied, that if General Bonaparte wanted to make himself comfortable, and to get reconciled to the island, he ought to draw for some of those large sums of money which he possessed, and lay it out in purchasing a house and grounds. I said, that Napoleon had told me he did not know where his money was placed. Sir Hudson replied, "I suppose he told you that, in order that you might repeat it to me."

November 1*st.*—Napoleon better. Some tumefaction of the legs, and enlargement of the glands of the thigh. Recommended him to take some sulphate of magnesia, or Glauber's salts. Another portion of plate broken up, in order to be sent to town for sale.

2*nd.*—Nearly the same. Recommended to him in the strongest terms, to take exercise as soon as the state of his cheeks, and of the weather, would admit of its being put in practice; and gave it as my firm and decided opinion, that unless he put this advice in practice, he would be infallibly attacked by some very serious complaint.

During the conversation, I took the liberty of asking the emperor his reasons for having encou-

* The Briars is nearly two miles distant from the sea-shore.

raged the Jews so much. He replied, "I wanted to make them leave off usury, and become like other men. There were a great many Jews in the countries I reigned over; by removing their disabilities, and by putting them upon an equality with Catholics, Protestants, and others, I hoped to make them become good citizens, and conduct themselves like the rest of the community. I believe that I should have succeeded in the end. My reasoning with them was, that as their rabbins explained to them that they ought not to practise usury against their own tribes, but were allowed to practise it with Christians and others, that, therefore, as I had restored them to all their privileges, and made them equal to my other subjects, they must consider me, like Solomon or Herod, to be the head of their nation, and my subjects as brethren of a tribe similar to theirs. That, consequently, they were not permitted to deal usuriously with them or me, but to treat us as if we were of the tribe of Judah. That enjoying similar privileges to my other subjects, they were, in like manner, to pay taxes, and submit to the laws of conscription, and to other laws. By this I gained many soldiers. Besides, I should have drawn great wealth to France, as the Jews are very numerous, and would have flocked to a country where they enjoyed such superior privileges. Moreover, I wanted to establish an universal liberty of conscience. My system was to have no predominant

religion, but to allow perfect liberty of conscience and of thought, to make all men equal, whether Protestants, Catholics, Mahometans, Deists, or others ; so that their religion should have no influence in getting them employments under government. In fact, that it should neither be the means of serving, nor of injuring them ; and that no objections should be made to a man's getting a situation on the score of religion, provided he were fit for it in other respects. I made every thing independent of religion. All the tribunals were so. Marriages were independent of the priests ; even the burying grounds were not left at their disposal, as they could not refuse interment to the body of any person of whatsoever religion. My intention was to render every thing belonging to the state and the constitution, purely civil, without reference to any religion. I wished to deprive the priests of all influence and power in civil affairs, and to oblige them to confine themselves to their own spiritual matters, and meddle with nothing else." I asked if uncles and nieces had not a right to marry in France. He replied, " Yes, but they must obtain a special permission." I asked if the permission were to be granted by the pope. " By the pope ?" said he, " No ;" catching me by the ear and smiling, " I tell you that neither the pope, nor any of his priests, had power to grant any thing.—By the sovereign."

I asked some questions relative to the freemasons, and his opinions concerning them. "A set of imbeciles who meet, *à faire bonne chère*, and perform some ridiculous fooleries. However," said he, "they do some good actions. They assisted in the revolution, and latterly to diminish the power of the pope and the influence of the clergy. When the sentiments of a people are against the government, every society has a tendency to do mischief to it." I then asked if the freemasons on the continent had any connexion with the illuminati. He replied, "No, that is a society altogether different, and in Germany is of a very dangerous nature." I asked if he had not encouraged the freemasons? He said, "Rather so, for they fought against the pope." I then asked if he ever would have permitted the re-establishment of the Jesuits in France? "Never," said he, "it is the most dangerous of societies, and has done more mischief than all the others. Their doctrine is, that their general is the sovereign of sovereigns, and master of the world; that all orders from him, however contrary to the laws, or however wicked, must be obeyed. Every act, however atrocious, committed by them pursuant to orders from their general at Rome, becomes in their eyes meritorious. No, no, I would never have allowed a society to exist in my dominions, under the orders of a foreign general at Rome.

In fact, I would not allow any *frati*.* There were priests sufficient for those who wanted them, without having monasteries filled with *canaglie*, who did nothing but gormandize, pray, and commit crimes." I observed, that it was to be feared the priests and the Jesuists would soon have great influence in France. Napoleon replied, "very likely. The Bourbons are fanatics, and would willingly bring back both the Jesuists and the inquisition. In reigns before mine, the Protestants were as badly treated as the Jews; they could not purchase land—I put them upon a level with the Catholics. They will now be trampled upon by the Bourbons, to whom they and every thing else liberal will always be objects of suspicion. The Emperor Alexander may allow them to enter his empire, because it is his policy to draw into his barbarous country, men of information, whatsoever their sect may be, and moreover, they are not to be much feared in Russia, because the religion is different.

The following is his description of Carnot. A man laborious and sincere, but liable to the influence of intrigues, and easily deceived. He directed the operations of war, without having merited the eulogiums which were pronounced upon him, as he had neither the experience, nor the

* Friars,

habitude of war. When minister of war, he shewed but little talent, and had many quarrels with the minister of finance and the treasury; in all of which he was wrong. He left the ministry, convinced that he could not fulfil his station for want of money. He afterwards voted against the establishment of the empire, but as his conduct was always upright, he never gave any umbrage to the government. During the prosperity of the empire, he never asked for any thing; but after the misfortunes of Russia, he demanded employment, and got the command of Antwerp, where he acquitted himself very well. After Napoleon's return from Elba, he was minister of the interior; and the emperor had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was faithful, a man of truth and probity, and laborious in his exertions. On the abdication, he was named one of the provisional government, but he was *joué* by the intriguers by whom he was surrounded. He passed for an original amongst his companions when he was young. He hated the nobles, and on that account had several quarrels with Robespierre, who latterly protected many of them. He was member of the committee of public safety along with Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and the other butchers, and was the only one who was not denounced. He afterwards demanded to be included in the denunciation, and to be tried for

his conduct, as well as the others, which was refused; but his having made the demand to share the fate of the rest, gained him great credit.

"Barras," he said, "was a violent man, and possessed of little knowledge or resolution; fickle, and far from meriting the reputation which he enjoyed, although from the violence of his manner and loudness of tone in the beginning of his speeches, one would have thought otherwise."

5*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Informed him, that although Napoleon was much better, it was my opinion, that if he persisted in the system of confining himself to his room, and in not taking exercise, he would soon be attacked by some serious complaint, and that in all probability his existence in St. Helena would not be protracted for more than a year or two. Sir Hudson asked with some degree of asperity, "Why did he not take exercise?" I briefly recapitulated to him some of his own restrictions: amongst others, that of placing sentinels at the gates of the garden in which he had formerly walked at six o'clock in the afternoon, with orders to let nobody out; which being the cool of the evening, was the most desirable time to walk. Sir Hudson said they were *not* placed at six o'clock, but only at sun-set. I observed to his excellency, that the sun *set* immediately after six, and that in the tropics, the twilight was of a very short duration.

The governor then sent for Capt. Poppleton, and made some enquiries concerning the posting of the sentinels and their orders. Captain Poppleton informed him, that the orders which were issued to the sentinels being verbal, were continually liable to be misunderstood. After some conversation with Capt. P., Sir Hudson Lowe observed, he thought it very extraordinary that General Bonaparte would not ride out with a British officer. I remarked, that he would in all probability, if matters were well managed. For example, if when he mounted his horse, an officer was sent after him at a short distance to watch his motions, I could answer to his excellency that Napoleon, although he should well know what the officer's business was, would never appear to be aware of it, and that he would be just as secure as if an officer rode by his side. I went so far as to say, that Napoleon had himself intimated to me, that he would not *see* any person following him, provided it were not officially made known that he was a guard over him. Sir Hudson replied that he would consider of it, and desired me to write him a statement of my opinion of the health of General Bonaparte; cautioning me, that in writing it, I must bear in mind, that the life of one man was not to be put into competition with the mischief which he might cause, were he to get loose; and that I must recollect, General Bonaparte had

been already a curse to the world, and had caused the loss of many thousands of lives. That my situation was very peculiar, and one of great political importance.

A quantity of plate, which had been broken up, taken to town by Cipriani, and deposited with Balcombe, Cole, and Co. in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, to whom the key of the chest containing it was delivered.

7*th*.—Napoleon much better, and nearly free from complaint.

8*th*.—Napoleon asked me many anatomical and physiological questions, and observed, that he had studied anatomy himself for a few days, but had been sickened by the sight of some bodies that were opened, and abandoned any further progress in that science. After some developement of his ideas touching the soul, I made a few remarks upon the Poles who had served in his army, who I observed were greatly attached to his person. "Ah!" replied the emperor, "they *were* much attached to me. The present viceroy of Poland was with me in my campaigns in Egypt. I made him a general. Most of my old Polish guard are now through policy employed by Alexander. They are a brave nation, and make good soldiers. In the cold which prevails in the northern countries the Pole is better than the Frenchman." I asked him, if in less rigorous

climates the Poles were as good soldiers as the French. "Oh, no, no. In other places the Frenchman is much superior. The commandant of Dantzic informed me, that during the severity of the winter, when the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, it was impossible to make the French soldiers keep their posts as sentinels, while the Poles suffered nothing. Poniatowsky," continued he, "was a noble character, full of honour and bravery. It was my intention to have made him king of Poland, had I succeeded in Russia." I asked to what he principally attributed his failure in that expedition. "To the cold, the premature cold, and the burning of Moscow," replied Napoleon. "I was a few days too late—I had made a calculation of the weather for fifty years before, and the extreme cold had never commenced until about the 20th of December, twenty days later than it began this time. While I was at Moscow, the cold was at three of the thermometer, and was such as the French could with pleasure bear; but on the march, the thermometer sunk eighteen degrees, and consequently nearly all the horses perished. In one night I lost thirty thousand. The artillery, of which I had five hundred pieces, was in a great measure obliged to be abandoned; neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not, through the want of horses, make a *reconnaissance,* or send out an advance of

men on horseback to discover the way. The soldiers lost their spirits and their senses, and fell into confusion. The most trifling circumstance alarmed them. Four or five men were sufficient to terrify a whole battalion. Instead of keeping together, they wandered about in search of fire. Parties, when sent out on duty in advance, abandoned their posts, and went to seek the means of warming themselves in the houses. They separated in all directions, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Others lay down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils, and, sleeping, they died. In this manner thousands perished. The Poles saved some of their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the other nations, were no longer the same men. In particular, the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved. Had it not been for that fire at Moscow, I should have succeeded. I would have wintered there. There were in that city about forty thousand citizens who were in a manner slaves. For you must know that the Russian nobility keep their vassals in a sort of slavery. I would have proclaimed liberty to all the slaves in Russia, and abolished vassalage and nobility. This would have procured me the union of an immense and a powerful party. I would either have made a peace at Moscow, or else I would have marched

the next year to Petersburgh. Alexander was assured of it, and sent his diamonds, valuables, and ships to England. Had it not been for that fire, I should have succeeded in every thing. Two days before, I beat them in a great action at Moskwa; I attacked the Russian army of two hundred and fifty thousand strong, entrenched up to their necks, with ninety thousand, and totally defeated them. Seventy thousand Russians lay upon the field. They had the impudence to say that they had gained the battle, although I marched into Moscow two days after. I was in the midst of a fine city, provisioned for a year, for in Russia they always lay in provisions for several months before the frost sets in. Stores of all kinds were in plenty. The houses of the inhabitants were well provided, and many had even left their servants to attend upon us. In most of them there was a note left by the proprietor, begging of the French officers who took possession to be careful of their furniture and other effects; that they had left every article necessary for our wants, and hoped to return in a few days, when the emperor Alexander had accommodated matters, at which time they would be happy to see us. Many ladies remained behind. They knew that I had been in Berlin and Vienna with my armies, and that no injury had been done to the inhabitants; and

moreover, they expected a speedy peace. We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring. Two days after our arrival, a fire was discovered, which at first was not supposed to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near to the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued very strict orders on the subject to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had increased, but still not so as to give serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life. In order to shew an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eye-brows singed, and my clothes burnt off my back; but it was in vain, as

they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand; out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had been hired by Rostopchin, ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches; in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for all but this. It was unforeseen, for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and several of them perished in their endeavours. They also brought before us numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, as amidst such a *popolazzo* we never could have discovered them ourselves. I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot. Had it not been for this fatal fire, I possessed every thing my army wanted; excellent winter quarters; stores of all kinds were in plenty; and the next year would have decided it. Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburgh." I asked if he thought that he could entirely subdue Russia. "No," replied Napoleon; "but I would have caused Russia to make such a peace as suited the interests of France. I was five days too late in quitting Moscow. Several of the generals," continued he, "were burnt out of their

beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin * until surrounded by flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country-house of the Emperor Alexander, distant about a league from Moscow, and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky and clouds of flame; mountains of red rolling flames, like immense waves of the sea, alternately bursting forth and elevating themselves to skies of fire, and then sinking into the ocean of flame below. Oh, it was the most grand, the most sublime, and the most terrific sight the world ever beheld!! *Allons, Docteur.*" †

9*th.*—Had some conversation with the emperor

* General Gourgaud informed me, that during the conflagration, great numbers of crows (which are in myriads at Moscow) perched in flocks upon the towers of the Kremlin, from whence they frequently descended and hovered round the French soldiers, flapping their wings and screaming, as if menacing them with the destruction that followed. He added, that the troops were dispirited by this, which they conceived to be a bad omen.

† This was Napoleon's general expression when he wished me to retire.

concerning religion. I observed, that in England there were different opinions about his faith; that some had latterly supposed him to be a Roman Catholic. "*Ebbene*," replied he, "*Credo tutto quel che crede la chiesa.*" (I believe all that the church believes.) "I used," continued he, "to make the bishop of Nantes dispute with the Pope frequently in my presence. He wanted to re-establish the monks. My bishop used to tell him that the emperor had no objection to persons being monks in their hearts, but that he objected to allowing any society of them to exist publicly. The Pope wanted me to confess, which I always evaded by saying, 'Holy father *(santo padre)*, I am too much occupied at present. When I get older.' I took a pleasure in conversing with the Pope, who was a good old man, *ma testardo*, (though obstinate)."

"There are so many different religions," continued he, "or modifications of them, that it is difficult to know which to choose. If one religion had existed from the beginning of the world, I should think that to be the true one. As it is, I am of opinion that every person ought to continue in the religion in which he was brought up; in that of his fathers. What are you?" "A protestant," I replied. "Was your father so?" I said, "Yes." "Then continue in that belief."

"In France," continued he, "I received Catholics and Protestants alike at my levee. I paid

their ministers alike. I gave the Protestants a fine church at Paris, which had formerly belonged to the Jesuists. In order to prevent any religious quarrels in places where there were both Catholic and Protestant churches, I prohibited them from tolling the bells to summon the people to worship in their respective churches, unless the ministers of the one and the other made a specific request for permission to do so, and stating that it was at the desire and request of the members of each religion. Permission was then given for a year, and if at the expiration of that year the demand was not renewed by both parties again, it was not continued. By these means, I prevented the squabbles which had previously existed, as the Catholic priests found that they could not have their own bells tolled, unless the Protestants had a similar privilege."

"There is a link between animals and the Deity. Man," added he, "is merely a more perfect animal than the rest. He reasons better. But how do we know that animals have not a language of their own? My opinion is, that it is presumption in us to say no, because we do not understand them. A horse has memory, knowledge, and love. He knows his master from the servants, though the latter are more constantly with him. I had a horse myself, who knew me from any other person, and manifested by capering and proudly

marching with his head erect, when I was on his back, his knowledge that he bore a person superior to the others by whom he was surrounded. Neither would he allow any other person to mount him, except one groom, who constantly took care of him, and when ridden by him, his motions were far different, and such as seemed to say that he was conscious he bore an inferior. When I lost my way, I was accustomed to throw the reins down his neck, and he always discovered it in places where I, with all my observation and boasted superior knowledge, could not. Who can deny the sagacity of dogs? There is a link between all animals. Plants are so many animals who eat and drink, and there are gradations up to man, who is only the most perfect of them all. The same spirit animates them all in a greater or a lesser degree."

"That governor," added he, "has closed up the path which led to the company's gardens, where I used to walk sometimes, as it is the only spot sheltered from the *vento agro*, which I suppose he thought was too great an indulgence, '*Son certo che ha qualche cattivo oggetto in vista.*' But I do not give myself any uneasiness about it, for when a man's time is come he must go." I took the liberty of asking if he was a predestinarian. "*Sicuro*," replied Napoleon, "as much so as the Turks are. I have been always so. When destiny wills, it

must be obeyed. *(Quando lo vuole il destino, bisogna ubbidire.)*"

Asked him some questions about Blucher, "Blucher," said he, "is a very brave soldier, *un bon sabreur*. He is like a bull who shuts his eyes, and, seeing no danger, rushes on. He committed a thousand faults, and had it not been for circumstances I could repeatedly have made him and the greatest part of his army prisoners. He is stubborn and indefatigable, afraid of nothing, and very much attached to his country; but as a general, he is without talent. I recollect that when I was in Prussia, he dined at my table after he had surrendered, and he was then considered to be an ordinary character."

Speaking about the English soldiers, he observed, "the English soldier is brave, nobody more so, and the officers generally men of honour, but I do not think them yet capable of executing grand manœuvres. I think that if I were at the head of them, I could make them do any thing. However, I know them not enough yet to speak decidedly. I had a conversation with Bingham about it; and although he is of a different opinion, I would alter your system. Instead of the lash, I would lead them by the stimulus of honour. I would instil a degree of emulation into their minds. I would promote every deserving soldier, as I did in France. After an action I assembled the offi-

cers and soldiers, and asked, who have acquitted themselves best? *Quels sont les braves?* and promoted such of them as were capable of reading and writing. Those who were not, I ordered to study five hours a day until they had learned a sufficiency, and then promoted them. What might not be expected from the English army, if every soldier hoped to be made a general if he behaved well? Bingham says, however, that the greatest part of your soldiers are brutes, and must be driven by the stick. But surely," continued he, " the English soldiers must be possessed of sentiments sufficient to put them at least upon a level with the soldiers of other nations, where the degrading system of the lash is not used. Whatever debases man cannot be serviceable. Bingham says, that none but the dregs of the *canaille* voluntarily enter as soldiers. This disgraceful punishment is the cause of it. I would remove it, and make even the situation of a private soldier be considered as conferring honour upon the individual who bore it. I would act as I did in France. I would encourage young men of education, the sons of merchants, gentlemen, and others, to enter as private soldiers, and promote them according to their merits. I would substitute confinement, bread and water, the contempt of his comrades *(le mépris de ses camarades)*, and such other punishments for the lash. *Quando il soldato è avvilito e disonorato colle fruste, poco*

*gli preme la gloria o l'onore della sua patria**. What honour can a man possibly have who is flogged before his comrades. He loses all feeling, and would as soon fight against as for his country, if he were better paid by the opposite party. When the Austrians had possession of Italy, they in vain attempted to make soldiers of the Italians. They either deserted as fast as they raised them, or else, when compelled to advance against an enemy, they ran away on the first fire. It was impossible to keep together a single regiment. When I got Italy, and began to raise soldiers, the Austrians laughed at me, and said that it was in vain, that they had been trying for a long time, and that it was not in the nature of the Italians to fight or to make good soldiers. Notwithstanding this, I raised many thousands of Italians, who fought with a bravery equal to the French, and did not desert me even in my adversity What was the cause? I abolished flogging and the stick, which the Austrians had adopted. I promoted those amongst the soldiers who had talents, and made many of them generals. I substituted honour and emulation for terror and the lash."

I asked his opinion relative to the comparative merit of the Russians, Prussians, and Germans. Napoleon replied, " Soldiers change, sometimes

* "When a soldier has been debased and dishonoured by stripes, he cares but little for the glory, or the honour of his country."

brave, sometimes *lâches*. I have seen the Russians at Eylau perform prodigies of valour: they were so many heroes. At Moscow, entrenched up to their necks, they allowed me to beat two hundred and fifty thousand men with ninety thousand. At Jena, and at other battles in that campaign, the Prussians fled like sheep; since that time they have fought bravely. My opinion is, that *now*, the Prussian soldier is superior to the Austrian. The French cuirassiers were the best cavalry in the world *pour enfoncer l'infanterie*. Individually, there is no horseman superior, or perhaps equal to the Mamaluke ; but they cannot act in a body. As partisans, the Cossacs excel, and the Poles as lancers." This he said in reply to a question made by me of his opinion relative to the cavalry.

I asked who he thought was the best general amongst the Austrians. " Prince Charles," he replied, " although he has committed a thousand faults. As to Schwartzenberg, he is not fit to command six thousand men."

Napoleon then spoke about the siege of Toulon, and observed, that he had made General O'Hara prisoner, " I may say," said he, " with my own hand. I had constructed a masked battery of eight twenty-four pounders, and four mortars, in order to open upon fort Malbosquet (I think it was), which was in possession of the English.

It was finished in the evening, and it was my intention to have opened upon them in the morning. While I was giving directions at another part of the army, some of the deputies from the convention came down. In those days they sometimes took upon them to direct the operations of the armies, and those imbeciles ordered the battery to commence, which was obeyed. As soon as I saw this premature fire, I immediately conceived that the English general would attack the battery and most probably carry it, as matters had not been yet arranged to support it. In fact O'Hara, seeing that the fire from that battery would dislodge his troops from Malbosquet, from which last I would have taken the fort which commanded the harbour, determined upon attacking it. Accordingly, early in the morning he put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out, and actually carried the battery and the lines which I had formed (Napoleon here drew a plan upon a piece of paper of the situation of the batteries) to the left, and those to the right were taken by the Neapolitans. While he was busy in spiking the guns, I advanced with three or four hundred grenadiers, unperceived, through a *boyau* covered with olive-trees, which communicated with the battery, and commenced a terrible fire upon his troops. The English, astonished, at first supposed that the Neapolitans, who had the lines on the right, had mistaken them for French,

and said, it is those *canaglie* of Neapolitans who are firing upon us (for even at that time your troops despised the Neapolitans). O'Hara ran out of the battery and advanced towards us. In advancing, he was wounded in the arm by the fire of a serjeant, and I, who stood at the mouth of the *boyau*, seized him by the coat, and threw him back amongst my own men, thinking that he was a colonel, as he had two epaulettes on. While they were taking him to the rear, he cried out that he was the commander in chief of the English. He thought that they were going to massacre him, as there existed a horrible order at that time from the convention to give no quarter to the English. I ran up and prevented the soldiers from ill-treating him. He spoke very bad French; and as I saw that he imagined they intended to butcher him, I did every thing in my power to console him, and gave directions that his wound should be immediately dressed, and every attention paid to him. He afterwards begged of me to give him a statement of how he had been taken, in order that he might shew it to his government in his justification."

"Those blockheads of deputies," continued he, "wanted to attack and storm the town first; but I explained to them that it was very strong, and that we should lose many men; that the best way would be to make ourselves masters of the forts

which commanded the harbour, and then the English would either be taken, or be obliged to burn the greatest part of the fleet, and escape. My advice was taken; and the English perceiving what would be the result, set fire to the ships and abandoned the town. If a *libeccio** had come on, they would have been all taken. It was Sydney Smith who set them on fire, and they would have been all burnt, if the Spaniards had behaved well. It was the finest *feu d'artifice* possible."

"Those Neapolitans," continued he, "are the most vile *canaglie* in the world. Murat ruined me by advancing against the Austrians with them. When old Ferdinand heard of it, he laughed and said in his jargon, that they would serve Murat as they had done him before, when Championet dispersed a hundred thousand of them like so many sheep with ten thousand Frenchmen. I had forbidden Murat to act; for, after I returned from Elba, there was an understanding between the Emperor of Austria and me, that if I gave him up Italy, he would not join the coalition against me. This I had promised, and would have fulfilled it; but that *imbecille*, in spite of the direction I had given him to remain quiet, advanced with his rabble into Italy, where he was blown away like a puff. The Emperor of Austria seeing this, concluded directly that it was by

* A south-wind.

my orders, and that I deceived him; and being conscious that he had betrayed me himself before, supposed that I did not intend to keep faith with him, and determined to endeavour to crush me with all his forces. Twice Murat betrayed and ruined me. Before, when he forsook me, he joined the allies with sixty thousand men, and obliged me to leave thirty thousand in Italy, when I wanted them so much elsewhere. At that time, his army was well officered by French. Had it not been for this rash step of Murat's, the Russians would have retreated, as their intentions were not to have advanced, if Austria did not join the coalition; so that you would have been left to yourselves, and have gladly made a peace."

He observed that he had always been willing to conclude a peace with England. "Let your ministers say what they like," said he, "I was always ready to make a peace. At the time that Fox died, there was every prospect of effecting one, if Lord Lauderdale had been sincere at first, it would also have been concluded. Before the campaign in Prussia, I caused it to be signified to him that he had better persuade his countrymen to make peace, as I would be master of Prussia in two months; for this reason, that although Russia and Prussia united might be able to oppose me, yet that Prussia alone could not. That the Russians were three months' march distant; and that

as I had intelligence that their plan of campaign was to defend Berlin, instead of retiring, in order to obtain the support of the Russians, I would destroy their army, and take Berlin before the Russians came up, who alone I would easily defeat afterwards. I therefore advised him to take advantage of my offer of peace, before Prussia, who was your best friend on the continent, was destroyed. After this communication, I believe that Lord Lauderdale was sincere, and that he wrote to your ministers recommending peace; but they would not agree to it, thinking that the king of Prussia was at the head of a hundred thousand men; that I might be defeated, and that a defeat would be my ruin. This was possible. A battle sometimes decides every thing; and sometimes the most trifling circumstance decides the fate of a battle. The event, however, proved that I was right; after Jena, Prussia was mine. After Tilsit and at Erfurth," continued he, "a letter containing proposals of peace to England, and signed by the Emperor Alexander and myself, was sent to your ministers, but they would not accept of them.

He spoke of Sir Sydney Smith. "Sydney Smith," said he, "is a brave officer. He displayed considerable ability in the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. He took advantage of the discontent which he found to prevail

amongst the French troops, at being so long away from France, and other circumstances. He also manifested great honour in sending immediately to Kleber the refusal of Lord Keith to ratify the treaty, which saved the French army; if he had kept it a secret for seven or eight days longer, Cairo would have been given up to the Turks, and the French army necessarily obliged to surrender to the English. He also shewed great humanity and honour in all his proceedings towards the French who fell into his hands. He landed at Havre, for some *sottise* of a bet he had made, according to some, to go to the theatre; others said it was for espionage; however that may be, he was arrested and confined in the Temple as a spy; and at one time it was intended to try and execute him. Shortly after I returned from Italy, he wrote to me from his prison, to request that I would intercede for him; but under the circumstances in which he was taken, I could do nothing for him. He is active, intelligent, intriguing, and indefatigable; but I believe that he is *mezzo pazzo*."

I asked if Sir Sydney had not displayed great talent and bravery at Acre? Napoleon replied, "Yes, the chief cause of the failure there was, that he took all my battering train, which was on board of several small vessels. Had it not been for that, I would have taken Acre in spite of him.

He behaved very bravely, and was well seconded by Philippeaux, a Frenchman of talent, who had studied with me as an engineer. There was a Major Douglas also who behaved very gallantly. The acquisition of five or six hundred seamen as cannoniers, was a great advantage to the Turks, whose spirits they revived, and whom they shewed how to defend the fortress. But he committed a great fault in making sorties, which cost the lives of two or three hundred brave fellows, without the possibility of success. For it was impossible he could succeed against the number of the French who were before Acre. I would lay a wager that he lost half of his crew in them. He dispersed proclamations amongst my troops, which certainly shook some of them, and I in consequence published an order, stating that he was *mad*, and forbidding all communication with him. Some days after, he sent, by means of a flag of truce, a lieutenant or a midshipman with a letter containing a challenge to me to meet him at some place he pointed out, in order to fight a duel. I laughed at this, and sent him back an intimation that when he brought Marlborough to fight me, I would meet him. Notwithstanding this, I like the character of the man."

In answer to a remark of mine, that the invasion of Spain had been a measure very destructive to him, he replied, "If the government I esta-

blished had remained, it would have been the best thing that ever happened for Spain. I would have regenerated the Spaniards; I would have made them a great nation. Instead of a feeble, imbecile, and superstitious race of Bourbons, I would have given them a new dynasty, that would have no claim on the nation, except by the good it would have rendered unto it. For an hereditary race of asses, they would have had a monarch, with ability to revive the nation, sunk under the yoke of superstition and ignorance. Perhaps it is better for France that I did not succeed, as Spain would have been a formidable rival. I would have destroyed superstition and priestcraft, and abolished the inquisition and the monasteries of those lazy *bestie di frati.* I would at least have rendered the priests harmless. The guerillas, who fought so bravely against me, now lament their success. When I was last in Paris, I had letters from Mina, and many other leaders of the guerillas, craving assistance to expel their *friar* from the throne."

Napoleon afterwards made some observations relative to the governor, whose suspicious and mysterious conduct he contrasted with the open and undisguised manner in which Sir George Cockburn conducted himself. "Though the admiral was severe and rough," said he, "yet he was incapable of a mean action. He had no atro-

cities in contemplation, and therefore made no mystery or secrecy of his conduct. Never have I suspected him of any sinister design. Although I might not like him, yet I could not despise him. I despise the other. As a gaoler, the admiral was kind and humane, and we ought to be grateful to him; as our host, we have reason to be dissatisfied, and to complain of him. This gaoler deprives life of every inducement to me. Were it not that it would be an act of cowardice, and that it would please your ministers, I would get rid of it. *Tengo la vita per la gloria.* There is more courage in supporting an existence like mine, than in abandoning it. This governor has a double correspondence with your ministers, similar to that which all your ambassadors maintain; one written so as to deceive the world, should they ever be called upon to publish it, and the other, giving a true account, for themselves alone." I observed, that I believed all ambassadors and other official persons in all countries, wrote two accounts, one for the public, and the other containing matters which it might not not be right to divulge. "True, *signor medico,*" replied Napoleon, taking me by the ear in a good-humoured manner, "but there is not so Machiavelian a ministry in the world as your own. *Cela tient à votre systême.* That, and the liberty of your press, obliges your ministers to render some account to

the nation, and therefore they want to be able to deceive the public in many instances; but as it is also necessary for them to know the truth *themselves*, they have a double correspondence; one official and false, calculated to gull the nation, when published, or called for by the parliament; the other, private and true, to be kept locked up in their own possession, and not deposited in the archives. In this way, they manage to make every thing appear as they wish to John Bull. Now this system of falsehood is not necessary in a country where there is no obligation to publish, or to render an account; if the sovereign does not like to make known any transaction officially, he keeps it to himself, and gives no explanation; therefore there is no need of causing varnished accounts to be written, in order to deceive the people. For these reasons, there are more falsifications in your official documents, than in those of any other nation."

10*th*.—Wrote a statement to Sir Hudson Lowe, purporting it to be my opinion, that a further continuance of confinement and want of exercise would be productive of some serious complaint to Napoleon, which in all probability would prove fatal to him.

12*th*.—Conversed with Napoleon, who was in his bath, for a considerable time. On asking his opinion of Talleyrand, "Talleyrand," said he, "*le*

plus vil des agioteurs, bas flatteur. C'est un homme corrompu, who has betrayed all parties and persons. Wary and circumspect; always a traitor, but always in conspiracy with fortune, Talleyrand treats his enemies as if they were one day to become his friends; and his friends, as if they were to become his enemies. He is a man of talent, but venal in every thing. Nothing could be done with him but by means of bribery. The kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria made so many complaints of his rapacity and extortion, that I took his portfeuille from him: besides, I found that he had divulged to some *intrigants*, a most important secret which I had confided to him alone. He hates the Bourbons in his heart. When I returned from Elba, Talleyrand wrote to me from Vienna, offering his services, and to betray the Bourbons, provided I would pardon and restore him to favour. He argued upon a part of my proclamation, in which I said there were circumstances which it was impossible to resist, which he quoted. But I considered that there were a few I was obliged to except, and refused, as it would have excited indignation if I had not punished somebody."

I asked if it were true that Talleyrand had advised him to dethrone the King of Spain, and mentioned that the Duke of Rovigo had told me that Talleyrand had said in his presence, "Your

majesty will never be secure upon your throne, while a Bourbon is seated upon one." He replied, "True, he advised me to do every thing which would injure the Bourbons, whom he detests."

Napoleon shewed me the marks of two wounds; one a very deep cicatrice above the left knee, which he said he had received in his first campaign of Italy, and was of so serious a nature, that the surgeons were in doubt whether it might not be ultimately necessary to amputate. He observed, that when he was wounded, it was always kept a secret, in order not to discourage the soldiers. The other was on the toe, and had been received at Eckmühl. "At the siege of Acre," continued he, "a shell thrown by Sydney Smith fell at my feet. Two soldiers who were close by, seized, and closely embraced me, one in front and the other on one side, and made a rampart of their bodies for me, against the effect of the shell, which exploded, and overwhelmed us with sand. We sunk into the hole formed by its bursting; one of them was wounded. I made them both officers. One has since lost a leg at Moscow, and commanded at Vincennes when I left Paris. When he was summoned by the Russians, he replied, that as soon as they sent him back the leg he had lost at Moscow, he would surrender the fortress. Many times in my life," continued he, "have I been saved by soldiers and officers throw-

ing themselves before me when I was in the most imminent danger. At Arcola, when I was advancing, Colonel Meuron, my aid-de-camp, threw himself before me, covered me with his body, and received the wound which was destined for me. He fell at my feet, and his blood spouted up in my face. He gave his life to preserve mine. Never yet, I believe, has there been such devotion shewn by soldiers as mine have manifested for me. In all my misfortunes, never has the soldier, even when expiring, been wanting to me—never has man been served more faithfully by his troops. With the last drop of blood gushing out of their veins, they exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur*." !

I asked, if he had gained the battle of Waterloo, whether he would have agreed to the treaty of Paris. Napoleon replied, "I would certainly have ratified it. I would not have made such a peace myself. Sooner than agree to much better terms I abdicated before; but finding it already made, I would have kept it, because France had need of repose."

13*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent orders to Count Las Cases to dismiss his present servant, and to replace him by a soldier whom he sent for that purpose. The count replied, that Sir Hudson Lowe had the power to take away his servant, but that he could not compel him (Las Cases) to receive another. That it would certainly be an inconve-

nience to lose his servant in the present state of ill health of his son; but that if he were taken away, he would not accept one of Sir Hudson Lowe's choosing. Captain Poppleton wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, stating the count's disinclination; and I informed him, that the man he had sent to replace the count's servant, had formerly been employed at Longwood, and turned away for drunkenness. Sir Hudson then desired me to tell Poppleton, that the former servant might remain until he could find one that would answer, adding, that he would look out himself for a proper subject, which he also desired me to tell the count. Informed him that it was my intention to call in Mr. Baxter, to have the benefit of his advice in the case of young Las Cases, which presented some alarming appearances.

Communicated to Count Las Cases the message I was charged with by Sir Hudson Lowe. The count replied, "if the governor had told me that he did not wish my servant to remain with me, or that he would be glad if I sent him away, and that he would give me a fortnight to look out for another, I would immediately have dismissed him, and most probably have asked the governor to send me another; but acting in the manner he has done, without saying a word to me, I will take no servant from his hands. He treats me as a corporal would do. The admiral, even if dis-

pleased with me, never would have taken my servant away out of revenge."

Dined at Plantation House in company with the Marquis Montchenu, who amused the company with the importance which he attached to *grande naissance*, relative to which he recounted some anecdotes.

16*th*.—The Adamant transport arrived from the Cape, bringing news of the arrival of Sir George Cockburn in England, and that he had had an audience with the Prince Regent on the 2nd of August.

An inspector of police named Rainsford arrived from England and the Cape.

17*th*.—The allowances for Longwood diminished by order of Sir Hudson Lowe two pounds of meat daily, in consequence of the departure of a servant, who had received but one pound. A bottle of wine also struck off.

The carters who bring up the provisions, state that the foul linen of Longwood is frequently inspected by Sir Thomas Reade on its arrival in town. Countess Bertrand sent down in the trunk containing her soiled linen, some novels which she had borrowed from Miss Chesborough, before the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe on the island. They were placed on the top of the linen, and the trunk was unlocked. Sir Thomas Reade said, that it was a violation of the proclamation, and

that Miss Chesborough should be turned off the island. He then examined the countess's linen, upon which he made observations not consistent with the delicacy or the respect due to the female sex.

Mentioned to the emperor that I had been informed he had saved Maréchal Duroc's life during his first campaigns in Italy, when seized and condemned to death as an emigrant; which was asserted to have been the cause of the great attachment subsequently displayed by Duroc to him until the hour of his death. Napoleon looked surprised, and replied, "No such thing—who told you that tale?" I said that I had heard the Marquis Montchenu repeat it at a public dinner. "There is not a word of truth in it," replied Napoleon. "I took Duroc out of the artillery train when he was a boy, and protected him until his death. But I suppose Montchenu said this, because Duroc was of an old family, which in that booby's eyes is the only source of merit. He despises every body who has not as many hundred years of nobility to boast of as himself. It was such as Montchenu who were the chief cause of the revolution. Before it, such a man as Bertrand, who is worth an army of Montchenu's, could not even be a *sous-lieutenant*, while *vieux enfans* like him would be generals. God help," continued he, "the nation that is governed by such. In my time, most of the generals, of whose deeds France

is so proud, sprung from that very class of plebeians so much despised by him. It surprises me," added he, "that they have permitted the Duchess of Reggio to be *première dame* to the Duchess of Berri, as her husband was once a private soldier, and did not spring from *grande naissance*." I asked his opinion of the Duke of Reggio. "A brave man," replied Napoleon, "*Ma di poca testa*. He has been influenced latterly by his young wife, who is of an old family, whose vanity and prejudices she inherits. However," continued he, "he offered his services after my return from Elba, and took the oath of allegiance to me." I asked him if he thought that he was sincere. "It might have been so, *signor medico*. If I had succeeded, I dare say he would have been."

Napoleon very busily employed in dictating his memoirs to Counts Bertrand and Montholon.

Sir Hudson Lowe objected to allowing the produce of the last plate which had been disposed of to be placed at the disposal of the French, alleging that it was too large a sum, viz. 295*l*., and demanded an explanation of the manner in which so *large* a sum of money was to be disposed of. It appeared upon examination, that instead of having 295*l*. disposable, there would be in reality only a few pounds, as 85*l*. was due to Marchand, 45*l*. to Cipriani, 16*l*. to Gentilini, for money advanced by them to purchase extra articles of food,

previous to the sale of the last plate: also 70*l.* to Mr. Balcombe's concern, 10*l.* to Le Page, and 20*l.* to Archambaud, for fowls, &c.

22*nd.*—Orders sent up by Sir Hudson Lowe for a fresh reduction in the allowance of meat and wine.

Saw Baron Sturmer in the town, with whom I had some conversation. He was very desirous of seeing Napoleon, and informed me that Sir Hudson Lowe, in granting the commissioners permission to enter as far as the inner gate of Longwood, had required them to pledge their honour that they would not speak to Napoleon, without having first obtained his permission.

23*rd.*—Sir Pulteney Malcolm arrived from the Cape. Napoleon very anxious to obtain some newspapers. Tried to procure some, but was informed that the governor had got all that were to be had.

25*th.*—On my return from town to Longwood, met Sir Hudson Lowe, who was riding up and down the road. When I came near to his excellency, he observed, with an air of triumph, "You will meet your friend Las Cases in custody." A few minutes afterwards, met the count, under charge of the governor's aid-de-camp, Prichard, on his way to Hut's Gate. It had been effected in the following manner: About three o'clock, Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by Sir Thomas

Reade, Major Gorrequer, and three dragoons, entered Longwood. Shortly afterwards, Captain Blakeney and the minister of police followed them. Sir Hudson and Major Gorrequer rode off a little to the left, while the others proceeded to Captain Poppleton's room, having first ordered a corporal and party from the guard to follow them up to the house. Sir Thomas ordered Captain Poppleton to send for Count Las Cases, who was with Napoleon. After they had waited a short time, Las Cases came out, and was arrested while going into his room by Reade and the minister of police, who took possession of his clothes and effects. His papers were sealed up by his son, who afterwards proceeded to Hut's Gate under custody, where he remained with his father in charge of an officer of the 66th regiment, with orders not to be allowed to see any body, except the governor and his staff. It appeared that the count had given a letter, written upon silk, to Scott his servant, with which he was to proceed to England. Scott told this to his father, who had him brought to a Mr. Barker, and from thence to the governor, by whom, after undergoing an examination, he was committed to prison.

Saw Napoleon in the evening, who appeared to have been wholly ignorant of Las Cases' intentions. "I am convinced," said he, "however, that there is nothing of consequence in the letter, as

Las Cases is an honest man, and too much attached to me to undertake any thing of consequence without first having acquainted me with his project. You may depend upon it that it is some letter of complaints to *Miledi* about the conduct of this governor, and the vexations which he inflicts upon us, or to his banker, as he has four or five thousand pounds in some banker's hands in London, which I was to have had for my necessities, and he did not like his letter to go through the governor's hands, as none of us will trust him. If Las Cases had made his project known to me, I would have stopped him; not that I disapprove of his endeavouring to make our situation known, on the contrary; but I disapprove of the bungling manner in which he attempted it. For a man of talent, like Las Cases, to make an ambassador of a slave, who could not read or write, to go upon a *six months* embassy to England, where he never has been, knows nobody, and who, unless the governor was a *scioccone*, would not be permitted to leave the island, is to me incomprehensible. I can only account for it by supposing, that the weight of afflictions which presses upon us, together with the melancholy situation of his son, condemned to die of an incurable malady, have impaired his judgment. All this I wish to be known. I am sorry for it, because people will accuse me of having been privy to the plan, and

will have a poor opinion of my understanding; supposing me to have consented to so shallow a plot. I would have recommended him to have requested of some man of honour to make our situation known in England, and to have taken a letter to the Prince Regent; first asking him to pledge his honour to observe secrecy if he did not choose to perform it. If he betrayed us, so much the worse for himself. Las Cases has with him my campaigns in Italy, and all the official correspondence between the admiral, governor, and Longwood; and I am told that he has made a journal, containing an account of what passes here, with many anecdotes of myself. I have desired Bertrand to go to Plantation House and ask for them. It is the least interesting part of my life, as it only relates the commencement of it; but I should not like this governor to have it.

"I am sure," continued he, "that there is nothing of consequence in Las Cases' letter, or he would have made me acquainted with it; although I dare say this **** will write a hundred falsehoods to England about it. When in Paris, after my return from Elba, I found in M. Blacas's private papers, which he left behind when he ran away from the Thuilleries, a letter which had been written in Elba by one of my sister Pauline's chamber-maids, and appeared to have been composed in a moment of anger. Pauline is very

handsome and graceful. There was a description of her habits, of her dress, her wardrobe, and of every thing that she liked; of how fond I was of contributing to her happiness; and that I had superintended the furnishing of her *boudoir* myself; what an extraordinary man I was; that one night I had burnt my finger dreadfully, and had merely poured a bottle of ink over it, without appearing to regard the pain, and many little *bêtises* true enough perhaps. This letter M. Blacas had got interpolated with horrid stories; in fact, insinuating that I slept with my sister; and in the margin, in the hand-writing of the interpolator, was written '*to be printed.*'"

26*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. Asked if I had heard any thing more respecting Las Cases; professed his sorrow to lose him. "Las Cases," said he, "is the only one of the French who can speak English well, or explain it to my satisfaction. I cannot now read an English newspaper. Madame Bertrand understands English perfectly; but you know one cannot trouble a lady. Las Cases was necessary to me. Ask the admiral to interest himself for that poor man, who, I am convinced, has not said as much as there was in Montholon's letter. He will die under all these afflictions, for he has no bodily strength, and his unfortunate son will finish his existence a little sooner."

He asked if Madame Bertrand had not been

unwell, and said he believed she suspected that her mother was either dead or most alarmingly ill. "Those creoles," said he, "are very susceptible. Josephine was subject to nervous attacks when in affliction. She was really an amiable woman—elegant, charming, and affable. *Era la dama la più graziosa di Francia.* She was the goddess of the toilet, all the fashions originated with her; every thing she put on appeared elegant; and she was so kind, so humane—she was the best woman in France."

He then spoke about the distress prevailing in England, and said, that it was caused by the abuses of the ministry. "You have done wonders," said he; "you have effected impossibilities, I may say; but I think that England, encumbered with a national debt, which will take forty years of peace and commerce to pay off, may be compared to a man who has drunk large quantities of brandy to give him courage and strength; but afterwards weakened by the stimulus which had imparted energy for the moment, he totters and finally falls; his powers entirely exhausted by the unnatural means used to excite them."

Some conversation then took place relative to the battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon said, that prior to the battle, the king of Prussia had signed the coalition against him. "Haugwitz," said he, "came to inform me of it, and advised me to think

of peace. I replied, 'The event of the battle which is approaching will decide every thing. I think that I shall gain it, and if so, I will dictate such a peace as answers my purposes. *Now* I will hear nothing.' The event answered my expectation: I gained a victory so decisive, as to enable me to dictate what terms I pleased." I asked him if Haugwitz had been gained by him? He replied, "No; but he was of opinion that Prussia should never play the first fiddle *(giuocare il primo ruolo)* in the affairs of the continent; that she was only a second-rate power, and ought to act as such. Even if I had lost the battle, I expected that Prussia would not cordially join the allies, as it would naturally be her interest to preserve an equilibrium in Europe, which would not result from her joining those who, on my being defeated, would be much the strongest. Besides, jealousies and suspicions would arise, and the allies would not have trusted to the king of Prussia, who had betrayed them before. I gave Hanover to the Prussians," continued he, "on purpose to embroil them with you, produce a war, and shut you out from the continent. The king of Prussia was blockhead enough to believe that he could keep Hanover, and still remain at peace with you. Like a madman, he made war upon me afterwards, induced by the queen and prince Louis, with some other young men, who persuaded him that

Prussia was strong enough, even without Russia. A few weeks convinced him of the contrary." I asked him what he would have done if the king of Prussia had joined the allies with his army previous to the battle of Austerlitz? "Ah, Mr. Doctor, that would have entirely altered the face of things."

He eulogized the king of Saxony, who he said was a truly good man; the king of Bavaria, a plain good man; the king of Wirtemberg, a man of considerable talent, but unprincipled and wicked. "Alexander and the latter," said he, "are the only sovereigns in Europe possessed of talents. Lord ****, *un mauvais sujet, un agioteur*. While negociating in Paris, he sent couriers away every day to London, for the purposes of stock-jobbing, which was solely what he interested himself about. Had there been an honest man, instead of an intriguing stock-jobber, it is very likely the negotiation would have succeeded. I was much grieved afterwards to have had any affairs with such a contemptible character." This was pronounced with an air of disdain.

27*th.*—Napoleon very much concerned about the treatment which Las Cases had suffered, and the detention of his own papers. He observed, that if there had been any plot in Las Cases' letter, the governor could have perceived it in ten minutes perusal. That in a few moments he could also see that the campaigns of Italy, &c. contained

nothing treasonable; and that it was contrary to all law to detain papers belonging to him (Napoleon). "Perhaps," said he, "he will come up here some day and say that he has received intimation that a plot to effect my escape is in agitation. What guarantee have I, that when I have nearly finished my history, he will not seize the whole of it? It is true that I can keep my manuscripts in my own room, and with a couple of brace of pistols I can despatch the first who enters. I must burn the whole of what I have written. It served as an amusement to me in this dismal abode, and might perhaps have been interesting to the world, but with this *sbirro Siciliano* there is no guarantee nor security. He violates every law, and tramples under foot decency, politeness, and the common forms of society. He came up with a savage joy beaming from his eyes, because he had an opportunity of insulting and tormenting us. While surrounding the house with his staff, he reminded me of the savages of the South Sea islands, dancing round the prisoners whom they were going to devour. Tell him," continued he, "what I said about his conduct." For fear that I should forget, he repeated his expressions about the savages a second time, and made me say it after him.

Went to Hut's Gate to see Sir Hudson Lowe, who had sent a dragoon for me. On my arrival, his

excellency told me that the campaigns of Italy, and the official documents, would be sent to Longwood the following day, and desired me to tell General Bonaparte that all his papers had been kept sacred, and that all his personal ones should be returned. As to Las Cases' journal, he said that he would have some conversation with Count Bertrand concerning it.

I informed his excellency that Napoleon had disclaimed all knowledge of the project which Count Las Cases had formed, and added my own conviction, that until the moment that the letters had been arrested, he was wholly ignorant of his intentions. Sir Hudson replied, that he acquitted him of any knowledge of the matter, which he desired me to tell him, and congratulated himself much on his own discernment in the opinion he had formed of Count Las Cases' servant.

Saw young Las Cases afterwards, who was very unwell. During the time that I was examining him professionally, Sir Thomas Reade remained in the room. On my going out, Sir Thomas said, that "old Las Cases had been so impertinent to the governor, that the latter had ordered that he should not be permitted to see any person, unless in the presence of some of the governor's staff."

On my return, explained to Napoleon the governor's message, and informed him that I had seen

part of his papers sealed up. When I said that the governor had acquitted him of any participation in the business; "if," said he, "I had known of it, and had not put a stop to it, I should have been worse than a *pazzo da catena*. I suppose he thinks there was some plot for my escape. I can safely say that I left Elba with eight hundred men, and arrived at Paris, through France, without any other plot than that of knowing the sentiments of the French nation."

He then sent for St. Denis, who had copied Las Cases' journal, and asked him the nature of it. St. Denis replied that it was a journal of every thing remarkable that had taken place since the embarkation on board of the Bellerophon; and contained divers anecdotes of different persons, of Sir George Cockburn, &c. "How is he treated?" says Napoleon, "*Comme ça, Sire.*" "Has he said that I called him a *requin?*" "Yes, Sire," "Sir George Bingham?" "Very well spoken of, also Colonel Wilks." "Is there any thing to compromise any person?" (naming three or four.) "No, Sire." "Any thing about Admiral Malcolm?" "Yes, Sire." "Does it say that I observed, Behold the countenance of a real Englishman? "Yes, Sire, he is very well treated." "Any thing about the governor?" "A great deal, Sire," replied St. Denis, who could not help smiling, "Does it say that I said, *C'est un homme ignoble,*

and that his face was the most *ignoble* I had ever seen?" St. Denis replied in the affirmative, but added, that his expressions were very frequently *moderated.* Napoleon asked if the anecdote of the coffee-cup was in it; St. Denis replied, he did not recollect it. "Does it say that I called him, *sbire Sicilien?*" "*Oui, Sire.*" "*C'est son nom,*" said the emperor.

Napoleon conversed about his brother Joseph, whom he described as being a most excellent character. "His virtues and talents are those of a private character; and for such, nature intended him: he is too good to be a great man. He has no ambition. He is very like me in person, but handsomer. He is extremely well informed." On all occasions I have observed that Napoleon spoke of his brother Joseph in terms of warm affection.

29*th.*—Having been unwell for some days with a liver complaint, a disease extremely prevalent, and frequently fatal in the island; and finding the symptoms considerably aggravated by the frequent journeys I was obliged to make to town and Plantation House, I felt it necessary to apply to Dr. M'Lean of the 53rd regiment to bleed me very profusely. Before the abstraction of blood was well over, Sir Hudson Lowe came into my apartment. I informed him that Napoleon had said, "what guarantee can I have that he will not come up some day when I have

nearly finished my history, and under some pretext, seize it?" which he had desired might be communicated to him. Sir Hudson replied, "The guarantee of his good conduct!"

Shortly afterwards I saw Napoleon in his dressing-room. He was much pleased at having received the campaigns of Italy, and added that he would reclaim the other papers. "This governor," said he, "if he had any delicacy, would not have continued to read a work in which his conduct was depicted in its true light. He must have been little satisfied with the comparisons made between Cockburn and him, especially where it is mentioned that I said the admiral was rough, but incapable of a mean action; but that his successor was capable of every thing that was *** and ***. I am glad, however, that he has read it, because he will see the real opinion that we have of him." While he was speaking, my vision became indistinct, every thing appeared to swim before my eyes, and I fell upon the floor in a fainting fit. When I recovered my senses and opened my eyes, the first object which presented itself to my view, I shall never forget: it was the countenance of Napoleon, bending over my face, and regarding me with an expression of great concern and anxiety. With one hand he was opening my shirt-collar, and with the other, holding a bottle *de vinaigre des quatre voleurs* to my

nostrils. He had taken off my cravat, and dashed the contents of a bottle of *eau de Cologne* over my face. "When I saw you fall," said he, "I at first thought that your foot had slipped; but seeing you remain without motion, I apprehended that it was a fit of apoplexy; observing, however, that your face was the colour of death, your lips white and without motion, and no evident respiration or bloated countenance, I concluded directly that it was a fit of syncope, or that your soul had departed." Marchand now came into the room, whom he ordered to give me some orange-flower water, which was a favorite remedy of his. When he saw me fall, in his haste he broke the bell riband. He told me that he had lifted me up, placed me in a chair, torn off my cravat, dashed some *eau de Cologne* and water over my face, &c., and asked if he had done right. I informed him that he had done every thing proper, and as a surgeon would have done under similar circumstances; except that instead of allowing me to remain in a recumbent posture, he had placed me in a chair. When I was leaving the room, I heard him tell Marchand in an under-voice to follow me, for fear I should have another fit.

December 1*st*.—Napoleon, after some inquiries touching my health, and the effects of the mercury upon me, observed that he wished Las Cases to go away, as three or four months stay in St. He-

lena would be of little utility either to Las Cases or himself. The next," said he, "to be removed under some pretext, will be Montholon, as they see that he is a most useful and consoling friend to me, and that he always endeavours to anticipate my wants. I am less unfortunate than them. I see nobody; they are subject to daily insults and vexations. They cannot speak, they cannot write, they cannot stir out without submitting to degrading restrictions. I am sorry that two months ago they did not all go. I have sufficient force to resist alone against all this tyranny. It is only prolonging their agony to keep them here a few months longer. After they have been taken away, you will be sent off, *et alors le crime sera consommé.* They are subject to every caprice which arbitrary power chooses to inflict, and are not protected by any laws. He is at once *geolier,* governor, accuser, judge, and sometimes executioner; for example, when he seized that East Indian, who was recommended by that *brave homme,* Colonel Skelton, to General Montholon, as a good servant. He came up here and seized the man with his own hands under my windows. He did justice to himself certainly; *le metier d'un sbire lui convient beaucoup mieux que celui de représentant d'une grande nation.* A soldier is better off than they are, as, if he is accused, he must be tried according to known forms before he can be

punished. In the worst dungeon in England, a prisoner is not denied printed papers and books. Except obliging me to see him, he has done every thing to annoy me.

"Instead of allowing us to be subject to the caprice of an individual," added he, "there ought to be a council composed of the admiral, Sir George Bingham, and two members of the council, to debate and decide upon the measures necessary to be adopted towards us."

3rd.—Napoleon sent for me at one o'clock, p. m. Found him in bed suffering from headach and general uneasiness, which had been preceded by shiverings. Had a little fever during the night. I recommended some remedies, and pointed out in strong terms the necessity there was of his following my advice, and especially in taking exercise, and my firm conviction, that in the contrary case, he would soon be seized with an alarming fit of illness. "*Tanto meglio,*" replied Napoleon; "*più presto si finirà.*"

4th.—Wrote an account of the state of Napoleon's health, and of the advice which I had given him, to Sir Hudson Lowe. Napoleon somewhat better. Observed that it was impossible for him to follow the recommendation I had given, to take exercise; first, on account of the restrictions, and next, the furious wind, or when that was calmed, the want of shade at Longwood to

protect him from the rays of the tropical sun. He gave his opinions about Moreau and others. "Moreau," said he, "was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. With a hundred thousand men, Moreau would divide his army in different positions, covering roads, and would not do more than if he had only thirty thousand. He did not know how to profit either by the number of his troops, or by their positions. Very calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to command in the heat of an action than to make dispositions prior to it. He was often seen smoking his pipe in battle. Moreau was not naturally a man of a bad heart; *Un bon vivant, mais il n'avait pas beaucoup de caractère.* He was led away by his wife and another intriguing Creole. His having joined Pichegru and Georges in the conspiracy, and subsequently having closed his life fighting against his country, will ever disgrace his memory. As a general, Moreau was infinitely inferior to Desaix, or to Kleber, or even to Soult. Of all the generals I ever had under me, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; especially Desaix, as Kleber only loved glory, inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures, whereas Desaix loved glory for itself, and despised every thing else. Desaix was wholly wrapt up in war and glory. To him riches and pleasure were

valueless, nor did he give them a moment's thought. He was a little black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort or convenience. When in Egypt, I made him a present of a complete field-equipage several times, but he always lost it. Wrapt up in a cloak, Desaix threw himself under a gun, and slept as contentedly as if he were in a palace. For him luxury had no charms. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs, *the just sultan.* He was intended by nature for a great general. Kleber and Desaix were a loss irreparable to France. Had Kleber lived, your army in Egypt would have perished. Had that imbecile Menou, attacked you on your landing with twenty thousand men, as he might have done, instead of the division Lanusse, your army would have been only a meal for them. You were seventeen or eighteen thousand strong, without cavalry."

"Lasnes, when I first took him by the hand, was an *ignorantaccio.* His education had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. Had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery; cool in the midst of fire;

and possessed of a clear and penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions, sometimes even in my presence; he was ardently attached to me. In the midst of his anger he would not suffer any person to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a choleric mood, it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say, that such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult."

"Massena," said he, "was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previous to a battle; and it was not until the dead fell around him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, then Massena was himself; gave his orders, and made his dispositions with the greatest *sang froid* and judgment. This is, *la vera nobiltà di sangue*.* It was truly said of Massena, that he never began to act with judgment until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves along with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often, that if he would discontinue his peculations, I would make him a present of eight hun-

* True nobleness of blood.

dred thousand, or a million of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been soiled with the vice of avarice, he would have been a great man."

"Pichegru," continued Napoleon, "was *répétiteur* at Brienne, and instructed me in mathematics, when I was about ten years old. He possessed considerable knowledge in that science. As a general, Pichegru was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, although he had never done any thing extraordinarily great, as the success of the campaigns in Holland was in a great measure owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers, by throwing them purposely into the enemy's hands, whom he had informed before hand of his intentions. He had a dispute once with Kleber, at a time when, instead of marching his army upon Mayence, as he ought to have done, he marched the greatest part of them to another point, where Kleber observed that it would only be necessary to send the *ambulances* with a few men to make a shew. At that time, it was thought to be imbecility, but afterwards it

was discovered to be treachery. One of Pichegru's projects was for Louis to come and join the army under his command, and to cause himself to be proclaimed king. To insure success, he signified to Louis that it was necessary for him to bring a large sum of money; as he said that *Vive le Roi* lay at the bottom of the *gosier*, and that it would require a great quantity of wine to bring it out of the mouth. If Louis had come," continued he, "he would have been shot."

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and observed to me, that General Bonaparte had adopted a very bad mode of procedure, by in a manner declaring war against him (Sir Hudson), when he was the *only* person who had it in his power to render him a service, or to make his situation comfortable. Count Las Cases had, he said, much altered his opinion concerning him since the intercourse they had had together, and no longer looked upon him in the light of an arbitrary tyrant, who did every thing to annoy them; which change of opinion the count had signified to him; and confessed that they had represented every thing to General Bonaparte "*par un voile de sang*."* That I had better try to remove any false impressions under which General Bonaparte might labour. He then asked me if I had ever signified to General Bonaparte that the

* Sir Hudson Lowe's own words.

French who were with him only wanted to make an instrument of him to aggrandize themselves, without caring by what means they effected it? I replied, that certainly I never had signified any thing of the kind to him; but that I had always laboured to undeceive him, whenever I perceived that he was misinformed. Sir Hudson Lowe said, that the ministers would hold me in some degree accountable, that General Bonaparte was correctly informed of every thing; and that no false colourings, misrepresentations, or malicious constructions were put upon what was done. His excellency then made some remarks upon "General Bonaparte's constantly confining himself to his room," and asked what I supposed would induce him to go out? I replied, an enlargement of his boundaries, taking off some of the restrictions, and giving him a house at the other side of the island. He had frequently complained that he could not walk out at Longwood, without getting a pain in his head from the sun, as there was no shade; or if the rays of the sun were obscured, his cheeks became inflamed; or a catarrh was produced by the sharp wind blowing over an elevated spot without shelter. I observed also, that the allowance of provision was totally insufficient, as the French laid out seven or eight pounds a day in articles which were indispensable; and which I enumerated. Sir Hudson Lowe

answered, "that with respect to this last, he had exceeded by one half what was allowed by the ministers, who were answerable to parliament that the expenses of Longwood did not exceed eight thousand pounds per annum, and that perhaps he (Sir Hudson) might be obliged hereafter to pay the surplus out of his own salary. That his instructions were much more rigid that those of his predecessor. But unfortunately General Bonaparte had thought that he had come out furnished with instructions of a much more lenient nature than those of the admiral; when the fact was directly the reverse. That all his actions had been misconstrued and misrepresented, and malicious constructions put upon them. That the British government did not wish to render General Bonaparte's existence miserable, or to torture him. That it was not so much himself (Bonaparte) they were afraid of; but that turbulent and disaffected people in Europe would make use of his name and influence to excite rebellion and disturbances in France and elsewhere, in order to aggrandize themselves, and otherwise answer their own purposes; also, that Las Cases was very well treated, and wanted for nothing." This he desired I would communicate to General Bonaparte.

I communicated some of those remarks of the governor's to Napoleon, who replied, "I do not believe that he acts according to his instructions; or if he

does, he has disgraced himself by accepting a dishonourable employment. A government two thousand leagues off, and ignorant of the localities of the island, can never give orders in detail; they can only give general and discretionary ones. They have only directed him to adopt every measure he may think necessary to prevent my escape. Instead of that, I am treated in a manner dishonorable to humanity. To kill and bury a man is well understood, but this slow torture, this killing in detail, is much less humane than if they ordered me to be shot at once. I have often heard," continued he, "of the tyranny and oppressions practised in your colonies; but I never thought that there could exist such violations of law and of justice, as are practised here. From what I have seen of you English, I think there is not a nation on earth more enslaved; as I told Colonel Wilks, the former governor of this island." Here I observed, that I begged of him not to form his opinion of the English nation by a little colony, placed under peculiar circumstances, and subject to military law; that to judge correctly of England, one must be *there*, and *there* he would see how little a person with a brown, or a black coat, cared about the ministers. "So said the old colonel," replied Napoleon, "but I only speak of you as I have seen you, and I find you to be the greatest slaves upon earth. All trem-

bling with fear at the sight of that governor. There is Sir George Bingham, who is a well disposed man, yet he is so much afraid, that he will not come and see me, through fear that he might give umbrage to the governor: the rest of the officers run away at the sight of us." I observed that it was not fear, but delicacy, which prevented Sir George Bingham from coming, and that as to the other officers, they must obey the orders which they had received. Napoleon replied, "If they were French officers, they would not be afraid of expressing their opinion as to the barbarity of the treatment pursued here; and a French general, second in command, would, if he saw his country dishonoured in the manner yours is, write a complaint of it himself to his government. As to myself," continued he, "I would never make a complaint, if I did not know, that were an inquiry demanded by the nation, your ministers would say, 'he has never complained, and *therefore* he is conscious that he is well treated, and that there are no grounds for it.' Otherwise, I should conceive it degrading to me to utter a word; though I am so disgusted with the conduct of this *sbirro*, that I should, with the greatest pleasure, receive the intimation that orders had arrived to shoot me—I should esteem it a blessing."

I observed that Sir Hudson Lowe had professed himself very desirous to accommodate and

arrange matters in an amicable manner. Napoleon replied, "If he wishes to accommodate, let him put things upon the same footing they were during the time of Admiral Cockburn. Let no person be permitted to enter here for the purpose of seeing me, without a letter from Bertrand. If he does not like to give Bertrand liberty to pass people in, let him make out a list himself of such persons in the island as he will allow to visit, and send it to Bertrand, and let the latter have the power to grant them permission to enter, and to write to them. When strangers arrive, in like manner let him make out a list of such as he will permit to see us, and during their stay, let them be allowed to visit with Bertrand's pass. Perhaps I should see very few of them, as it is difficult to distinguish between those who come up to see me as they would a wild boar, and others, who are actuated by motives of respect; but still, I should like to have the privilege. It is for him to accommodate if he likes; he has the power, I have none; I am not governor, I have no places to give away. Let him take off his prohibitions that I shall not quit the high road, or speak to a lady if I meet one. In a few words, *che si comporti bene verso di me*, (let him behave well to me). If he does not choose to treat me like a man, *che ha giuocato un ruolo nel mondo come quel che ho giuocato io*, let him not treat me

worse than a galley-slave or a condemned criminal, as they are not prohibited to speak. Let him do this, and then I will say that he acted at first inconsiderately, through fear of my escaping, but that when he saw his error, he was not ashamed to alter his treatment. Then I will say, that I formed a hasty opinion of him ; that I have been mistaken. *Ma siete un bambino, dottore,* (you are a child, doctor); you have too good an opinion of mankind. This man is not sincere. I believe the opinion I first formed of him is correct, that he is a man whose natural badness is increased by suspicion and dread of the responsibility of the situation which he holds, *C'est un homme retors, abject, et tout à fait au-dessous de son emploi.* I would wager my life," continued he, "that if I sent for Sir George Bingham, or the admiral, to ride out with me, before I had gone out three times with either the one or the other, this governor would make some insinuations to them which would render me liable to be affronted, by their refusing to accompany me any longer. He says that Las Cases is well treated, and wants for nothing ; because he does not starve him. *C'est un homme vraiment ignoble.* He degrades his own species ; he pays no attention to the moral wants which distinguish the man from the brute ; he only looks to the physical and grosser ones. Just as if Las Cases were a horse, or an ass, and that a bundle

of hay was sufficient to entitle him to say, he is happy; because his belly was full, therefore all his wants were satisfied."

5th.—Had a long conversation with the emperor in his bath. Asked his opinion of the Emperor Alexander, "*C'est un homme extrêmement faux. Un Grec du bas empire*," replied Napoleon. "He is the only one of the three,* who has any talent. He is plausible, a great dissimulator, very ambitious, and a man who studies to make himself popular. It is his foible to believe himself skilled in the art of war, and he likes nothing so well as to be complimented upon it, although every thing that originated with himself, relative to military operations, was ill-judged and absurd. At Tilsit, Alexander and the King of Prussia used frequently to occupy themselves in contriving dresses for dragoons; debating upon what button the crosses of the orders ought to be hung, and such other fooleries. They fancied themselves on an equality with the best generals in Europe, because they knew how many rows of buttons there were upon a dragoon's jacket. I could scarcely keep from laughing sometimes, when I heard them discussing these *coglionerie* with as much gravity and earnestness as if they were planning an impending action between two hundred thousand men. However, I encouraged them in their

* Alexander, Francis, and the king of Prussia.

arguments as I saw it was their weak point. We rode out every day together. The king of Prussia was *une bête, et nous a tellement ennuyés*, that Alexander and myself frequently galloped away in order to get rid of him."

Napoleon afterwards recounted to me some part of his early life: said, that after having been at school at Brienne, he was sent to Paris, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, "where at the general examination," continued he, "being found to have given the best answers in mathematics, I was appointed to the artillery. After the revolution, about one-third of the artillery officers emigrated, and I became *chef de bataillon* at the siege of Toulon; having been proposed by the artillery officers themselves as the person who, amongst them, possessed the most knowledge of the science. During the siege I commanded the artillery, directed the operations against the town, and took O'Hara prisoner, as I formerly told you. After the siege, I was made commandant of the artillery of the army of Italy, and my plans caused the capture of many considerable fortresses in Piedmont and Italy. Before my return to Paris I was made general, and a command in the army of La Vendée offered to me, which I refused, and replied that such a command was only fit for a general of gendarmerie. On the 13th of Vendemiaire, I commanded the army of the convention in Paris

against the sections, whom I defeated after an action of a few minutes. Subsequently I got the command of the army of Italy, where I established my reputation. Nothing," continued he, "has been more simple than my elevation. It was not the result of intrigue or crime. It was owing to the peculiar circumstances of the times, and because I fought successfully against the enemies of my country. What is most extraordinary, and I believe unparalleled in history, is, that I rose from being a private person to the astonishing height of power I possessed, without having committed a single crime to obtain it. If I were on my deathbed, I could make the same declaration."

I asked if it were true that he was indebted to Barras for employment at Toulon, and if he had ever offered his services to the English. "Both are false," replied Napoleon. "I had no connexion with Barras until after the affair of Toulon. It was to Gasparin, deputy for Orange, and a man of talent, to whom I was chiefly indebted for protection at Toulon, and support against a set of *ignorantacci* sent down by the convention. I never in my life offered my services to England, nor ever intended it. Nor did I ever intend to go to Constantinople: all those accounts *sont des romans.* I passed a short time with Paoli in Corsica, in the year ——, who was very partial to me, and to whom I was then much attached. Paoli

espoused the cause of the English faction, and I that of the French, and consequently most of my family were driven away from Corsica. Paoli often patted me on the head, saying, 'you are one of Plutarch's men.' He divined that I should be something extraordinary." Of General Dugommier, he spoke as a personal friend in terms of great affection, describing him to be a brave and intrepid officer, who had judgment enough to carry into execution the plan proposed by him, in opposition to those directed by the committee of public safety.

He spoke about the expedition to Copenhagen, "That expedition," said he, "shewed great energy on the part of your ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed, for in fact it was nothing but a robbery, I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the brave Danish nation irreconcileable enemies to you, and in fact shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers. The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards; while by the expedition your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with

whom no engagements, no laws, were binding."

"During the war with you," said he, "all the intelligence I received from England came through the smugglers. They are terrible people, and have courage and ability to do any thing for money. They had at first a part of Dunkerque allotted to them, to which they were restricted; but as they latterly went out of their limits, committed riots, and insulted every body, I ordered Gravelines to be prepared for their reception, where they had a little camp for their accommodation, beyond which they were not permitted to go. At one time there were upwards of five hundred of them in Dunkerque. I had every information I wanted through them. They brought over newspapers and despatches from the spies that we had in London. They took over spies from France, landed and kept them in their houses for some days, then dispersed them over the country, and brought them back when wanted. The police had in pay a number of French emigrants, who gave constant information of the actions of the Vendean party, Georges, and others, at the time they were preparing to assassinate me. All their movements were made known. Besides, the police had in pay many English spies, some of high quality, amongst whom there were many ladies. There was one lady in particular of very high rank who furnished considerable information, and was some-

times paid so high as three thousand pounds in one month. They came over," continued he, "in boats not broader than this bath. It was really astonishing to see them passing your seventy-four gun ships in defiance." I observed, that they were double spies and that they brought intelligence from France to the British government. "That is very likely," replied Napoleon. "They brought you newspapers; but I believe, that as spies, they did not convey much intelligence to you. They are *genti terribili*, and did great mischief to your government. They took from France annually forty or fifty millions of silks and brandy. They assisted the French prisoners to escape from England. The relations of Frenchmen, prisoners in your country, were accustomed to go to Dunkerque, and to make a bargain with them to bring over a certain prisoner. All that they wanted was the name, age, and a private token, by means of which the prisoner might repose confidence in them. Generally, in a short time afterwards, they effected it; as, for men like them, they had a great deal of honour in their dealings. They offered several times to bring over Louis and the rest of the Bourbons for a sum of money; but they wanted to stipulate, that if they met with any accident, or interruption to their design, they might be allowed to massacre them. This I would not consent to. Besides, I despised the Bourbons too

much, and had no fear of them: indeed, at that time, they were no more thought of in France than the Stuarts were in England. They also offered to bring over Dumourier, Sarrazin, and others, whom they thought I hated, but I held them in too much contempt to take any trouble about them."

This conversation was brought about by my telling him that Lefebvre Desnouettes had arrived at New York, and was with his brother Joseph; when I asked if Lefebvre had not broken his parole in England. Napoleon replied that he had, and then observed, "A great deal has been said about French officers having been employed after having broken their parole in England. Now the fact is, that the English themselves were the first to break their parole at a time when twelve of them ran away. I proposed afterwards to your ministers, that both governments should reciprocally send back every prisoner of whatsoever rank he might be, who had broken his parole and escaped. This they refused to do, and I became indifferent about it. I did not receive at court those who escaped; or encourage them, nor discourage them, after this refusal. Your ministers made a great fuss *(chiasso)* about officers who broke their parole having been employed in my armies, although they refused to agree to the only measure which could put a stop to it, viz. that both sides should send them back imme-

diately; and afterwards had the impudence to attempt to throw all the odium upon me. But you English can never do any wrong."

I asked if he thought that the expedition to Walcheren, might, if it had been well conducted, have taken Antwerp? Napoleon replied, "I am of opinion, that if you had landed a few thousand men at first at Williamstadt, and marched directly for Antwerp, that between consternation, want of preparation, and the uncertainty of the number of assailants, you might have taken it by a *coup de main*. But after the fleet had got up it was impossible; as the crews of the ships, united to the national guard, workmen, and others, amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand men. The ships would have been sunk, or taken into the docks, and the crews employed upon the batteries. Besides, Antwerp, though old, is strongly fortified. It is true that Lord Chatham did every thing possible to insure the failure of the object of the expedition; but after the delay of a few days, it would have been impossible for any man to have effected it. You had too many and too few men; too many for a *coup de main*, and too few for a regular siege. The inhabitants were all against you; as they saw clearly that your object was to get possession of the town, to burn and destroy every thing, and then go to your ships and get away. It was a very bad expedition for you. Your ministers were very badly informed about the coun-

try. You had afterwards the *bêtise* to remain in that pestilential place, until you lost some thousands of men. *C'était le comble de la bêtise et de l'inhumanite.** I was very glad of it, as I knew that disease would carry you off by thousands, and oblige you to evacuate it without any exertion being made on my part. I sent none but deserters and *mauvais sujets* to garrison it, and gave orders that they should sleep in two frigates I had sent there for that purpose. I also had water conveyed to them at a great expense, but still it was most unhealthy. The general who commanded Flushing," added he, "did not defend it as long as he ought to have done. He had made a large fortune by the smugglers (as there was another depot of them there) and had been guilty of some mal-practices, for which he was afraid of being brought to a court-martial, and I believe was glad to get away."

I asked him if it were true that a Corsican, named Masseria, had been sent with some proposals to him once by our government? Napoleon replied, "Masseria? Yes, I recollect perfectly well that he was brought to me when I was first consul. He was introduced with great mystery and secrecy into my room, when I was in a bath, as I am now. I think he began to speak about some political matters, and to make some insinuations about peace, but I stopped him, as it

* It was the height of idiotism and of inhumanity.

had been published in the English papers, that he was coming upon some mission to me, which I did not like. Besides, Masseria, though *un bravissimo uomo,* was a great *bavard.* I believe that he was sent by King George himself. He was a republican, and maintained that the death of Charles the first was just and necessary."

Lady Lowe came up to Longwood, and for the first time paid a visit to Countesses Bertrand and Montholon.

6th.—Napoleon observed to me that the visit of Lady Lowe yesterday appeared to him to be an artifice of her husband, *per gettar la polvere negli occhi* (to throw dust in the eyes); to make people believe that notwithstanding the arrest of Las Cases, the governor was very well at Longwood, and had only done his duty; and that there was no foundation for the reports which had been spread of the ill treatment said to be inflicted upon the inhabitants of Longwood. I informed him that Lady Lowe had been always desirous to call upon Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, and had embraced the first opportunity which presented itself after her accouchement. Napoleon replied, "I am far from thinking that she participates in the designs of her husband, but she has badly chosen the time. At the moment when he treats Las Cases so barbarously and illegally he sends her up. It is either an artifice of her hus-

band's to blind the world, or else he mocks our misfortunes. Nothing is so insulting as to add irony to injury." I observed, that more probably it was a preliminary step of the governor's towards an accommodation. "No," replied Napoleon, "that cannot be. If he really wished to accommodate, the first step would be to take away some of his useless and oppressive restrictions. Yesterday, after his wife had been here, Madame Bertrand and family went out to walk. On their return, they were stopped and seized by the sentinels, who refused to let them in because it was six o'clock. Now, in the name of God, if he had a mind to accommodate, would he continue to prevent us from walking at the only time of the day when, at this season it is agreeable. Tell him," continued Napoleon, "candidly the observations I have made, if he asks you what I thought of the visit."

7th.—Wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe a statement of what Napoleon had informed me on the 4th inst. would be the best mode of effecting an accommodation.

Had a long conversation with Napoleon upon the anatomy of the human body. He desired to see some anatomical plates, which I explained to him. He informed me that at one time he had tried to study anatomy, but that he had been disgusted with the sight and the smell of the sub-

jects. I observed, that plates only served to remind a person of what he had already learned from actual dissection; for which last they could never be entirely substituted. In this Napoleon perfectly agreed with me, and gave me some account of the great encouragement which he had given to the schools of anatomy and surgery; and of the facilities which he had afforded to medical students to learn their profession at a trifling expense.

Heard him express some opinions afterwards relative to a few of the characters who had figured in the revolution. "Robespierre," said he, "though a blood-thirsty monster, was not so bad as Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, Hebert, Fouquier Tinville, and many others. Latterly Robespierre wished to be more moderate; and actually some time before his death said that he was tired of executions, and suggested moderation. When Hebert accused the queen *de contrarier la nature*, Robespierre proposed that he should be denounced, as having made such an improbable accusation purposely to excite a sympathy amongst the people, that they might rise and rescue her. From the beginning of the revolution, Louis had constantly the life of Charles the First before his eyes. The example of Charles, who had come to extremities with the parliament and lost his head, prevented Louis on many occasions from making

the defence which he ought to have done against the revolutionists. When brought to trial, he ought merely to have said, that by the laws he could do no wrong, and that his person was sacred. The queen ought to have done the same. It would have had no effect in saving their lives; but they would have died with more dignity. Robespierre was of opinion that the king ought to have been despatched privately. 'What is the use,' said Robespierre, 'of this mockery of forms, when you go to the trial prepared to condemn him to death, whether he deserves it or not.' The queen," added Napoleon, "went to the scaffold with some sensations of joy; and truly it must have been a relief to her to depart from a life in which she was treated with such execrable barbarity. Had I," continued he, "been four or five years older, I have no doubt that I should have been guillotined along with numbers of others."

8th.—Napoleon in a bath.—Conversed at length about the situation of England, which he imputed entirely to the imbecility of Lord Castlereagh. "If," said he, "your ministers had paid attention to the interests of the country, instead of intriguing, they would have rendered you the most happy, and the most flourishing nation in the world. At the conclusion of the war they should have said to the Spanish and Portugueze governments, 'we have saved your country, we alone have supported

you, and prevented you from falling a prey to France. We have made many campaigns, and shed our best blood in your cause. We have expended many millions of money, and consequently the country is overburdened with debt on *your* account, which we must pay. You have the means of repaying us. Our situation requires that we should liquidate our debts. We demand, therefore, that we shall be the only nation allowed to trade with South America for twenty years; and that our ships shall have the same privilege as Spanish vessels. In this way we will reimburse ourselves without distressing you.' Who," continued he, "could say *no* to this. France is now nothing. Besides, to tell the truth, it would be only a just demand, and none of the allied powers could deny your right to exact it; for it was through you alone, and the energy which you displayed, that both Spain and Portugal did not fall. You might have asked, 'who saved Portugal? who alone assisted you with men and money, besides having saved your existence as a nation?' In this way you would have had your manufacturers thriving; your sailors employed in your own ships instead of starving, or being forced to seek a livelihood with foreign powers: your *canaille* would have been contented and happy, instead of being obliged to have recourse to subscriptions to keep them from starva-

tion. As it now is, France will soon have the trade of the Brazils; you have in your own colonies more cotton and sugar than you want, and consequently will not take the productions of the Brazils in exchange for your merchandise. Now the French will; for Martinique cannot supply a quantity sufficient for the consumption of France. They will exchange their manufactured goods, silks, furniture, wines, &c. against colonial produce, and soon have the whole trade of the Brazils. In like manner they will have the preference in trading with the Spanish colonies; partly on account of the religion, and also because the Spaniards, like other nations, are jealous of a people all-powerful at sea, and will constantly assist to lessen that power; which is most effectually to be done by lessening your commerce. Another piece of folly in your ministers was the allowing any nation but yourselves to trade with India; particularly the Dutch, who will be your greatest enemies; and probably before twenty years, when France has recovered herself, you will see the Dutch unite with her to humble you. If you had made those demands they must have been granted; and the powers of Europe would not have been more jealous of you than they are now, and always will be, as long as you have absolute power over the seas, and insist upon the right of search, and other articles of your maritime

code. You would then have the means of keeping up your maritime empire, which must decay if you have not more commerce than the rest of the world. But your ministers have had false ideas of things. They imagined that they could inundate the continent with your merchandise, and find a ready sale. No, no: the world is now more illuminated.* Even the Russians will say, 'why should we enrich this nation, to enable her to keep up a monopoly and tyranny of the seas, while our own manufacturers are numerous and skilful?' You will," continued he, "find that in a few years very little English merchandise will be sold on the continent.† I gave a new era to manufactories. The French already excel you in the manufactory of cloths and many other articles. The Hollanders in cambric and linen. I formed several thousand. I established the *Ecole Polytechnique*, from which hundreds of able chemists went to the different manufactories. In each of them, I caused a person well skilled in chemistry to reside. In consequence, every thing proceeded upon certain and established principles; and they had a reason to give for every part of their operations; instead of the old vague and

* A perusal of the tariff just promulgated by Russia will shew how prophetic this opinion was.

† The whole of this conversation was communicated by me to official persons in London shortly after it took place.

uncertain mode. Times are changed," continued Napoleon, "and you must no longer look to the continent for the disposal of your manufactures. America, the Spanish and Portuguese main, are the only vent for them. Recollect what I say to you. In a year or two your people will complain, and say, 'we have gained every thing, but we are starving: we are worse than we were during the war.' Then perhaps your ministers will endeavour to effect what they ought to have done at first. You are not able," continued he, "to face even Prussia in the field, and your preponderance on the continent was entirely owing to that naval sovereignty which perhaps you may lose by this military disease of your ministers. England has played for all or for nothing, (*ha giuocato per tutto o per niente*). She has gained all, effected impossibilities, yet has nothing; and her people are starving, and worse than they were during the midst of the war; while France, who has lost every thing, is doing well, and the wants of her people are abundantly supplied. France has got fat, notwithstanding the liberal bleedings which she has had; while England is like a man who has had a false momentary strength given to him by intoxicating liquors, but who, after their effect ceases, sinks into a state of debility."

10*th*.—Water very scarce at Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe gave directions that the horses of

the establishment should be ridden to water to Hut's Gate, instead of getting it from the tubs that were placed for the use of Napoleon's household. The water in them is extremely muddy, green, and nauseous. In Deadwood it is much more easy to get a bottle of wine than one of water. Parties of the 53d are employed daily in rolling butts of water to their camp. It reminded me of my former residence in Egypt, where we were obliged to buy bad water at an exorbitant rate.

Charles, a mulatto servant, discharged from Longwood. Orders given by Sir Hudson Lowe that he should be sent to his house. Underwent a long interrogation from his excellency as to what he had seen and heard during the time he had been at Longwood. Application made to the governor by the orderly officer to allow a cart for the purpose of bringing water to the establishment, that in the tubs being so very scanty and bad.

Napoleon rather melancholy, and annoyed, that instead of the whole of the campaigns of Italy having been returned by Sir Hudson Lowe, only three or four chapters had been sent. Desired me to tell Sir Hudson Lowe that he supposed he was getting them copied, and that according as they were finished, he would send them back.

11*th*.—Went to Plantation House, and ac-

quainted Sir Hudson Lowe with the message I was charged to deliver to him. His excellency waxed very wroth, and said, "that if General Bonaparte persisted in his belief that the papers had been kept for the purpose of copying; after the assurance to the contrary, which he had yesterday had from young Las Cases; he (Sir Hudson) considered *him unworthy of being treated like a man of honour, and undeserving the consideration due from one gentleman to another.*" This he not only repeated twice, but obliged me to insert it in my pocket-book; desiring me not on any account to omit communicating those expressions to General Bonaparte. After having cooled a little, however, his excellency rescinded his directions, gave me some explanations which he desired me to make known to Napoleon, and ordered me to rub out of my pocket-book the obnoxious expressions. He then walked about with me in the library, and said, "that in reference and reply to what I had written to him, General Bonaparte could not be permitted to run about the country. That if the intentions of ministers were only to prevent his escape from the island, a company's governor would have answered as well as any other person; but that there were other objects in view, and material ones, which he had been sent out to fulfil. That there were several strong reasons for not allowing him to communicate in the island. That any man might secure his per-

son by planting sentries about him, but that much more was to be done." When I was about to leave the room, he called me back, and said, "Tell General Bonaparte that it is very fortunate for him that he has so good a man for governor over him; that others, with the instructions I have, would have put him in chains for his conduct." He concluded by desiring me to endeavour to get Sir Thomas Strange introduced to Napoleon.

Cipriani in town, purchasing provisions.

12*th*.—Explained to Napoleon in the least offensive manner I could, the message I had been ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to deliver, with an assurance from the governor, that his papers had been kept sacred; which I observed had been confirmed by a letter from Emanuel de Las Cases, accompanying those that had been returned, testifying that the papers had been respected. That Sir Hudson Lowe had told me, that during the examination of the papers, which took place always in presence of Las Cases, whenever the latter pointed out one as belonging to him, (Napoleon,) it was immediately put aside, without being looked at; and that when the examination was finished, the papers were sealed up with Las Cases' seal, and not opened again, unless in his presence. That Sir Hudson had said, that so far from being instigated by malice or revenge, he had written to the ministry to ameliorate his condition, &c. Napoleon re-

plied, that he did not believe it; no government two thousand leagues off could know the localities so well as to give minute details, they could only give general orders; that no assertion from a man who had told so many falsehoods, could be credited; and that the letter from young Las Cases was not satisfactory, as it merely contained an assurance from Sir Hudson Lowe, that they would be respected. * "As to his instructions," continued he, "I have no doubt that if he has not received written orders to ***, he has verbal ones, *(a voce)*. When it is intended to ***, it is always commenced by cutting off all communication between him and the world; by enveloping him with mystery and secrecy, in order, that after having accustomed the world to hear nothing about him, ******. Tell him," added he, "my sentiments on the subject."

I then spoke about Sir Thomas Strange, and informed him that Sir Thomas Strange, who had been chief judge in the East Indies, was desirous of paying his respects to him, and that his intended visit did not arise from curiosity, but was a mark of that attention which every person ought to shew towards so great a man, and one who had filled so high a station in the world. Napoleon replied, "I will see no person who does not first go to Bertrand. Persons sent direct by the go-

* This reply, *in full*, was communicated by me in writing to Sir Hudson Lowe.

vernor I will not see, as it would have the appearance of obeying a command from him."

Count Bertrand now came in, and mentioned that the governor was at Longwood, and wanted to see me. Napoleon then said, "If he asks you any questions about my thoughts, tell him that I intend writing a Protest to the Prince Regent against his barbarous conduct. That his keeping Las Cases in custody, when there is nothing against him, is illegal. That he ought either to be sent back here, or sent off the island, or tried. That if he wishes to accommodate differences, as he informed you, let him alter his conduct, and put matters upon the footing they were during the time of Admiral Cockburn. As to the visit of the judge, whom he wishes me to see, tell him *que les gens qui sont dans un tombeau ne reçoivent pas de visites*, as he has literally immured me in a tomb. Besides, according to his restrictions, if the judge does not speak French, I cannot employ one of my officers to interpret, for he has prohibited strangers who may visit me from speaking or communicating with any person of my suite, and moreover, I have lost Las Cases."

Count Bertrand desired me to say, that if he saw Sir Thomas Strange, he should be obliged to shew him those parts of the governor's restrictions, signed by himself, in which he had prohibited those who had a pass to see the emperor, from

holding any communication with others of his household unless specially permitted.

Informed Sir Hudson Lowe of what I had been desired, which he said he would communicate to Lord Bathurst. He then observed, "that Count Las Cases had not followed General Bonaparte out of affection, but merely to have an opportunity of obtaining materials from him to publish his life; that General Bonaparte did not know what Las Cases had written, or the expressions which had dropped from him; that he had already collected some very curious materials for his history; that ministers feared that some turbulent, intriguing persons in France, or on the continent, would endeavour to excite rebellion and new wars in Europe, by making use of his (Napoleon's) name to insure their purposes; that General Bonaparte was very lucky in having so good a man as himself to deal with, &c."

He added again, that he could not tell the nature of his orders; that he had an important object to fulfil, independent of the detention of General Bonaparte: and, after some more conversation upon similar subjects, said, that he would give permission to-morrow to Sir Thomas Strange and family to communicate with Bertrand, or with any others of the suite.

Saw Sir Thomas Reade, to whom I mentioned Napoleon's answer relative to the interview which

the governor was desirous to obtain for Sir Thomas Strange. Sir Thomas replied, "If I were governor, I'll be d——d if I would not make him feel that he was a prisoner." I observed, "Why you cannot do much more to him than you have already done, unless you put him in irons." "Oh," answered Reade, "If he did not comply with what I wanted, I'll be d——d if I wouldn't take his books from him, which I'll advise the governor to do. He is a d——d outlaw and a prisoner, and the governor has a right to treat him with as much severity as he likes, and nobody has any business to interfere with him in the execution of his duty."

Told Napoleon what his excellency had directed me to communicate. He observed, that the only way to prevent people from making use of his name, in order to excite rebellion, was to put him to death. "That," said he, "is the only effectual mode, and the sooner the better. *Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.*"

"All that he says," continued he, "is *per gettar la polvere*, to deceive the judge, in order that he may say when he arrives in England, that it is my own fault if I do not receive whoever I please. *Un uomo cattivo che ha tutta la scaltrezza Siciliana.*"

13*th.*—A sealed letter from Napoleon to Las Cases given by Count Bertrand to Captain Poppleton, for the purpose of being forwarded through

the governor to the count. At six, p. m. a dragoon brought two letters from Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, one returning Napoleon's letter to Count Las Cases, because it was sealed, adding, that he would not forward any sealed letter; and that even if it were open, it would depend upon the nature of the contents, whether it would be forwarded or not; as he (the governor) did not wish that any communication should take place between Longwood and Count Las Cases. In the other, the governor intimated that probably he should not take any steps with respect to Las Cases, until he heard from the British government.

Saw Napoleon, who observed, that he believed nothing good could come from the governor, who was a man of bad lymph. "He ought," continued he, "to have several large blisters applied, to draw away some of that bad lymph from him."

He conversed upon the probability of a revolution in France. "Ere twenty years have elapsed, when I am dead and buried," said he, "you will witness another revolution in France. It is impossible that twenty-nine millions of Frenchmen can live contented under the yoke of sovereigns imposed upon them by foreigners, and against whom they have fought and bled for nearly thirty years. Can you blame the French for not being willing to submit to the yoke of such *animals*

as Montchenu? You are very fond in England of making a comparison between the restoration of Charles the Second and that of Louis; but there is not the smallest similitude. Charles was recalled by the mass of the English nation to the throne which his successor afterwards lost for a *mass:* but as to the Bourbons, there is not a village in France which has not lost thirty or forty of the flower of its youth in endeavouring to prevent their return. The sentiments of the nation are,—'*Ce n'est pas nous qui avons ramené ces misérables; non, ceux qui ont ravagé notre pays, qui ont brulé nos maisons, qui ont violé nos femmes et nos filles, les ont mis sur le trône par la force.*'"*

I asked him some questions about the share that Moreau had in Georges' conspiracy. "Moreau," said he, "confessed to his advocate that he had seen and conversed with Georges and Pichegru, and that on his trial he intended to avow it. His counsel, however, dissuaded him from doing so, and observed, that if he confessed having seen Georges, nothing could save him from being condemned to death. Moreau, in an interview with the other two conspirators, insisted that the first step to be taken was to kill me; that when I was disposed of, he should have great power and in-

* We have not brought back those wretches; no, those who have ravaged our country, burnt our houses, and violated our wives and our daughters, have placed them on the throne by force.

fluence with the army; but that as long as I lived, he could do nothing. When he was arrested, the paper of accusation against him was given to him, in which his crime was stated to be, the having conspired against the life of the first consul and the security of the republic, in complicity with Pichegru and Georges. On reading the names of those two he dropt the paper and fainted."

"In the battle before Dresden," said Napoleon, "I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, the centre remained motionless. At the distance of about from this to the outer gate,* I observed a group of persons collected together on horseback. Concluding that they were endeavouring to observe my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called to a captain of artillery who commanded a field battery of eighteen or twenty pieces: '*Jettez une douzaine de boulets à la fois dans ce groupe là, peut-être il y a quelques petits généraux.*' (Throw a dozen of bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it.) It was done instantly. One of the balls struck Moreau, carried off both his legs, and went through his horse. Many more, I believe, who were near him, were killed and wounded. A moment before Alexander had been speaking to him. Mo-

* About five hundred yards.

reau's legs were amputated not far from the spot. One of his feet, with the boot upon it, which the surgeon had thrown upon the ground, was brought by a peasant to the king of Saxony, with information that some officer of great distinction had been struck by a cannon-shot. The king, conceiving that the name of the person might perhaps be discovered by the boot, sent it to me. It was examined at my head-quarters, but all that could be ascertained was, that the boot was neither of English nor of French manufacture. The next day we were informed that it was the leg of Moreau. It is not a little extraordinary," continued Napoleon, "that in an action a short time afterwards, I ordered the same artillery officer, with the same guns, and under nearly similar circumstances, to throw eighteen or twenty bullets at once into a concourse of officers collected together, by which General St. Priest, another Frenchman, a traitor and a man of talent, who had a command in the Russian army, was killed, along with many others. Nothing," continued the emperor, "is more destructive than a discharge of a dozen or more guns at once amongst a group of persons. From one or two they may escape; but from a number discharged at a time, it is almost impossible. After Esling, when I had caused my army to go over to the isle of Lobau, there was for some weeks, by common and tacit consent on

both sides between the soldiers, not by any agreement between the generals, a cessation of firing, which indeed had produced no benefit, and only killed a few unfortunate sentinels. I rode out every day in different directions. No person was molested on either side. One day, however, riding along with Oudinot, I stopped for a moment upon the edge of the island, which was about eighty toises distant from the opposite bank, where the enemy was. They perceived us, and knowing me by the little hat and grey coat, they pointed a three-pounder at us. The ball passed between Oudinot and me, and was very close to both of us. We put spurs to our horses, and speedily got out of sight. Under the actual circumstances, the attack was little better than murder; but if they had fired a dozen guns at once, they must have killed us."

Count Bertrand brought back Napoleon's letter to Captain Poppleton, broke the seal before him, and desired that it might be sent in that state to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Some oranges sent to Longwood by the admiral.

14*th.*—Napoleon very unwell. Had passed a very bad night. Found him in bed at eleven, p. m. "Doctor," said he, "I had a nervous attack last night, which kept me continually uneasy and restless, with a severe headach, and involuntary agitations. I was without sense for a few moments. I verily thought and hoped, that

a more violent attack would have taken place, which would have carried me off before morning. It seemed as if a fit of apoplexy was coming on. I felt a heaviness and giddiness of my head, (as if it were overloaded with blood,) with a desire to put myself in an upright posture. I felt a heat in my head, and called to those about me to pour some cold water over it, which they did not comprehend for some time. Afterwards, the water felt hot, and I thought it smelt of sulphur, though in reality it was cold." At this time he was in a free perspiration, which I recommended him to encourage, and his headach was much diminished. After I had recommended every thing I thought necessary or advisable, he replied, "*si viverebbe troppo lungamente.*"* He afterwards spoke about funeral rites, and added, that when he died, he would wish that his body might be burned. "It is the best mode," said he, "as then the corpse does not produce any inconvenience; and as to the resurrection, that must be accomplished by a miracle, and it is easy to the being who has it in his power to perform such a miracle as bringing the remains of the bodies together, to also form again the ashes of the dead."

15*th.*—Had a long conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe relative to the affairs of Longwood, and to Napoleon's health. His excellency said, that he supposed it was Count Bertrand who had

* One would live too long.

informed Count Las Cases, that he (Sir Hudson) would send him off the island, if he persisted in writing any more injurious reflections upon the manner that General Bonaparte was treated. That he would hold him (Bertrand) answerable for the consequences. He also observed, that as to the restrictions which had been so much complained of, there was in reality but little difference; that with respect to the prohibition to speak, which General Bonaparte complained of, it was not an *order* to him not to speak, *but merely a request !!!* He also added, that Las Cases had attempted to send a secret accusation against him, which was like stabbing a man in the back, and that they must be conscious they were telling lies, or they would not be afraid to send them to England, through him, as he had offered to forward them. In his conversation with Bertrand he had merely observed, that according to his instructions, he *ought* to have sent Las Cases off the island, in consequence of the letters he had written. His instructions, he said, were of such a nature, that it was impossible to draw a line between some which directed that General Bonaparte should be treated with great indulgence, and others, prescribing regulations and restrictions impossible to be reconciled with the first. That he had in consequence written for further explanations, and had recommended the lessening of the existing restrictions.

16*th*.—Saw Napoleon, to whom I repeated what the governor had desired. Napoleon replied, "he sent back, and refused to forward a letter of complaints, sent to him by Montholon; he told Bertrand that he would receive no letters in which I was not styled as his government wished; and he sent up by his *chef d'état major*, a paper, menacing with transportation from the island all those who should make reflections upon him or his government; independent of his having given Bertrand clearly to understand, that if Las Cases continued his complaints, he would send him from St. Helena. In orders like his, there must be always some apparent contradiction, and great discretionary powers; but he interprets every thing badly, and where there is a possibility of putting a bad construction upon any part, which would as well admit of a favourable one, he is sure to choose the former. *Un uomo che ha la malizia, ma non l'anima.* Perhaps he sees that he has gone too far, and now wants to saddle the odium of his proceedings upon his government."

18*th*.—Went along with Mr. Baxter to visit Count Las Cases and son. The Count informed me that the governor had given him permission to return to Longwood, under certain conditions, but that he had not entirely decided what he would do. Young Las Cases said that his father feared he would be looked upon in a slighting manner at Longwood, if he returned, in consequence

of the disgraceful manner in which he had been arrested and dragged away by the governor's police.

Informed Napoleon on my return that the governor had offered to allow Las Cases to return to Longwood. After some discussion on the subject, he observed, that he would give no advice to Las Cases about it. If he came back, he would receive him with pleasure; if he went away, he would hear of it with pleasure; but that in the latter case, he should wish to see him once more before he left the island. He added, that since the arrest of Las Cases, he had ordered all his generals to go away; that he should be more independent without them, as then he should not labour under the fear of their suffering ill-treatment by the governor, in order thereby to revenge himself upon him. "I," continued he, "am not afraid that they will send *me* off the island."

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe, who said, that with the exception of certain necessary restrictions, he had orders from government to treat General Bonaparte with all possible indulgence, which he thought he had done. That if some restrictions had been imposed, it was his own fault, and that of Las Cases. That he had been very mild!! This he desired me to communicate. Shortly afterwards he said, that if Count Bertrand had shewn his (Sir Hudson's) restrictions to Sir Thomas Strange, he, the governor, would have been authorized to send him off the island. Nearly in

the same breath, he asked if I thought that the interference of Sir George Bingham as an intermediator would be of any service? I replied that probably it might, but as Sir George Bingham did not speak French with sufficient fluency to enter into long discussions or reasonings, I was of opinion that Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm would be a much better intermediator.

Told Napoleon what Sir Hudson Lowe had directed. "Doctor," replied he, "when this man has the audacity to tell *you, who know every thing that has been done*, that he treats me with indulgence; I need not suggest to you what he writes to his government."

Informed me that last night he had suffered another attack similar to that of the 13th, but more violent. "Ali,"* said he, "frightened, threw some *eau de Cologne* in my face, mistaking it for water. This getting into my eyes gave me intolerable pain, and certainly brought me to myself."

Told him what Sir Hudson Lowe had said relative to the intermediation of Sir George Bingham. He replied, "perhaps it might be of some service; but all he has to do is, *che esca del suo ruolo di carceriere e che si metta nel ruolo di galantuomo.*† If any person were to undertake the

* St. Denis was commonly called Ali.

† This means, "let him conduct himself no longer as a gaoler, but behave like a gentleman."

office of intermediator, the most fit would be the admiral, both because he is independent of Sir Hudson Lowe, and because he is a man with whom I can reason and argue. But," continued he, "*questo governatore è un uomo senza fede.* When your ministry is insincere, wants to shuffle, or has nothing good to execute, a *polisson* like Drake, or Hudson Lowe, is sent out as ambassador, or governor; when it is the contrary, and it wishes to conciliate or treat, such a man as Lord Cornwallis is employed. A Cornwallis here, would be of more avail than all the restrictions that could be imagined." He then observed, that he thought it would be better for Las Cases to return back to Longwood, than either to remain in the island separated from them, or sent to the Cape, and that I might report that I had heard him say so.

21*st.*—A letter received from Major Gorrequer, stating that the governor would permit Archambaud to see his brother on the following day, who, with Santini and Rousseau, had arrived in the Orontes frigate from the Cape.*

22*nd.*—Archambaud allowed to see his brother in the presence of one of the governor's agents, but not permitted either to see or converse with any of the others.

23*rd.*—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood; in-

* This request had been at first refused by Sir Hudson Lowe.

formed him what Napoleon had said about Las Cases. He told me that Las Cases wanted to make *terms*, previous to returning to Longwood, and desired me to "go to Hut's Gate, and tell him what General Bonaparte had said; but not to hold any other communication with him." I mentioned to his excellency the fit of syncope with which Napoleon had been attacked: "It would be lucky," replied Sir Hudson Lowe, "if he went off some of those nights in a fit of the kind." I observed that I thought it very probable he would be attacked with a fit of apoplexy, which would finish him, and that continuing to lead his present mode of life, it was impossible he could remain in health. Sir Hudson asked, what could induce him to take exercise. I replied to moderate the restrictions, and to remove some of which he complained so much. Sir Hudson Lowe made some observations about the danger of allowing a man to get loose who had done such mischief already, and desired me to write him a statement of the health of young Las Cases. I replied that I was going to see him, in company with Mr. Baxter. His excellency observed, that he would go and have some conversation with Count Bertrand on the subjects complained of.

On my return met Sir Hudson Lowe, who appeared in a very bad humour, and said, that Count Bertrand had for a short time spoken very rea-

sonably, but that afterwards he had broken out foolishly about *nôtre situation*, just as if it were of any consequence to England, or to Europe, what became of Count Bertrand; or as if it were not *Bonaparte* alone who was looked after,—that he did not know what business he had to couple *his* situation with Bonaparte's.

Mrs. Balcombe and eldest daughter came to see Countess Bertrand. They were desirous of paying a visit to Napoleon and to Countess Montholon, but as their pass specified Count Bertrand's house, and did not mention either of the others, it was not permitted by the orderly officer.

Saw Napoleon afterwards. "This governor," said he, "has been with Bertrand making some proposals, but in such a dark and mysterious manner, that one cannot understand what object he has in view. Every thing he says is destitute of clearness; and when he reluctantly gives the truth, it is enveloped in quibbles and evasions. He had a long *pourparler* about Las Cases, which he concluded by asserting, that *Las Cases was not in prison, and never had been so!—'E un uomo composto d'imbecillità, di bugie, e d'un poco di scaltrezza.* Can Las Cases go out? Can he see any person, either French or English, besides his gaolers? (for seeing a surgeon is nothing). Can he send or receive a letter that does not pass open through their hands? I know not really," continued he, "what this man calls being in prison."

"What a fool I was to give myself up to you," continued he; "I had a mistaken notion of your national character; I had formed a romantic idea of the English. There entered into it also a portion of pride. I disdained to give myself up to any of those sovereigns whose countries I had conquered, and whose capitals I had entered in triumph; and I determined to confide in you, whom I had never vanquished. Doctor, I am well punished for the good opinion I had of you, and for the confidence which I reposed in you, instead of giving myself up to my father-in-law, or to the emperor Alexander, either of whom would have treated me with the greatest respect." I observed, that it was possible that Alexander might have sent him to Siberia; "not at all," replied Napoleon, "setting aside other motives, Alexander would, through policy, and from the desire which he has to make himself popular, have treated me like a king, and I should have had palaces at command. Besides, Alexander is a generous man, and would have taken a pleasure in treating me well; and my father-in-law, though he is an imbecile, is still a religious man, and incapable of committing crimes, or such acts of cruelty as are practised here."

Saw Las Cases and son along with Mr. Baxter. Wrote a letter afterwards to Sir Hudson Lowe respecting the state of health of young Las Cases,

and concluded by recommending him to be removed to Europe for the recovery of his health. Mr. Baxter also wrote one of a similar tendency, and one about the count himself, in which he said, that in consequence of his being afflicted with dyspepsia, it was probable that a change to a colder climate would be beneficial, and that that of Europe would be preferable.

25*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Asked many questions in English, which although he pronounced it as he would have done French, yet the words were correct, and applied in their proper meaning.

26*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me. Found him in town. He observed that I had put too much political feeling into my letter respecting young Las Cases: that my opinion must have related to what would have happened had he remained at Longwood; and that it appeared to enter too much into the feelings of *those* people. I replied, that I could not separate my opinion from the cause of his complaints, and that he himself had said, if the state of his son's health absolutely required his removal to Europe, he would not oppose it. Sir Hudson answered, that he had certainly said, that if it *absolutely* required such a measure, he would not oppose it; but that I had entered into a discussion not called for in the letter.

He then spoke about the restrictions, and shewed me a letter which he said he intended to send to Bertrand, and upon which he desired to know my opinion. After reading it, I observed to his excellency that I thought it calculated to produce some severe remarks from Napoleon; as in fact it left matters in nearly the same state as they had been before, after having nominally removed some of the restrictions. On a little reflection, his excellency appeared to be of the same opinion, and said that he would reconsider the matter. In the mean time he authorised me to tell General Bonaparte that several of the restrictions should be removed, especially those relative to speaking; that the limits should be enlarged, and that liberty should be granted to people to visit him, nearly as in former times under the admiral.

Informed Napoleon of this, who replied, that he desired no more than to have matters put as nearly as possible as they were under the admiral. That he thought it right and just if the governor suspected either an inhabitant of the island, or a passenger, or any of them, that he should not allow them to enter Longwood; but that what he (Napoleon) meant was, that the majority of respectable passengers or inhabitants should be allowed to visit him, and not one or two who had been picked out and sent up to

Longwood by the governor, or by his staff, as a keeper of galley-slaves would send a curious traveller to his galleys to see some extraordinary criminal. If," continued he, "I met a man whose conversation pleased me (like the admiral, for example) I should wish to see him again, and perhaps ask him to dinner or breakfast, as was done before this governor's arrival; therefore I wish that a list should be sent in the first place by the governor to Bertrand, containing the names of the persons that he will allow to visit us; and that afterwards, Bertrand shall have the privilege of asking any person again whose name is upon that list. I will never see any one coming up with a pass in which the day is fixed, which is a way of saying, come out this day and exhibit yourself. I want also that our situation may be clearly defined, so that my household shall not be liable to the insults which they have all suffered, and continue to suffer, either from being kept in the dark respecting the restrictions which he imposes, or from misconception of sentinels, or the orders given being of a discretional nature, which may put a sentinel upon his responsibility, and will constitute him an arbitrary judge. The trifling vexations and humiliations which he makes us undergo, are worse to us than the greater. I am willing," continued he, "to listen to accommodation, and not to insist upon too much. But, he

has no heart or feeling. He thinks that a man is like a horse, give him a bundle of hay and a roof to cover him, and nothing further is necessary to make him happy. His policy is that of the petty states of Italy; to write and promise fairly, apparently give liberty, but afterwards by insinuations change every thing. His is the policy of insinuations."

I then asked, if the governor consented, and the admiral were satisfied, would he hold a conference with that officer as an intermediator, in order to bring about an arrangement? Napoleon replied, "willingly. With the greatest pleasure I would treat personally with the admiral, and I think that we could settle it in half an hour. I have so much confidence in him, that if the English government would allow it, and the admiral would pledge his word of honour, that no one but himself should know the contents, (unless there was some plot or intrigue against his government,) I would write a letter, putting him in possession of every thing I know relative to my property, in order that I might be able to make use of it. To-morrow," continued he, "I shall let you know whether I am of the like opinion relative to the intermediation. If I continue the same, you shall go to the governor and propose it to him."

A letter sent by Count Bertrand to Sir Hudson

Lowe, requesting that Count Las Cases might be permitted to visit Longwood previous to his departure, to take leave of the emperor.

27*th.*—Gave Napoleon some newspapers. On looking over them he observed an article about Pozzo di Borgo. "Pozzo di Borgo," said he, "was deputy to the legislative body during the revolution. He is a man of talent, an intriguer, and knows France well. As long as he remains there as ambassador, you may be sure that Alexander does not consider Louis to be firmly seated upon the throne. When you see a Russian nominated as ambassador, you may then conclude that Alexander thinks the Bourbons likely to continue in France."

He then desired me to go to the governor and tell him, "that if he were willing to come to an amicable arrangement, he (Napoleon) thought the best means of effecting it would be to authorize the admiral to act as an intermediator. That if such were done, he had little doubt but matters might be adjusted. That he wished it himself, as he did not like to complain. All he wanted was to live, or in other words, that the restrictions should not be of such a nature as to induce a person to wish for death. That in consequence of what I had said to him, he had ordered Bertrand to discontinue writing a complaint, which he had

intended to have sent to Lord Castlereagh for the Prince Regent; and in fact, that he was desirous an accommodation should take place."

Went to town to deliver the above message. Found that the governor had left it before my arrival. Communicated the object of my mission to Sir Thomas Reade, who replied, that he knew the governor would never consent to allow the admiral to act as an intermediator.—There was no use in proposing it. I replied, that as I had been charged with the message, I must deliver it, as perhaps it might lead to good effects.

Went to Plantation House and communicated my message to Sir Hudson Lowe. He said, "that he would accept of the proposal, but that he had previously to decide upon a very delicate point, which might break off any purposed arrangement. That General Bonaparte had asked to see Count Las Cases before his departure, which would do away with the great object he had had in view for a month back, viz. that of cutting off all communication between Longwood and Las Cases. That General Bonaparte might make important and dangerous communications to Las Cases; to obviate which, he would propose that a staff officer should be present at the demanded interview, which it was likely might anger General Bonaparte."

He then wrote the following words on a piece of paper, which he desired me to copy, and to shew the copy:—"The governor is not conscious of ever having wilfully given to General Bonaparte any just cause of offence or disagreement. He has seen with pain misunderstandings arise on points where his duty would not allow him to pursue any other course, and which might have been frequently removed by a single word of explanation.

"Any channel by which he may think such misunderstandings may be removed, the governor is perfectly ready and willing to avail himself of."

Sir Hudson then gave me a large packet for Count Bertrand, containing his answer to the application to see Las Cases, and some explanations relative to the restrictions, some of which he said he was willing should be altered; and that the 5th paragraph of the restrictions delivered in October was merely meant as a *civil* request to General Bonaparte, not to subject himself to the interference of an officer, by entering into long conversations with persons not authorized by the governor to communicate with him. He added, that he would have some conversation with the admiral previous to the latter's going to see Napoleon, for the purpose of entering upon the intermediation.

28*th*.—Napoleon indisposed. Had passed a

very uneasy night and had suffered considerably from headach. Saw him at three, p. m. when he was still in bed, and afflicted with severe headach. He had not seen any one. Informed him what Sir Hudson Lowe said respecting the proposed intermediation. I did not like to communicate what his excellency had said about the interview which he had desired to have with Las Cases, as I thought it would both aggravate his illness and tend to impede the desired accommodation. While I was in his bed-room, Marchand came in and informed him that the bath which he had ordered could not be got ready on account of the total want of water at Longwood. However, he appeared well satisfied, and expressed his fear, that if Sir Pulteney came up this day, his indisposition might prevent his seeing and conversing with him. He desired me, therefore, to tell Count Bertrand, in case the admiral came, to take him to his house, shew him the necessary papers, and talk the matter over; adding, that if he found himself well enough, he would send for him, but if not, that he would appoint a future day.

Saw Count Bertrand afterwards, who asked me to explain the meaning of the passage in his excellency's letter in which he attempted to make it appear that the prohibition to Napoleon to speak was a piece of civility. Not having been educated for a special pleader, I felt myself at a loss to af-

ford any explanation sufficient to establish the truth of the governor's doctrine.

Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm came to Longwood and paid a visit to Counts and Countesses Bertrand and Montholon. No communication had been yet made by the governor to Sir Pulteney, who, when informed of the proposal, expressed his ardent wish that something might be done to put things upon a better footing between Napoleon and the governor; adding, that he thought if the matter were left to him, he could arrange it satisfactorily in a very little time. He observed, however, that until the governor authorized him, he would have no conversation on the subject either with Napoleon or with any of his suite.

Saw Napoleon in the evening in his bed-room, along with Marshal Bertrand. The parcel of letters which I had brought from the governor was before him. He had just been informed of his reply to the application that Count Las Cases might be allowed to visit Longwood before his departure. He observed, that "criminals condemned to death, and on the point of being led out to execution, were allowed to bid adieu to their friends, without it being required that a third person should be present." He was very much displeased, and expressed in strong terms his indignation at such barbarous conduct. He then asked me for the governor's reply to the pro-

posal I had made, which I gave him in French and English, having made a translation of it into the former, and also repeated to him what the governor had expressed to me relative to Las Cases. When he came to the words, "where his duty would not allow him." "misunderstanding," &c. "*Tracasserie*," said he, "this is the language he has always held. It is an insult to the human understanding. His intentions could not be mistaken. They were to heap all sorts of useless vexations upon me. I cannot," continued he, "think that he will allow the admiral to act as intermediator. Depend upon it, it is some shuffling trick of his, and that he will never allow it to come to a conclusion." He then dictated a few lines to Count Bertrand, containing a protest against the governor's conduct, which he desired him to write out fair in the next room. He requested me to communicate to the governor the remarks which he had made upon his conduct, and observed, that he hoped the admiral would not commence any proceedings without having first made himself perfectly master of the subject, in order not to allow himself to be *joué* by the governor; who would probably fill him with those falsehoods which he always had at command. "I should be sorry that the admiral," continued he, "should undertake any thing likely to prove abortive, as I have an esteem for him."

Sir Thomas Reade all day in consultation at Plantation House.

29*th.*—A letter from Sir Hudson Lowe for Count Bertrand arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. Saw Napoleon at two, p. m. Informed me, that as the governor had fourteen or fifteen days ago expressed a wish to know what the French complained of, he had directed Bertrand to send him a copy of his restrictions, with some observations thereupon, that he might think and reflect upon them. Also that he had caused the following remarks to be written upon the back of the memorandum containing the governor's sentiments, which I had delivered to him yesterday, and which he directed me to forward to Sir Hudson Lowe:—

"1. On ne peut justifier la conduite qu'on tient depuis six mois par quelques phrases de la correspondance du ministre. Une longue et volumineuse correspondance ministérielle est un arsenal où il y a des armes à tout tranchant.

"2. Les derniers réglemens seraient considérés à Botany Bay comme injurieux et oppressifs; ils doivent être, quoique l'on en dise, contraires à la volonté du gouvernement Anglais, qui a approuvé les réglemens qui ont été en vigueur jusqu'au mois d'Août dernier.

"3. Toutes les observations que le Comte Ber-

trand et le Comte de Montholon ont faites ont été inutiles. Une libre discussion leur a été interdite par des ménaces."*

"This governor," said he, "is a man totally unfit to fill the situation he holds. He has a good deal of cunning, but no talent or steadiness. *C'est un homme soupçonneux, astucieux, menteur, double, et plein d'insinuations,* like the Italians of two or three centuries ago. *C'est un excellent familier de l'inquisition. Il mettrait de l'astuce à dire le bon jour. Je crois qu'il en met à manger son déjéuné.* He ought to be sent to Goa. Bertrand wrote that he hoped he would not refuse his consent to a matter of so little consequence as that of permitting Las Cases to come up here. If he refuses, Bertrand will go down to see him along with an officer, which I could not consent to do."

"What can he be afraid of?" continued he, "that I would tell him to write to my wife? He will do that without my direction. That I would tell him my sentiments and intentions? He knows them already. Does he think that Europe is a mine of gunpowder, and Las Cases the spark to blow it up.

A letter superscribed "in haste," from Sir Hudson, was given to Captain Poppleton, containing one for Count Bertrand, signifying that "in consequence of the manner in which Count Las Cases

* The translation will be found in the Appendix, No. VII.

had been removed from Longwood, the governor could not permit him to take leave of General Bonaparte," &c. Shortly afterwards Count Bertrand and Baron Gourgaud went to town, accompanied by Captain Poppleton, to see and take leave of Count Las Cases. It is difficult to reconcile the conduct pursued towards them there, with the other measures practised by Sir Hudson Lowe, and with the importance which he professed to attach to "*cutting off* all communication with Longwood." At breakfast they were left to themselves, with the exception of Capt. Poppleton, who understands French with difficulty, and not at all when spoken in the quick manner in which Frenchmen usually converse with each other. For some hours they remained together in the large room of the castle, which is about fifty feet by twenty, walking up one side, while Colonel Wynyard and Major Gorrequer, who were to watch them, remained on the opposite side of the room; so that in fact, Las Cases might just as well have been permitted to come to Longwood, and thereby a refusal, which was considered as an insult, would have been spared to Napoleon.

About three, p. m. Las Cases and his son embarked on board of the Griffon sloop of war, Captain Wright, for the Cape of Good Hope. He was accompanied to the sea-side by Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Thomas Reade, &c. His journal and papers, except a few of no consequence, were detained

by the governor. Previous to his departure he made over 4,000*l.* (which he had in a banker's hands in London), for Napoleon's use.

I saw Sir Hudson Lowe on horseback in the street, who called out to me when passing, "your negotiation has failed."

About five hundred pounds' worth of plate brought down by Cipriani in the morning to be sold. When Sir Hudson Lowe saw it he sent for Cipriani, from whom he demanded, in what manner they could spend so much money? Cipriani (an arch, intelligent Corsican), replied. "to buy food." His excellency affected surprise, and said, "What, have you not enough?" "We have purchased," said Cipriani, "so many fowls, so much butter, bread, meat, and divers other articles of food daily for some months; and I have to thank your *chef d'état major*, Colonel Reade, for his goodness in not only procuring me many things that I wanted, but for his kindness in seeing that the people did not impose upon me when I was paying for them." Sir Hudson was a little disconcerted at this reply at first; but afterwards resuming an appearance of astonishment, asked, "why do you buy so much butter, or so many fowls?" "Because," replied Cipriani, "the allowance granted by *vostra eccellenza* does not give us enough to eat. You have taken off nearly half of what the admiral allowed us." Cipriani then gave

him an account in detail of their wants; explained the difference between the French and English mode of living, and accounted satisfactorily for every thing. Sir Hudson said, that the scheme of allowances had been hastily made out; that he would look into it, and endeavour to increase the quantity of those articles of provisions of which they stood most in need; and that on the next arrival from England he expected a change for the better.

31*st.*—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me at six in the morning. Soon after my arrival he called me into a private room, and in a very solemn manner said, that he had sent for me about a very extraordinary circumstance; that last evening the Baron Sturmer had written a note to Major Gorrequer, stating that General Bonaparte had had a fainting fit, *accompanied by fever!* some time back, and detailing the fact of the *eau de Cologne* having been thrown in his face, and some other circumstances, and begging to know if it were true, as such stories *were good to send to his court.* His excellency said, that he was very much surprised how Baron Sturmer could know that General Bonaparte had experienced a fit, or any of the circumstances attending it; and asked me to whom I had told it? I replied, "I mentioned it to none but yourself, your staff, possibly the admiral, and Baxter, whom I consulted professionally upon the

matter; that moreover many of the circumstances detailed in the Baron's letter were falsehoods; also that every body at Longwood knew that Napoleon had had a fainting fit on the night he had mentioned, as well as the circumstances which accompanied it." His excellency then gave me some advice about the necessity of secrecy, and desired me to write him a statement of the business, in order that, as it had unfortunately got abroad, he might be able to contradict any incorrect account of it; he supposed the admiral had repeated it to Montchenu or Sturmer.

Saw the admiral in town, who told me that I had not mentioned the circumstance to him, nor had he done so either to Montchenu or Sturmer; but that half the town knew it, which I was soon convinced of by the number of questions put to me by divers persons before leaving it.

Saw Napoleon on my return. "*Veramente,*" said he, laughing, "*vostro governatore è una bestia che non ha senso commune.* His conduct within a few days has proved his incapacity more than ever. He comes up here with an army of staff, just as if he were going to take a town by assault, seizes Las Cases, drags him away, keeps him *au secret* for some weeks; he then offers to allow him to return back. Las Cases is determined to go away. This governor in a most brutal manner refuses to allow him to take leave of me, although

at the same time he offers to allow him to return to Longwood until he hears from England; and, to crown the business, he permits Bertrand and Gourgaud to go down and converse with him for hours. Bertrand tells me that they had every opportunity for communication that they could desire, and every facility of informing him of my wishes, and of giving him letters. Ah," continued he, "if all in England were like him, I should not be here now. *C'est un homme borné*, a poor subject. He has a little cunning, and that is all, without any firmness or consistency. He spoke to Cipriani yesterday, to whom he pretended that he did not know we had not enough of provisions, (although his privy counsellor Reade has assisted Cipriani to buy bread and salt for us for some months) and professed his sorrow that the plate had been broken up. *Veramente fa pietà* to see a great nation represented by such a man."

Jan. 1*st*, 1817.—Saw Napoleon in the drawing-room. Wished him a happy new year. He said he hoped that the succeeding one would find him better situated; and added, laughing, "perhaps I shall be dead, which will be much better. Worse than this cannot be." He was in very good spirits, spoke about hunting the stag and the wild boar. Shewed me the scar of a wound in the inside of the ring-finger, which he told me he had received from a wild boar while hunting, accompanied by

the Duke of Dalmatia. Count Montholon came in, to whom Napoleon whispered something; after which he went out, and returned with a snuff-box, which he gave to the emperor, who presented it to me with his own hands, saying, "here, doctor, is a present I make to you for the attention which you manifested towards me during my illness." It is needless to say that a gift from the hands of such a man was received with sensations of pride, and that I endeavoured to express the sentiments which occupied my mind.

Napoleon also made some elegant presents to the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, consisting of some of the beautiful porcelain, unique in the world, presented to him by the city of Paris, with some handsome crapes; to Count Bertrand, a fine set of chess-men; to Count Montholon, a handsome ornament, &c. All the children also were gratified with some elegant gift from him. The weather was so bad and so foggy, that the signal from Deadwood could not be discerned.

2*nd*.—Cipriani in town buying provisions.

3*rd*.—Napoleon had been ill during the night; but felt better. In pretty good spirits. After some conversation, I asked his opinion about Georges. "Georges," said he, "was *una bestia ignorante*. He had courage, and that was all. After the peace with the Chouans I endeavoured to gain him over, as then he would have been

useful to me, and I was anxious to calm all parties. I sent for and spoke to him for a long time. His father was a miller, and he was an ignorant fellow himself. I asked him, 'why do you want to restore those Bourbons? If even you were to succeed in placing them upon the throne, you would still be only a miller's son in their eyes. They would hold you in contempt, because you are not of noble birth.' But I found that he had no heart; in fact, that he was *not a Frenchman*. A few days after he went over to London."

4*th*.—The Spey man of war arrived, and brought the news of the destruction of the Algerine ships, and the treaty which they had been obliged to make.

5*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Had a long conversation with him concerning the restrictions. His excellency said that he had no objection to allow General Bonaparte to ride to the left of Hut's Gate, in the direction of Miss Mason's; but that he did not like to grant the same permission to his attendants. I observed, that it would be difficult to draw such a line of distinction, as Napoleon never rode out without being accompanied by two or three of them. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, that he had no objection to their being permitted to ride in that direction when in company with General Bonaparte; but without him, he would not grant it. He then

desired me to tell General Bonaparte that *he* might ride in that direction, whenever he pleased, that there would be no impediment to his going. I observed that he had better make Count Bertrand acquainted with it: and also that some notice ought to be given to the sentinel at Hut's Gate, otherwise he would stop him if he attempted to avail himself of the permission. Sir Hudson Lowe replied that the sentinel had no orders to stop him. I said that Generals Montholon and Gourgaud had been stopped several times when going to the alarm-house, although within the limits. The governor replied that this must be a mistake, as the sentinels had no orders to stop them. I observed, that I had been twice stopped myself by the sentinels in that spot. "How can that be," said Sir Hudson, "as the sentinels have orders only *to stop French people?*" I answered, that the sentinel had said, that he had orders to stop *all suspicious people;* and that conceiving me to be one, he had stopped me, for which I could not blame him. His excellency laughed at this, then observed that he would *not* enlarge the limits, that they were fixed; but that he would give *General Bonaparte leave to extend his rides in different directions,* and ordered me to tell him, "that he might ride within the old limits unaccompanied, that no impediment would be opposed."

Saw Napoleon shortly after, to whom I con-

veyed his excellency's message. He asked me if the picquets had been placed upon the hills as formerly, when he used to ride in that direction. I replied, that I had not observed them. He took out his glass and looked towards the spot for a moment.

Informed Napoleon of the Algerine affair, and gave him a paper which contained the official detail. After reading it he professed great pleasure that those barbarians had been chastised, but observed that the victory we had gained did not alter his opinion, as to the best mode of acting with them. "You might," said he, "have settled it equally well by a blockade. It no doubt reflects great credit upon the English sailors for their bravery and skill; yet still I think that it was hazarding too much. To be sure, you effected a great deal, and got away, because your seamen are so good; but that is an additional reason why you should not run the risk of sacrificing them against such *canaille*. There are no other seamen (except the Americans,) who would have done what yours have effected, or perhaps have attempted it. Notwithstanding this, and that you have succeeded, it was madness and an abuse of the navy, to attack batteries elevated above your ships, which you could not injure; to engage red hot balls and shells, and run the hazard of losing a fleet, and so many brave seamen against

such *canaille*; independent of the disgrace which it would have been to England to be beaten by the barbarians, which ought to have been the case. If the Algerines had fired upon you in coming down, instead of, like imbeciles, allowing you to take up your position, quietly, and anchor, as if you were going to a review, you would not have succeeded. Suppose the Dey of Algiers had refused to agree to Lord Exmouth's terms the next day, what could he have done? Nothing. Depend upon it, he never would have gone in to attack them a second time with disabled ships, and powder deficient. He would have been obliged to withdraw his fleet, and it would have been a slap in the face for England. Moreover you have taught those wretches what they wanted for the defence of the place."

"If you have struck terror into them, and that the terms you have made," continued he, "be strictly adhered to for the future, you have done a great benefit to humanity, as well as having shewn much maritime skill and bravery; but I do not believe that the Algerines will adhere to the stipulation that prisoners are not to be made slaves. I fear that they will be worse treated than they were before, in consequence of those barbarians not having any hope of ransom; which was the only reason they spared the lives of their captives. But now, having lost the hope of mak-

ing money by them, they will massacre and throw them overboard, or else mutilate them horribly; for you know that they conceive it to be a meritorious action to destroy heretics."

He spoke in very high terms of Lord Nelson, and indeed attempted to palliate that only stigma to his memory, the execution of Caraccioli; which he attributed entirely to his having been deceived by that wicked woman, Queen Caroline, through Lady Hamilton, and to the influence which the latter had over him.

While conversing with Napoleon, General Gourgaud sent in his name and entered. He communicated some information rather in discordance with the message which the governor had directed me to deliver. It appeared, that while taking a ride *within* the limits, he was stopped about five o'clock, p. m. by the sentinel at Hut's Gate, and detained, until released by the serjeant commanding the guard. He added, that almost every time he went out, the same thing occurred, the sentinels wishing to screen themselves from any responsibility.

6*th*.—Communicated this to Sir Hudson Lowe, and brought him a letter from Captain Poppleton on the subject. His excellency denied that the sentinels had ever received any new orders; and that it was the fault of the sentinel.

Cipriani informed me that Pozzo di Borgo was

the son of a shepherd in Corsica, who used to bring eggs, milk, and butter to the Bonaparte family. Being a smart boy, he was noticed by Madame Mère, who paid for his schooling. Afterwards, through the interest of the family, he was chosen deputy to the legislative body, as their sons were too young to be elected. He returned to Corsica as *procuratore generale*, where he united himself with Peraldi, an implacable enemy of the Bonapartes, and consequently became one himself.

By the same authority I was informed that Masseria, on his arrival at Paris in order to obtain an interview with Napoleon, had applied to him, (Cipriani), for advice how to accomplish this object, stating that he intended to apply to the Arch Chancellor. Cipriani advised him by no means to do so, as possibly he might be arrested and tried, (being an emigrant,) in which case he must be condemned to death; but to apply to Madame Mère, to whom he was known. Masseria followed his advice, and succeeded in obtaining an interview, although he failed in the attempt to open a negociation. In a subsequent endeavour to obtain another, he received a hint to quit France.

On making inquiry at Hut's Gate, the serjeant commanding the guard shewed a scrap of paper containing the orders to the sentinels, which were

"that none of the French, not even Bonaparte himself, were to be permitted to pass that post, unless accompanied by a British officer." The serjeant also said, what indeed was notorious, that Sir Hudson Lowe frequently gave verbal orders himself, not only to the non-commissioned officers of the guard, but sometimes to the sentinels themselves. That those orders might be written down afterwards, or they might not.

Dined with Sir Pulteney Malcolm in town.

7th.—Napoleon did not retire to rest until three in the morning, having been employed dictating and writing until that hour. He got up again at five, and went into a warm bath. Eat nothing until seven in the evening, and went to bed before eight.

8th.—Had some further conversation concerning the Algerine business. Asked him if it were true that Desaix had, a little before his death, sent a message of the following purport to him. "Tell the first consul that I regret dying before I have done sufficient to make my name known to posterity." Napoleon replied, "it was true," and accompanied it with some warm eulogiums on Desaix. He breakfasted this morning in the English manner, upon a little toast and tea. Weather so foggy that signals could not be passed.

10th.—Sir Pulteney Malcolm, accompanied by

Captains Meynel and Wauchope, R. N., came to Longwood, and had an interview with Napoleon. He recounted to the admiral a sketch of his life.

Went to town, and applied to Sir Thomas Reade that permission might be granted to the French to purchase two cows, that a little good milk might be provided for the establishment.

The fog so thick, and the weather so bad, that the signal of *all's well* could not be seen. Orderlies sent to acquaint the governor and admiral.

11*th.*—Weather still very bad.

12*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room. Gave him a newspaper of the 3rd of October, 1816. Had some conversation with him relative to Chateaubriand, Sir Robert Wilson, &c. I observed, that some persons were surprised that he had never written, or caused to be written, an answer to Sir Robert Wilson's work, and to others containing similar assertions. He replied, that it was unnecessary; that they would fall to the ground of themselves; that Sir Robert had already contradicted it, by the answer which he had given in his interrogation, when tried in Paris for having assisted Lavalette in his escape; and that he was convinced Wilson was now sorry for having published what he then had been led to believe was true. That moreover the English, who re-

turned from their travels in France, would return undeceived as to his character, and would undeceive their countrymen.

I asked if he had not been very thin when he was in Egypt. He answered, that he was at that time extremely thin, although possessed of a strong and robust constitution. That he had supported what would have killed most other men. After his thirty-sixth year he began to grow fat.

He told me that he had frequently laboured in state affairs for fifteen hours, without a moment's cessation, or even having taken any nourishment. On one occasion, he had continued at his labours for three days and nights without lying down to sleep.

When Napoleon was rising up from table this day, and in the act of taking his hat off the sideboard, a large rat sprang out of it, and ran between his legs to the surprise of those present.

13*th*.—Made inquiries from the purveyor if credit were given to the establishment on any articles allowed them by government during the week, which had not been consumed, and whether they might be permitted to appropriate the value of such articles as had not been used, to increase the allowance of others, of which they had not a sufficient quantity; or whether the savings so made, were to be credited to government?

The reply was, "any saving made by the establishment upon the English confectionary allowed to them, may be carried to increase the quantity of vegetables allowed; but all and every other saving is to be credited to government, and not to the French. That some weeks back, no saving of any description was permitted to be appropriated to increase the allowances in which there might be a deficiency; but after several representations had been made by me during Napoleon's illness, of the deficiency of vegetables, Sir Hudson Lowe had directed, that the value of the confectionary *not* used by them,* might be carried over to increase the allowance of provisions; that a very severe reprimand had been given to the purveyors, in a letter from Major Gorrequer, for having credited the value of the fruit allowed (when none was to be procured on the island), to increase the quantity of vegetables, accompanied by a strict order never to repeat it."

14*th.*—Made inquiries from Brigade Major Harrison, who was stationed at Hut's Gate, if any alteration had been made in the orders, so as to allow Napoleon to pass the picquet at that gate, and to go round by Miss Mason's and Woody Range, *unaccompanied* by a British officer? Major

* The French rarely used any of the confectionary sent from England, as Piéron, the *chef d'office*, was very superior in his art.

Harrison replied, that no change of orders to that effect had been given, and that if he attempted to pass he would be stopped by the sentinels. He added, that General Gourgaud had asked him the same question yesterday, to whom he had returned a similar answer. Cipriani in town purchasing sheep.

15*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his bath. He was rather low spirited and thoughtful. Made some observations about the governor's not having kept his word relative to the proposed intermediation through the medium of the admiral.

17*th.*—Madame Bertrand delivered of a fine boy, at half-past four o'clock. Her accouchement was followed by some dangerous symptoms.

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and asked me, "if I had had any conversation with Napoleon touching the admiral since he had seen me?" I replied, that he "appeared much surprised that he (the governor) had not acted upon the proposed intermediation by means of the admiral." Sir Hudson Lowe observed "that he had considered the negociation to be broken off, by General Bonaparte's having sent to him a number of strictures upon the restrictions of October last, written in a violent manner, and containing falsehoods; and by the tenor of the remarks written upon the back of the answer delivered by him to the

original proposition. That he was ignorant whether they intended those remarks for his perusal, or to be sent to England. That the frequent use of the word '*emperor*,' in the strictures written by Count Bertrand, was sufficient for him to break off the affair." I replied, that the strictures had merely been sent by Napoleon for his own consideration. His excellency then began to inveigh against Count Las Cases, whom he accused of "having been the cause of much mischief between Bonaparte and himself; said he had asserted in his journal, that Bonaparte had declared, that he abhorred the sight of the British uniform, or of a British officer; that he held both in abomination; and that I had better take an opportunity to tell him this, and add, that I had heard him (the governor) say, that he did not believe that he had ever said so."

Sir Hudson then asked me if "I had informed General Bonaparte, that he was at liberty to ride round by Miss Mason's and Woody Range unaccompanied?" I replied, that I had, but that Major Harrison had asserted the contrary to General Gourgaud and myself. His excellency said, that since that time, permission had been granted, of which he desired me to inform General Bonaparte; as well as of his reasons for not having gone on any further with the proposed intermediation. Also, "that he daily expected good news from

England for the French, and hoped he should be permitted by the English government to render their situation more comfortable."

In the evening, however, his excellency changed his mind, and ordered me "not to communicate any thing to General Bonaparte on the subject of the ride to the left of Hut's Gate, but to mention every thing else he had directed me.

18*th*.—Napoleon sent for me. Complained of severe headach, and made many inquiries concerning Madame Bertrand, about whose state of health he appeared very anxious. I informed him of the real cause of the unpleasant symptoms which had appeared.

Acquainted him with the causes which the governor had assigned yesterday, as his reasons for not having proceeded farther in the proposed intermediation, and the other matters that I was directed to tell him. Napoleon replied, "I never intended to break off the negociation. The observations were sent to him, because he asked for them himself, and desired to know what we complained of. It was never intended as a refusal, nor to be sent to England, as it was only a copy of what I once intended to send. I wished," continued he, "to have had the admiral present at any agreement which might be made, in order to be able to call upon him hereafter as a man of honour and an Englishman, to bear wit-

ness to whatever was agreed upon, that the governor might not be able to change the orders and directions, subsequently deny what had been settled, and then say that he had changed nothing. But this governor never intended to call in the admiral. It was all a trick. '*E un uomo senza fede.*" I said that the governor had informed me that he had written to England, and daily expected orders to ameliorate his condition. "He has never written for any such thing," replied Napoleon; "he sees that he has gone too far, and now he awaits the arrival of some ship from England, in order that he may throw the weight and odium of those restrictions upon the ministers, and say that he has written and got them taken off. The ministers have merely given him directions to take every precaution to prevent me from escaping; all the rest is discretional. He treats us as if we were so many peasants, or poor simple creatures, who could be duped by his shallow artifices."

The Adamant arrived from the Cape. A present of some fruit sent by Lady Malcolm to Napoleon, Went to town, and procured some newspapers, which I gave to Napoleon on my return. Assisted in explaining some of the passages to him. Repeated an anecdote which I had heard about his son, at which he laughed much, appeared entertained, and brightened up. Made me re-

peat it again; asked about Marie Louise, and desired me to endeavour to *see* all the newspapers that arrived, in order, that if I could not procure the loan of them, I should be able to inform him of any thing they might contain relative to his wife and child. "For," added he, "one reason that this governor does not send up a regular series of papers, is to prevent me from seeing any article which he thinks would give me pleasure, especially such as contain some little information about my son or my wife."

19*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me. Proceeded to Plantation House. Communicated to him Napoleon's reply to the message he had charged me to deliver on the 17th, concealing any offensive epithets, and otherwise moderating the manner. Sir Hudson said, "that he had never asked for the observations on the restrictions. That he believed he had asked what they complained of, and that he was glad to know they had not intended to break off the accommodation by sending them."

A little afterwards, however, his excellency began to wax warm, and said, "that the person who had ordered observations to be written couched in such language, and containing lies, could not be actuated by any conciliatory views, and he should take no positive steps in the matter. That he conceived a person's proposing another for a mediator could have no other object

in view than to *make some concession or apology*; if such were General Bonaparte's views, he (Sir Hudson) should think it advisable to employ one, and not otherwise." He then asked me, "if such were General Bonaparte's intentions?" I told his excellency, that I could assure him Napoleon had no such intention, nor ever had. Sir Hudson, after some hazardous assertions relative to Napoleon's motives, got up, walked into another room, from whence he returned with a volume of the Quarterly Review, containing an article on Miot's work upon Egypt, which he put into my hands, and with a triumphant laugh pointed out the following passage, which he desired me to read aloud. "He (Bonaparte) understands enough of mankind to dazzle the weak, to dupe the vain, to overawe the timid, and to make the wicked his instruments. But of all beyond this, Bonaparte is grossly and brutally ignorant. Of the strength of patriotism, the enthusiasm of virtue, the fortitude of duty, he knows nothing, and can comprehend nothing." During the time I was reading this, his excellency indulged in bursts of laughter. He afterwards made me observe a definition of the word *caractère* in a posthumous work of Voltaire's, (I think) of which he said General Bonaparte must have been ignorant, or he would not be so fond of using the word.

Subsequently, Sir Hudson Lowe said that "Ge-

neral Bonaparte ought to send the admiral to him." I observed that Sir Pulteney Malcolm would not undertake any office of the kind, unless first spoken to and authorized by him (Sir Hudson) to undertake it. That as he had now the complaints of the French in his possession, he might let the admiral know how far he would agree to their demands; and, by making that officer acquainted with his intentions, the latter would know how to act and what answer to make. Sir Hudson recurred again to the language in which the observations on his restrictions were couched, and after a discussion which continued for some time, gave me a message similar to that which he had done on the 17th, with the addition, "that at the time he had foreseen that the request to see Las Cases, which he could not grant, would probably break off the proposed accommodation." He then told me that I might borrow any books I liked in his library, excepting such as flattered Bonaparte too much. Shortly after he gave me Pillet's libel upon England, Miot's Expedition to Egypt, "*Amours secrètes de Napoleon*," &c. I asked him if I might lend Pillet to Napoleon. He said, "yes; and tell him that Pillet knows just as much about England as Las Cases." His excellency then took from a shelf a book called "*Les Imposteurs insignes, ou Histoires de plusieurs Hommes de néant de toutes Nations, qui ont usurpé la Qualité d'Em-*

*pereur, de Roi, et de Prince,"** put it into my hand, and with a peculiar grin, said, "you had better take General Bonaparte this also. Perhaps he may find some characters in it resembling himself."

20*th.*—Cipriani in town, purchasing meat, butter, and other necessaries. Sir Thomas Reade very active in assisting him to procure them.

21*st.*—Saw Napoleon in the evening. Gave him Pillet's libel, mentioning at the same time, some of the falsehoods contained in it; amongst others the incestuous practices which the wretch who wrote it asserted to be prevalent in England. He appeared surprised and shocked at this, and observed that malice frequently defeated itself. When I mentioned that Pillet had asserted that the French naval officers were more skilful and manœuvred better than the English, he smiled contemptuously, and observed, "truly, they have proved it by the result of their actions."

I then told him that I had got a book entitled "*Amours secrètes de Napoléon Bonaparte*," but that it was a foolish work. He laughed, and desired me to bring it to him. "It will at least make me laugh," said he. I accordingly brought

* Famous Impostors, or Histories of many pitiful Wretches of low birth of all Nations, who have usurped the office of Emperor, King, or Prince.

it. He observed a print in the book which represented him plunging a sword into a balloon, because the manager of it would not let him ascend, and remarked, "It is believed by some that I did what is represented here, and I have heard that it was asserted by persons who knew me well, but it is not true. The circumstance represented really occurred, but the actor was one of the *comité*, a young man of great bravery, of a singular appearance and peculiar manner, always elevated upon his tiptoes, and loving to walk near the brink of precipices."

Some one came into the room now, to whom he cried "*eh bien, voilà mes amours secrètes.*" He then ran through the book, read out some parts, laughing very heartily, but observed that it was monstrous silly; that they had not even described him to be a wicked man. After having perused a portion of it which I had not read, he shut the book, and returned it, observing that there was not a single word of truth in the anecdotes; that even the names of the greatest number of the females mentioned were unknown to him.

Napoleon sat up until late at night reading Pillet, and I was informed that he was heard repeatedly to burst out into loud fits of laughter.

22*nd.*—Napoleon employed a considerable portion of the day in dictating his memoirs to Counts

Bertrand and Montholon in the billiard-room, which he has converted into a *cabinet de travail*. Occasionally he amuses himself with collecting the balls together and endeavouring to roll them all into the opposite corner-pocket.

Sir Hudson Lowe sent me up some coffee for Napoleon's own use, which he said was of very good quality, and which he strongly recommended.

23*rd*.—Napoleon in good spirits. Spoke about Pillet's book. Observed that he had no recollection whatever of such a name. "Probably," said he, "Pillet is some person who has been harshly treated by you in the prison-ships *(pontons)*, and has written in a bad humour and full of malice against the English, which is evidently displayed in his work. There is," continued he, "only one statement in the book which I believe to be correct, viz. that relative to the treatment of the prisoners in the *pontons*. It was barbarous on the part of your government to immure a number of poor wretches of soldiers, who had not been accustomed to the sea, on board of ships so many hours every night, without fresh air. There was something horrid," continued he, "in the treatment of the prisoners in England. The very idea of being put on board of a ship, and kept there for several years, has something dreadful in it. Even your seamen hate the idea of being always on board of ships, and run to seek the de-

lights of the shore whenever they can. There was nothing which so much irritated the nations of the continent against you. For your ministers not only heaped Frenchmen in them, but also prisoners of all other nations at war with you. I received so many complaints about the barbarous treatment to which they were subjected in the *pontons*, a treatment so contrary to that practised in France towards the English, that at last I gave orders that all the English prisoners should be put on board of *pontons*, which were to be prepared for that purpose, and to be treated precisely as you treated mine in England. Had I remained in France it would have been carried into execution, and would have had a good effect, for I would have given every liberty and facility to the English so confined to vent their complaints, and your ministry would, in spite of themselves, have been obliged to remove the French from the *pontons*, in order that a similar measure might be adopted towards the English in France."

I observed that the treatment of the French prisoners in England had not been near so bad as was stated by many, especially by Pillet. Napoleon replied, "I have no doubt that the statement is exaggerated; but still they were treated in a most barbarous and oppressive manner. The mere putting of soldiers on board of ships is of itself cruel. Now, in France, all the English were

treated well: at least my intentions towards them were good. Some abuses existed doubtless, as there always will under similar circumstances; but that was not my fault. Whenever they came to my knowledge, I always punished the guilty. There was Virion; as soon as I found out his robberies, I gave orders to have him tried, and I would have had him hanged, if, dreading the result, he had not shot himself. Others did the same. It is impossible that any government could have given more lenient directions for the treatment of prisoners of war than those which were issued by me; but I could not help some abuses being practised. I always punished the authors of them when they came to my knowledge. Let the thousands of English prisoners who were in France be asked to state candidly the manner in which they were treated. There are some of them now in this island. When they attempted to escape and were retaken, then indeed they were closely confined; but never were treated in such a barbarous manner as you treated mine in your *pontons*. Your ministers made a great noise about my having employed French prisoners who had broken their parole and escaped. But the prisoners of your nation were the first to set the example to escape, and your ministers employed them afterwards. In retaliation, I of course did the same. I published the names of several

Englishmen who broke their parole previous to the French having done so, and who were afterwards employed by you; nay I did more, I made an offer to your ministers to send back all the French prisoners who had violated their parole from the beginning of the war, provided they would in like manner send back all the English who had done the like. They, however, refused to consent to this. What more could I do? Your ministers made a great outcry about the English travellers that I detained in France; although they themselves had set the example, by seizing upon all the French vessels and persons on board of them, upon whom they could lay their hands, either in their harbours, or at sea, before the declaration of war, and before I had detained the English in France. I said then, if you detain my travellers at sea, where you can do what you like, I will detain yours at land, where I am equally powerful. But after this I offered to release all the English I had seized in France before the declaration of war, provided you would in like manner release the French and their property which you had seized on board of the ships. Your ministers refused."

"Your ministers," continued he, "never publish *all the truth*, unless when they cannot avoid it; or when they know that it will come to the knowledge of the public through other channels;

in other cases, they turn, disguise, or suppress every thing, as best answers their views."

I made some observations relative to the calumnious assertions of Pillet, of the general depravity alleged by him to exist amongst the English ladies, and the horrible assertions he had put forth; and maintained, that in no country was there less reason for supposing that an improper connexion existed between near relations; nor in any country were there to be found females more delicate, or more irreproachable in their mode of life; pointing out to the emperor that it was evident Pillet had kept very low company, by his assertions about *sweethearts*, which I explained was a word in habitual use only amongst chambermaids, low shop-keepers' daughters, and others of a similar rank, although Pillet had the impudence to assert that such a term was in familiar use with young ladies of the first respectability. "True," said Napoleon, "I fancy that he never saw any English women on board of his ship, except *puttane* of the lowest class. He had," continued he, "a fine opportunity truly of learning the manners and customs of the English, confined as he was on board of a *ponton* for seven or eight years. He defeated his own intention; for in some parts he has written so many lies and horrors of the English, that the truth which he has stated in another part will not be credited. His book is

like those which have described me as a monster delighting in bloodshed, in crimes and atrocities; that merely to gratify a sanguinary disposition, I drove my carriage over the bodies of the killed and wounded in battle. His book is just as true, and in like manner defeats the intentions of the publisher. I was indeed pleased to see those violent works, as I knew that no person of sense or reasoning would believe them. Those written with an appearance of moderation and impartiality were the only ones I had to fear."

I asked the emperor then if he had ever read Miot's history of the expedition to Egypt. "What, the commissary?" replied he. "I believe Las Cases gave me a copy; moreover it was published in my time." He then desired me to bring the one which I had, that he might compare them. He observed, "Miot was a *polisson*, whom, together with his brother, I raised from the dirt. He says that I threatened him for writing the book, which is a falsehood. I said to his brother once that he might as well not have published untruths. He was a man who had always fear before his eyes. What does he say about the poisoning affair and the shooting at Jaffa?" I replied, that as to the poisoning, Miot declared, he could say no more than that such had been the current report; but that he positively asserted that he (Napoleon) had caused between

three and four thousand Turks to be shot, some days after the capture of Jaffa. Napoleon answered, "It is not true that there were so many. I ordered about a thousand or twelve hundred to be shot, which was done. The reason was, that amongst the garrison of Jaffa, a number of Turkish troops were discovered, whom I had taken a short time before at El-Arish, and sent to Bagdat upon their parole not to serve again, or to be found in arms against me for a year. I had caused them to be escorted twelve leagues on their way to Bagdat, by a division of my army. But those Turks, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, threw themselves into Jaffa, defended it to the last, and cost me a number of brave men to take it, whose lives would have been spared, if the others had not reinforced the garrison of Jaffa. Moreover, before I attacked the town, I sent them a flag of truce. Immediately afterwards we saw the head of the bearer elevated on a pole over the wall. Now if I had spared them again, and sent them away upon their parole, they would directly have gone to St. Jean d'Acre, where they would have played over again the same scene that they have done at Jaffa. In justice to the lives of my soldiers, as every general ought to consider himself as their father, and them as his children, I could not allow this. To leave as a guard a portion of my army, already small and reduced in

number, in consequence of the breach of faith of those wretches; was impossible. Indeed, to have acted otherwise than as I did, would probably have caused the destruction of my whole army. I therefore, availing myself of the rights of war, which authorize the putting to death prisoners taken under such circumstances; independent of the right given to me by having taken the city by assault, and that of retaliation on the Turks, ordered that the prisoners taken at El-Arish, who, in defiance of their capitulation, had been found bearing arms against me, should be selected out and shot. The rest, amounting to a considerable number, were spared. I would," continued he, "do the same thing again to-morrow, and so would Wellington, or any general commanding an army under similar circumstances."

"Previous to leaving Jaffa," continued Napoleon, "and after the greatest number of the sick and wounded had been embarked, it was reported to me that there were some men in the hospital so dangerously ill, as not to be able to be moved. I ordered immediately the chiefs of the medical staff to consult together upon what was best to be done, and to give me their opinion on the subject. Accordingly they met, and found that there were seven or eight men so dangerously ill, that they conceived it impossible for them to recover; and also that they could not exist twenty-four or

thirty-six hours longer; that moreover, being afflicted with the plague, they would spread that complaint amongst all those who approached them. Some of them, who were sensible, perceiving that they were about to be abandoned, demanded with earnest entreaties to be put to death. Larrey was of opinion that recovery was impossible, and that those poor fellows could not exist many hours; but as they might live long enough to be alive when the Turks entered, and experience the dreadful torments which they were accustomed to inflict upon their prisoners, he thought it would be an act of charity to comply with their desires, and accelerate their end by a few hours. Desgenettes did not approve of this, and replied, that his profession was to cure the sick, and not to despatch them. Larrey came to me immediately afterwards, informed me of the circumstances, and of what Desgenettes had said; adding, that perhaps Desgenettes was right. 'But,' continued Larrey, 'those men cannot live for more than a few hours, twenty-four, or thirty-six at most; and if you will leave a rear-guard of cavalry, to stay and protect them from advanced parties, it will be sufficient.' Accordingly I ordered four or five hundred cavalry to remain behind, and not to quit the place until all were dead. They did remain, and informed me that all had expired before they had left the town; but I have heard since, that Sydney

Smith found one or two alive, when he entered it. This is the truth of the business. Wilson himself, I dare say, knows now that he was mistaken. Sydney Smith never asserted it. I have no doubt that this story of the poisoning originated in something said by Desgenettes, who was a *bavard*, which was afterwards misconceived or incorrectly repeated. Desgenettes," continued he, "was a good man, and notwithstanding that he had given rise to this story, I was not offended, and had him near my person in different campaigns afterwards. Not that I think it would have been a crime, had opium been given to them; on the contrary, I think it would have been a virtue. To leave a few *misérables*, who could not recover, in order that they might be massacred by the Turks with the most dreadful tortures, as was their custom, would, I think, have been cruelty. A general ought to act with his soldiers, as he would wish should be done to himself. Now would not any man under similar circumstances, who had his senses, have preferred dying easily a few hours sooner, rather than expire under the tortures of those barbarians? You have been amongst the Turks, and know what they are; I ask you now to place yourself in the situation of one of those sick men, and that you were asked which you would prefer, to be left to suffer the tortures of those miscreants, or to have

opium administered to you?" I replied, "most undoubtedly I should prefer the latter." "Certainly, so would any man," answered Napoleon: "if my *own son*, (and I believe I love my son as well as any father does his child,) were in a similar situation with those men, I would advise it to be done; and if so situated myself, I would insist upon it, if I had sense enough, and strength enough to demand it. But, however, affairs were not so pressing as to prevent me from leaving a party to take care of them, which was done. If I had thought such a measure as that of giving opium necessary, I would have called a council of war, have stated the necessity of it, and have published it in the order of the day. It should have been no secret. Do you think that if I had been capable of secretly poisoning my soldiers, (as doing a necessary action secretly would give it the appearance of a crime,) or of such barbarities as driving my carriage over the dead, and the still bleeding bodies of the wounded, that my troops would have fought for me with an enthusiasm and affection without a parallel? No, no, I never should have done so a second time. Some would have shot me in passing. Even some of the wounded, who had sufficient strength left to pull a trigger, would have despatched me."

"I never," continued Napoleon, "committed a crime in all my political career. At my last

hour I can assert that. Had I done so, I should not have been here now. I should have despatched the Bourbons. It only rested with me to give my consent, and they would have ceased to live."

"I have been accused in like manner," continued the emperor, "of having committed such unnecessary crimes as causing Pichegru, Wright, and others to be assassinated. Instead of desiring the death of Wright, I was anxious to bring to light by his testimony, that Pitt had caused assassins to be landed in France, purposely and knowingly to murder me. Wright killed himself, probably that he might not compromise his government. What motive could I have in assassinating Pichegru? A man who was evidently guilty; against whom every proof was ready. No evidence was wanting against him. His condemnation was certain. Perhaps I should have pardoned him. If indeed Moreau had been put to death, then people might have said that I had caused his assassination, and with great apparent justice, for he was the only man I had much reason to fear; and until then, he was judged innocent. He was '*blue*,' like me; Pichegru was '*white*,' known to be in the pay of England, and his death certain." Here Napoleon described the way in which he had been found, and observed, that the very uncommon mode of his death was a proof that he had not been murdered. "There

never has been," continued he, "a man who has arrived to the pitch of power to which I have done, without having been sullied by crimes, except myself. An English lord, a relation of the Duke of Bedford, who dined with me at Elba, told me that it was generally believed in England that the Duke d'Enghien had not been tried, but assassinated in prison in the night; and was surprised when I told him that he had had a regular trial, and that the sentence had been published before execution."

I now asked if it were true that Talleyrand had retained a letter written by the Duke d'Enghien to him until two days after the duke's execution? Napoleon's reply was, "It is true; the duke had written a letter, offering his services, and asking a command in the army from me, which that *scelerato*,* Talleyrand, did not make known until two days after his execution." I observed that Talleyrand, by his culpable concealment of the letter, was virtually guilty of the death of the duke. "Talleyrand," replied Napoleon, "is a *briccone*, capable of any crime. I," continued he, "caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested in consequence of the Bourbons having landed assassins in France to murder me. I was resolved to let them see that the blood of one of their princes should pay for their attempts, and he was accord-

* Miscreant.

ingly tried for having borne arms against the republic, found guilty, and shot, according to the existing laws against such a crime.

"You will never," added Napoleon, "see the truth represented by your ministers, where France is concerned. Your great Lord Chatham said, speaking of your nation, 'if we deal fairly or justly with France, England will not exist for four-and-twenty hours.'"

After this, I informed the emperor of the message which Sir Hudson Lowe had directed me to deliver. He replied, "I certainly was very much vexed at the refusal to allow Las Cases to come up, as it was an unnecessary cruelty, a vexatious foolery, particularly when he permitted the French generals to go down and converse with him as long as they liked; and I may say without a witness having been present; but I never intended to decline the accommodation, on the contrary. As to the observations upon his restrictions, in the last letter he wrote to Bertrand, he mentioned that he should wish to learn any observations we might have to offer on the subject of the restrictions; and, in consequence, those remarks were sent to let him know what we thought of his conduct, he having pretended that nothing had been changed. But he never intended to avail himself of the intermediation of the admiral. What can be expected from a man who gives false orders?

A man who tells you that he has given directions to sentinels and guards which they deny ever having received; who says, that we have liberty to pass in certain directions; and at the same time orders the sentinels to stop all *suspicious persons.* Now, in the name of God, who can be more suspicious to an English sentinel than a Frenchman, *and above all, myself?* to guard whom is his only business here; and if he does his duty he will assuredly stop every Frenchman he sees." I could not help laughing heartily at the emperor's manner, in which he joined himself, and repeated. "*Un uomo incapace che non ha nessuna fede.*" After which he desired me to endeavour to procure him a catalogue of the books that were in the public library of James Town, and to bring him as many accounts relative to Egypt and the expeditions there, as I could procure.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe in town, to whom I repeated Napoleon's reply. When I came to that part of it which urged, that in his last letter to Bertrand he had stated, that he would be glad to learn any observations, he interrupted me with "Ay, that I would be glad to enter into any further explanation. Yes, I recollect that," but he did not seem to like to dwell on the subject, and observed, that it appeared General Bonaparte's answer was the same as before; and desired me

to be sure to tell him that Las Cases knew just as much of England as Pillet.

24*th.*—Cipriani in town, employed as usual, endeavouring to procure some good articles of viands.

26*th.*—Napoleon went out of the house, (being the first time since the 20th of November last,) to pay a visit to Countess Bertrand, whom he complimented much upon her beautiful child. "Sire," said the countess, "I have the honour to present to your majesty *le premier Français* who, since your arrival, has entered Longwood without Lord Bathurst's permission."

27*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. Complained of headach and loss of sleep, which I imputed to his want of exercise; and concluded by strongly recommending him to practise it. He acknowledged the justice of my advice, but did not seem to think that he could follow it.

Informed him that I had a book containing an account of a society named "Philadelphi," which had been formed against him, and expressed my surprise that he had never fallen by the hands of some conspirators. He replied, "No person knew five minutes before I put it into execution, that I intended to go out, or where I should go. For this reason the conspirators were baffled, as they were ignorant where to lay the scene of their

enterprize. Shortly after I was made consul, there was a conspiracy formed against me by about fifty persons, the greatest number of whom had once been very much attached to me, and consisted of officers of the army, men of science, painters, and sculptors. They were all stern republicans, their minds were heated; each fancied himself a Brutus, and me a tyrant and another Cæsar. Amongst them was Arena, a countryman of mine, a republican, and a man who had been much attached to me before; but thinking me a tyrant, he determined to get rid of me, imagining that by doing so he should render a service to France. There was also one Ceracchi, another Corsican, and a famous sculptor, who, when I was at Milan, had made a statue of me. He too had been greatly attached to me, but being a fanatical republican, determined to kill me, for which purpose he came to Paris, and begged to have the honour of making another statue for me, alleging, that the first was not sufficiently well executed for so great a man. Though I then knew nothing of the conspiracy which had been formed, I refused to give my consent, as I did not like the trouble of sitting for two or three hours in the same posture for some days, especially as I had sat before to him. This saved my life, his intention being to poniard me whilst I was sitting. In the mean time, they had arranged their plans.

Amongst them there was a captain, who had been a great admirer of me. This man agreed with the rest that it was necessary to overturn the tyrant, but he would not consent that I should be killed, although he strenuously joined in every thing else. All the others, however, differed with him in opinion, and insisted that it was absolutely necessary to despatch me, as the only means of preventing France from being enslaved. That while I lived there would be no chance of freedom. This captain, finding that they were determined to shed my blood, notwithstanding all his arguments and entreaties, gave information of their names and plans. They were to assassinate me on the first night that I went to the theatre, in the passage as I was returning. Every thing was arranged with the police—I went the same evening to the theatre, and actually passed through the conspirators; some of whom I knew by person, and who were armed with poniards under their cloaks in order to despatch me when I was going out. Shortly after my arrival the police seized them all. They were searched and the poniards found upon them. In France a person cannot be found guilty of a conspiracy to murder, unless the instruments of death are found upon him. They were afterwards tried, and some were executed."

I asked several questions about the infernal-machine transaction. Napoleon replied in the follow-

ing manner. "It was about Christmas time, and great festivities were going on. I was much pressed to go to the opera. I had been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found myself sleepy and tired. I threw myself on a sofa in my wife's saloon and fell asleep. Josephine came down some time after, awoke me, and insisted that I should go to the theatre. She was an excellent woman, and wished me to do every thing to ingratiate myself with the people. You know that when women take a thing into their heads, they will go through with it, and you must gratify them. Well, I got up, much against my inclination, and went in my carriage, accompanied by Lasnes and Bessiéres. I was so drowsy that I fell asleep in the coach. I was asleep when the explosion took place, and I recollect, when I awoke, experiencing a sensation as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body of water. The contrivers of this were a man named St. Regent, Imolan, a *religious* man, who has since gone to America and turned priest, and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel resembling that with which water is supplied through the streets of Paris, with this exception, that the barrel was put cross-ways. This he filled with gunpowder, and placed it and himself nearly in the turning of the street through which I was to pass. What saved me was, that my

wife's carriage was the same in appearance as mine, and there was a guard of fifteen men to each. Imolan did not know which I was in, and indeed was not certain that I should be in either of them. In order to ascertain this, he stepped forward to look into the carriage, and assure himself of my presence. One of my guards, a great tall strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a man stopping up the way and staring into the carriage, rode up, and gave him a kick with his great boot, crying, 'get out of the way, *pekin*,' which knocked him down. Before he could get up, the carriage had passed a little on. Imolan being confused I suppose by his fall, and by his intentions, not perceiving that the carriage had passed, ran to the cart and exploded his machine between the two carriages. It killed the horse of one of my guards and wounded the rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty or fifty *badauds*, who were gazing to see me pass. The police collected together all the remnants of the cart and the machine, and invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces were recognised by several. One said, I made this, another that, and all agreed that they had sold them to two men, who by their accent were *Bas Brêtons*; but nothing more could be ascertained. Shortly after, the hackney coachmen and others of that description gave a

great dinner in the Champs Elysées to Cesar, my coachman, thinking that he had saved my life by his skill and activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was drunk at the time. It was the guardsman who saved it by knocking the fellow down. Possibly, my coachman may have assisted by driving furiously round the corner, as he was drunk and not afraid of any thing. He was so far gone, that he thought the report of the explosion was that of a salute fired in honour of my visit to the theatre. At this dinner they all took their bottle freely, and drank to Cesar's health. One of them, when he was drunk, said, 'Cesar, I know the men who tried to blow the first consul up the other day. In such a street and such a house (naming them), I saw on that day a cart like a water-cart coming out of a passage, which attracted my attention, as I had never seen one there before. I observed the men and the horse, and should know them again.' The minister of police was sent for, he was interrogated, and brought them to the house which he had mentioned, where they found the measure with which the conspirators had put the powder into the barrel, with some of the powder still adhering to it. A little also was found scattered about. The master of the house, on being questioned, said that there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugglers; that

on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which he supposed to contain a loading of smuggled goods. He added, that they were *Bas Brêtons*, and that one of them had the appearance of being master over the other two. Having now a description of their persons, every search was made for them, and St. Regent and Carbon were taken, tried, and executed. It was a singular circumstance, that an inspector of police had noticed the cart standing at the corner of the street for a long time, and had ordered the person who was with it to drive it away; but he made some excuse, and said that there was plenty of room, and the other seeing what he thought to be a water-cart, with a miserable horse, not worth twenty francs, did not suspect any mischief."

"At Schoenbrunn," continued the emperor, "I had a narrow escape. Shortly after the capture of Vienna, I reviewed my troops at Schoenbrunn. A young man about eighteen years of age presented himself to me. He came so close at one time as to touch me, and said that he wanted to speak to me. Berthier, who did not like to see me disturbed then, pushed him to one side, saying, 'if you want to say any thing to the emperor, you cannot do it now.' He then called Rapp, who was a German, and said, here is a young man who wishes to speak to the emperor, see what he wants and do not let him annoy the emperor;'

after which he called the young man, and told him that Rapp spoke German, and would answer him. Rapp went up to him, and asked him what he wanted? He replied, that he had a memorial to give to the emperor. Rapp told him that I was busy, and that he could not speak to me then. He had his hand in his breast all this time, as if he had some paper in it to give to me. Finding that notwithstanding his refusal, he insisted upon seeing me, and was pushing on, Rapp, who is a violent man, gave him a blow of his fist, and knocked him down, or shoved him away to some distance. He came again afterwards, when the troops were passing. Rapp, who watched him, ordered some of the guards to seize and keep him in custody until after the review, and then bring him to his quarters, that he might learn what he complained of. The guards observing that he always kept his right hand in his breast, made him draw it out, and examined him. Under his coat they found a knife as long as my arm. When asked what he intended to do with it, he replied instantly, 'to kill the emperor.' Some short time afterwards he was brought before me. I asked him what he wanted? He replied, 'to kill you.' I asked him what I had done to him to make him desire to take away my life? He answered, that I had done a great deal of mischief to his country; that I had desolated and ruined it by the war

which I had waged against it. I inquired of him why he did not kill the Emperor of Austria instead of me, as *he* was the cause of the war and not I? He replied, 'Oh, he is a blockhead, and if he were killed, another like him would be put upon the throne; but if you were dead, it would not be easy to find such another.' He said that he had been called upon by God to kill me, and quoted Judith and Holofernes. Spoke much about religion, and fancied that he was another Judith and I a Holofernes. He cited several parts of the Testament, which he thought appropriate to his projects. He was the son of a Protestant clergyman at Erfurth. He had not made his father privy to his design, and had left his house without money. I believe that he had sold his watch to purchase the knife with which he intended to kill me. He said that he trusted in God to find him the means to effect it. I called Corvisart, ordered him to feel his pulse, and see if he were mad. He did so, and every thing was calm. I desired him to be taken away and locked up in a room with a *gendarme*, to have no sort of food for twenty-four hours, but as much cold water as he liked. I wished to give him time to cool and reflect, and then to examine him when his stomach was empty, and at a time when he might not be supposed to be under the influence of any thing that would heat or exalt his imagination. After

the twenty-four hours were expired, I sent for him and asked, 'if I were to pardon you, would you make another attempt upon my life?' He hesitated for a long time, and at last, but with great difficulty, said that he would not, as then it would not appear to be the intention of God that he should kill me, otherwise he would have allowed him to have done it at first. I ordered him to be taken away. It was my intention at first to have pardoned him; but it was represented to me, that his hesitation after twenty-four hours fasting, was a certain sign that his intentions were bad, and that he still intended to assassinate; that he was an enthusiast, a fanatic, and that it would set a very bad example. Nothing," continued he, "is more dangerous than one of those religious enthusiasts. They always aim either at God or the King. He was left to his fate."

"Another time," proceeded the emperor, "a letter was sent to me by the King of Saxony, containing information that a certain person was to leave Stutgard on a particular day for Paris, where he would probably arrive on a day that was pointed out. That his intentions were to murder me. A minute description of his person was also given. The police took its measures; and on the day pointed out he arrived. They had him watched. He was seen to enter my chapel, to which I had gone on the celebration of some fes-

tival. He was arrested and examined. He confessed his intentions, and said, that when the people knelt down, on the elevation of the host, he saw me gazing at the fine women; at first he intended to advance and fire at me (in fact he had advanced near to me at the moment); but upon a little reflection, thought that would not be sure enough, and he determined to stab me with a knife which he had brought for that purpose. I did not like to have him executed, and ordered that he should be kept in prison. When I was no longer at the head of affairs, this man, who had been detained in prison for seven months after I left Paris, and ill-treated, I believe, got his liberty. Soon after, he said that his designs were no longer to kill me; but that he would murder the King of Prussia for having ill-treated the Saxons and Saxony. On my return from Elba I was to be present at the opening of the legislative body, which was to be done with great state and ceremony. When I went to open the chamber, this same man, who had got in, fell down by some accident, and a parcel, containing some chemical preparation, exploded in his pocket, and wounded him severely. It never has been clearly ascertained what his intentions were at this time. It caused great alarm amongst the legislative body, and he was arrested. I have since heard that he threw himself into the Seine."

I then asked Napoleon if he had really intended to invade England, and if so, what were his plans? He replied, "I would have headed it myself. I had given orders for two fleets to proceed to the West Indies. Instead of remaining there, they were merely to shew themselves amongst the islands, and return directly to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol, take the ships out, proceed to Brest, where there were about forty sail of the line, unite and sail to the channel, where they would not have met with any thing strong enough to engage them, and clear it of all English men-of-war. By false intelligence, adroitly managed, I calculated that you would have sent squadrons to the East and West Indies and Mediterranean in search of my fleets. Before they could return, I would have had the command of the channel for two months, as I should have had about seventy sail of the line, besides frigates. I would have hastened over my flotilla with two hundred thousand men, landed as near Chatham as possible, and proceeded direct to London, where I calculated to arrive in four days from the time of my landing. I would have proclaimed a republic, (I was first consul then) the abolition of the nobility and house of peers, the distribution of the property of such of the latter as opposed me amongst my partizans, liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people. I would have allowed the

House of Commons to remain; but would have introduced a great reform. I would have published a proclamation, declaring that we came as friends to the English, and to free the nation from a corrupt and flagitious aristocracy, and restore a popular form of government, a democracy; all which would have been confirmed by the conduct of my army, as I would not have allowed the slightest outrage to be committed by my troops. Marauding or ill-treating the inhabitants, or the most trifling infringement of my orders, I would have punished with instant death. I think," continued he, "that with my promises, together with what I would actually have effected, I should have had the support of a great many. In a large city like London, where there are so many *canaille* and so many disaffected, I should have been joined by a formidable body. I would at the same time have excited an insurrection in Ireland." I observed that his army would have been destroyed piecemeal, that he would have had a million of men in arms against him in a short time; and moreover, that the English would have burnt London, rather than have suffered it to fall into his hands. "No, no," said Napoleon, "I do not believe it. You are too rich and too fond of money. A nation will not so readily burn its capital. How often have the Parisians sworn to bury themselves under the ruins of their capital, rather than suffer it

to fall into the hands of the enemies of France, and yet twice it has been taken. There is no knowing what would have happened, Mr. Doctor. Neither Pitt, nor you, nor I, could have foretold what would have been the result. The hope of a change for the better, and of a division of property, would have operated wonderfully amongst the *canaille*, especially that of London. The *canaille* of all rich nations are nearly alike. I would have made such promises as would have had a great effect. What resistance could an undisciplined army make against mine in a country like England, abounding in plains? I considered all you have said; but I calculated on the effect that would be produced by the possession of a great and rich capital, the bank and all your riches, the ships in the river and at Chatham. I expected that I should have had the command of the Channel for two months, by which I should have had supplies of troops; and when your fleet came back, they would have found their capital in the hands of an enemy, and their country overwhelmed by my armies. I would have abolished flogging, and promised your seamen every thing; which would have made a great impression upon their minds. The proclamations stating that we came only as friends, to relieve the English from an obnoxious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was to keep the nation eternally at war, in order to en-

rich themselves and their families with the blood of the people, together with the proclaiming a republic, the abolition of the monarchical government, and the nobility; the declaration of the forfeiture of the property of such of the latter as should resist, and its division amongst the partizans of the revolution, with a general equalization of property, would have gained me the support of the *canaille*, and of all the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected in the kingdom."

I took the liberty of stating, that on account of France having been lately revolutionized, there was a great division of opinion amongst the French, and consequently not so strong a national spirit, as was to be found amongst the English. That from the late frequent vicissitudes in France, the people contemplated a change of government with less concern than the English would do; that if the English were not to burn the capital, as the Russians had done, in all probability they would have defended it street by street, and his army would have met the fate that our's had experienced at Rosetta and Buenos Ayres. "I believe," replied the emperor, "that there is more national spirit in England than in France; but still, I do not think that you would have burned the capital. If, indeed, you had had some weeks' notice given to you, to enable you to remove your riches, then it is possible that it might have been effected; but you must consider that you would

not have had time sufficient to organize a plan; besides, Moscow was built of wood, and it was *not* the inhabitants who set it on fire. They had also time to take their measures. As to defending the town, in the first place I would not have been *bête* enough to have acted as you did at Rosetta; for, before you would have had time to arrange your defence, I should have been at your doors, and the terror of such an army would have paralyzed your exertions. I tell you, *signor dottore*," continued the emperor, "that much can be said on both sides. Having the capital, the capital," repeated he, "in my hands, would have produced a wonderful effect."

"After the treaty of Amiens," said Napoleon, "I would also have made a good peace with England. Whatever your ministers may say, I was *always* ready to conclude a peace upon terms equally advantageous to both. I proposed to form a commercial treaty, by which, for a million of English manufactured or colonial produce taken by France, England should take the value of a million of French goods in return. This was thought a heinous crime by your ministers, who reprobated in the most violent manner my presumption in having made such a proposal. I would both have made and have kept a fair peace; but your ministers always refused to make one on equal terms, and then wished to persuade the

world that I was the violator of the treaty of Amiens."

I asked who were the persons that had employed the contrivers of the infernal machine. "It is certain," replied Napoleon, "that they were employed by the Count d'****, and sent over by Pitt in English ships, and furnished with English money. Although your *** did not actually suborn them, they knew what they were going to execute, and furnished them with the means. I do not believe," continued he, "that Louis was privy to it."

I ventured to ask if he had aimed at universal dominion. "No," replied Napoleon; "my intention was to make France greater than any other nation; but universal dominion I did not aim at. For example, it was not my intention to have passed the Alps. I purposed, when I had a second son, which I had reason to hope for, to have made him king of Italy, with Rome for his capital, uniting all Italy, Naples, and Sicily into one kingdom, and putting Murat out of Naples." I asked if he would have given another kingdom to Murat. "Oh," replied he, "that would have been easily settled."

"If," said he, "I were at the head of affairs in England, I would devise some means of paying off the national debt. I would appropriate to that purpose the whole of the church livings, except a

tenth, (always excepting those whose incomes were moderate) in a manner that the salary of the highest amongst the clergy should not exceed eight hundred or a thousand a year. What business have those priests with such enormous incomes? They should follow the directions of Jesus Christ, who ordered that, as pastors to the people, they should set an example of moderation, humanity, virtue, and poverty, instead of wallowing in riches, luxury, and sloth. In Cambray, before the revolution, two thirds of all lands belonged to the church, and a fourth in most other provinces of France. I would appropriate to a similar purpose all sinecures, except those enjoyed by men who had rendered most eminent services to the state; and, indeed, even those might be rewarded by giving them some office, in which they would be obliged to do something. If you emancipated the Catholics, they would readily pay an immense sum towards liquidating the nation's debt. I cannot conceive," continued he, "why your ministers have not emancipated them. At the time that all nations are emerging from illiberality and intolerance, you retain your disgraceful laws which are only worthy of two or three centuries back. When the Catholic question was first seriously agitated, I would have given fifty millions to be assured that it would not be granted; for it would have entirely ruined my projects

upon Ireland; as the Catholics, if you emancipated them, would become as loyal subjects as the Protestants. I would," continued he, "impose a tax of fifty per cent. upon absentees, and perhaps diminish the interest upon the debt."

I made some observations upon the intolerance which had been manifested on some occasions by the Catholics.

"The inability to rise above a certain rank, and to be members of parliament, and other persecutions, once removed from your Catholic brethren." replied he, "you will find that they will be no longer intolerant or fanatical. Fanaticism is always the child of persecution. That intolerance which you complain of, is also the result of your oppressive laws. Remove them once, and put them on a similar footing with the Protestants, and in a few years you will find the spirit of intolerance disappear. Do as I did in France with the Protestants."

"I observed," continued the emperor, "a circumstance in a paper two or three days ago, which I cannot believe, viz. that there was a project in France to make a contract with some English company to furnish iron pipes to supply Paris with water, which had met with the approbation of the French government. This, *imbecilles* as I know the Bourbons to be, appears to me not to be credible, as there are so many thousand

manufacturers in France who could execute it equally well. A project so unpopular, and of so destructive a tendency to themselves, could be entertained by none but insane persons. Why, it would excite the rage and hatred of the nation against the Bourbons more than any plan their greatest enemies could suggest, to cause their own ruin, and their expulsion a third time from France. If it takes place and be not followed by some terrible consequences to them," said Napoleon with energy, "I am a blockhead, and will say that I have always been one. Fifty years ago, it would have produced terrible commotion in France."

28*th*.—Cipriani in town purchasing necessaries.

30*th*.—Saw Napoleon in the billiard room. After some expressions of his sentiments upon the hypocrisy of the governor, he directed me to bear the following message to him: "Tell him that in consequence of his conduct in having accepted the proposed intermediation of the admiral, declaring that he would charge the admiral with it, and afterwards doing nothing, I conceive him to be a man *senza parola e senza fede*.* That he has broken his word with me, broken a compact which is held sacred by robbers and Bedouin Arabs, but not by the agents of the British ministers. Tell him that when a man has lost his word, he

* Without word and without faith.

has lost every thing which distinguishes the man from the brute. Tell him that he has forfeited that distinction, and that I hold him to be inferior to the robber of the desert. Independent," continued he, "of his conduct with respect to the admiral, he has broken his word about the limits. He charged you to inform me that we were permitted to ride any where through the old bounds, and specifically named the path by Miss Mason's. Now Gourgaud went a few days ago and asked the question from the major at Hut's Gate, who told him that he could not pass, and that no change had been made in the orders by the governor."

I now informed the emperor, "that since the time he alluded to, Sir Hudson Lowe had given directions to allow him, (Napoleon,) and any of his suite, to pass by the road leading to Miss Mason's, but that they could not pass, unless accompanied by him." Napoleon replied, "then it is an unjust order, and beyond his power to give. For by the paper which those generals have signed, by order of his government, they bind themselves to undergo such restrictions as it may be thought necessary to impose upon *me*, and not any more. Now this is a restriction not imposed upon me, and consequently cannot be inflicted upon them, and is illegal."

Napoleon directed me to say in addition, that

he had foreseen all along, that the governor's having accepted of the offer for an intermediation by means of the admiral, was a mere trick to gain time, and to prevent a complaint from being sent home by the Orontes frigate. That in consequence of the offer having been accepted by Sir Hudson Lowe, Count Bertrand had discontinued writing a complaint, intended to have been submitted to the Prince Regent and the government. That although it might have failed in producing any redress, still it would be satisfactory to know that the present ill treatment suffered by him, was the act and order of the government, and not that of an inferior officer.

Went to town to deliver this message. On my arrival found that Sir Hudson Lowe had left it. Conceiving that Napoleon might alter his mind, and finding that the Julia had arrived, bringing news from England, I did not proceed to Plantation House. Got some newspapers and returned to Longwood. Found Napoleon in a warm bath. His legs were swelled. On my recommending exercise, he said that he had some idea of asking the admiral to ride out with him, but was afraid that it might get him into a scrape with the governor.

In one of the papers, there was a report that the sovereignty of Spanish South America had been offered to his brother Joseph. "Joseph,"

said he, "although he has *beaucoup de talent, et d'esprit,* is too good a man, and too fond of amusements and literature, to be a king. However, it would be of great advantage to England, as you would have all the commerce of Spanish America. Joseph would not, and indeed could not trade with either France or Spain, for evident reasons; and South America cannot do without importing immense quantities of European goods. By having me in your hands, you could always make advantageous terms with Joseph, who loves me sincerely, and would do any thing for me."

31*st.*—Went to Plantation House, and made known to Sir Hudson Lowe the message I was charged with, in as moderate language as circumstances would admit. His excellency replied, that he did not care what complaints General Bonaparte sent to England, and that he had already forwarded his observations upon the restrictions, That he had no objection to receive the admiral upon the business, but he expected that he should come to him first and break the matter. I remarked, that Sir Pulteney Malcolm would certainly not undertake the business, unless first spoken to and authorized by him, (Sir Hudson,) and reminded him, that in the first proposition which had been made for the intervention of the admiral, it was expressly mentioned that the latter should be *authorized* by the governor to undertake

it. Sir Hudson Lowe denied this. I demanded that a reference should be made to my letter on the subject. On its being produced, Sir Hudson Lowe acknowledged with some expression of discontent that I was right. I then reminded him that he had also said, on the proposition's having been made to him, that he would speak to the admiral himself about it, previous to his attempting to undertake it. The governor at first denied this, and after a long discussion, determined upon giving the following reply: "The governor is employed in writing an answer to the observations of Count Bertrand, and to the paper containing the remarks on his answer to the proposition for the intervention of the admiral; and also in arranging how far his instructions will permit him to accede to General Bonaparte's wishes. When these are finished, he will send them to Count Bertrand, and then, if any other arrangement is deemed necessary, the governor will have no objection to authorize the admiral, or any other person General Bonaparte may think proper, to act as an intermediator, although the intermediation of any person will have no influence whatsoever in inducing the governor to grant more or less than he would do of his own free will and judgment. This, with the alterations already made in the restrictions, and the general tenor of the observations and remarks received from Long-

wood, since the governor expressed his readiness to employ an intermediator, and the expectation of an arrival from England, has been the cause of the delay in authorizing the admiral to undertake the office."

Sir Hudson desired me to shew this to Napoleon, and at the same time gave me a copy of his own answer to the original proposition, and one of the remarks that had been made upon it by Napoleon, which, together with the tenor of the observations, he desired me to explain, "were of a nature to induce a belief that a refusal had been intended by General Bonaparte."

I then repeated to Sir Hudson Lowe the observations made by Napoleon, on the illegality of his attempting to subject the persons of his suite to more restrictions than what were imposed upon himself; as well as what he had said about Gen. Gourgaud. Sir Hudson replied, "that as governor he had power to grant a favour, and take it away when he pleased; that if he conceded one to General Bonaparte, it did not follow that he was obliged to grant the same to the rest; that they had liberty to go away whenever they pleased, if they did not like their treatment, &c." He also desired me to repeat, that the prohibition to speak was an act of civility, or a friendly sort of warning. I remarked, that I did not think Napoleon would avail himself of the *indulgence*, unless the

same were granted to all. His excellency replied, "that he could not think of allowing General Bonaparte's officers to run about the country, telling lies of him (Sir Hudson) as Las Cases and Montholon had done, by having shewn letters to divers persons. That General Bonaparte would be much better, if he had not such liars as Montholon, and such a blubbering, whining son of a b—h as Bertrand about him."

I said, that Napoleon had also remarked, that it was impossible that all the restrictions could have been imposed in obedience to specific instructions from the ministers, as he had of his own power taken some of them off, which, had they been ordered by ministers, he could not have done without having first obtained their sanction, for which there had not been yet sufficient time. His excellency appeared to be taken unawares, as he immediately replied, "They were not ordered by ministers; there were no minute details given, either to me, or to Sir George Cockburn. In fact, it is left entirely to my judgment, and I may take what measures I think proper, and, indeed, do as I like. I have been ordered to take particular care that he does not escape, and to prevent correspondence of any kind with him, except through me. The rest is left to myself."

Admiral and Lady Malcolm, with Captain Meynel, had an interview at Longwood.

February 1st.—Informed Napoleon of what I had been directed by Sir Hudson Lowe. Shewed him his excellency's answer to the proposition for intermediation, with his remarks opposite to it. "I maintained, and will maintain," replied the emperor, "that his last restrictions are worse than any in force at Botany Bay, because even there, it is not attempted to prohibit people from speaking. It is useless for him to endeavour to persuade us that we have not been ill-treated by him. We are not simpletons, or ordinary people. There is not a free-born man, whose hair would not stand on end with horror, on reading such an atrocious proceeding as that prohibition against speaking. His assertion, that it was intended as civility, is a mockery, and adds irony and insult to injury. I know well, that if he really intended to grant any thing, it is in his power to do so without a mediator. It was a mark of imbecility in him to have accepted the proposition, but having once accepted it, he ought not to have broken his word. *Qualche volta lo credo un boja, ch'è venuto per assassinarmi, ma è piutosto un uomo incapace, e senza cuore, che non capisce il suo impiego.*"*

A few days ago, Count Bertrand sent a sealed

* Sometimes I believe that he is an executioner, who has come to assassinate me; but most probably he is a man of incapacity and without heart, who does not comprehend his office.

letter to Captain Poppleton, directed to Sir Thomas Reade. As Captain Poppleton had orders to forward all sealed letters to the governor, he sent it to Plantation House, where it was opened by Sir Hudson Lowe, and found to contain an open letter addressed to Bertrand's father, announcing the accouchement of Countess Bertrand, and a note to Sir Thomas, requesting that it might be forwarded to Europe through the usual channels. In the letter were the words, *nous écrivons à M. de la Touche*, &c., to give further information, &c. Sir Hudson Lowe conceived that this meant that they *had written*, and immediately wrote a letter of reprimand to Count Bertrand, which was despatched in haste by an orderly dragoon.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe on the hill above Hut's Gate, to whom I communicated Napoleon's reply. His excellency repeated, that the prohibition to speak, which had been so much complained of, was not an order, but rather a request, and an instance of civility on his (Sir Hudson's) part, in order to prevent the necessity which would otherwise exist, of the interference of a British officer. "Did you tell him that?" said Sir Hudson Lowe. I answered that I had. "Well, what reply did he make?" I gave his reply, which did not appear to please the governor. I subsequently acquainted him that water was so scarce at Longwood, as to make it sometimes impossible to pro-

cure a sufficiency for a bath for Napoleon's use, and that it was generally a matter of great difficulty to obtain the necessary quantity. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, "that he did not know what business General Bonaparte had to *stew himself in hot water* for so many hours, and so often, at a time when the 53rd regiment could scarcely procure enough of water to cook their victuals."

Napoleon went down to pay a visit to Count and Countess Bertrand, where he remained nearly two hours.

2*nd*.—Napoleon in a bath.—"This governor," said he, "sent a letter two or three days since to Bertrand, which convinces me, that he is composed of imbecility, incapacity, and a little cunning, but that incapacity prevails. He wrote to Bertrand as one would write to a child of eight or ten years of age, demanding, that if he had sent letters to Europe through any other channel than his, he should let him know by whom? He does not understand French. It is a delicacy of the French language, that when you write in the present tense, *j'écris*, for example, it means that it is your positive intention to write, but that you have not yet done it. It is a delicate mode of expression to use the present tense instead of the future. If Bertrand had written, *j'ai écrit*, then, indeed, it would mean that he had positively written; but the other denotes a firm intention and determina-

tion of doing what has not yet been executed. He might be excused for not having known the delicacies of a language not his own, if he did not pretend to offer remarks upon them. In his situation, he ought to be like a confessor, forget the contents of letters after having perused them."

"What else but *la rage* to write and to find fault, could have produced such an epistle to Bertrand.* I am told that there is a cook here who had formerly served him, who relates, that he was in the habit of going into the kitchen of Plantation House, and telling the cook, 'you shall cut off so much of this meat and stew it, so much more and roast it,' and in a similar manner with every other dish; and that he was quite at home when he got into the kitchen. Montholon tells me, that a short time ago, when debating about the expenses of the house, he observed that we soiled too many shirts, and that we must not in future shift ourselves so often."

3rd.—Had some conversation with Napoleon relative to the governor's attempt to explain away the prohibition to speak. "I would," said he,

* Count and Countess Bertrand informed me afterwards, that Sir Thomas Reade had offered his services to the countess for the purpose of forwarding their letters to their friends in Europe through the channel of Lord Bathurst, and had assured them, that sending them to him was precisely the same as if they were transmitted direct to the governor.

"give two millions that those restrictions were signed by the English ministry, in order to shew to Europe, what base, tyrannical, and dishonourable acts they were capable of, and the manner in which they had fulfilled the promises they had made of treating me well. According to law, this governor has no right to impose any restrictions upon me. The bill, illegal and iniquitous as it is, says that I shall be subject to such restrictions as the ministers think fit and necessary, but it does not say that they shall have the power to delegate that authority to any other person. Therefore, every restriction laid upon me, ought not only to be signed by a minister, but, properly speaking, by all the ministers assembled."

"It is possible," continued Napoleon, "that part of his bad treatment arises from his imbecility and his fear, for he is a man who has no *morale*. *Un poco di scaltrezza e molto imbecillità.** It is an injury to his nation, and an indignity and insult to the emperor of Austria, to the emperor of Russia, and to all those sovereigns whom I have conquered and treated with."

"I told *Milédi*," continued the emperor, "that I had paid your nation a great compliment, and shewed what a high sense I entertained of the English honour, by giving myself up to them, after so many years' war, in preference to my

* A little cunning and much imbecility.

father-in-law, or to my old friend. I told her also that the English would have been my greatest friends, had I remained in France. United, we could have conquered the world. The confidence which I placed in the English shews what an opinion I entertained of them, and what steps I would have taken to have rendered such a nation my friends: and I should have succeeded. There is nothing that I would not have sacrificed to have been in friendship with them. They were the only nation I esteemed. As to the Russians, Austrians, and others," said he, with an expression of contempt, "I had no esteem for them. Now I am sorry to see that I erred in opinion. For had I given myself up to the Emperor of Austria, he, however he might differ with me in politics, and think it necessary to dethrone me, would have embraced me closely as a friend, and have treated me with every kindness. So also would my old friend, the Emperor of Russia. This I told *Milédi*; also that the treatment of the Calabrese to Murat was humanity compared to it, as the Calabrese soon finished Murat's misery, but here, *ils me tuent à coup d'épingles.* I think that your own nation will feel very little obliged to this governor for having conferred upon it a dishonour, which will be recorded in history. For you are proud; and have the honour of your nation more at heart than even your money. Wit-

ness the thousands that your *Milords* throw away annually in France and in other parts of the continent, to raise and exalt the English name. Many of your nobility and others would voluntarily have subscribed thousands, to have prevented the stigma which this *imbecille* has brought upon your nation."

4*th*.—The scarcity of water at Longwood has daily increased, and the greatest part of what has been brought up, sour, turbid, and of a very disagreeable taste, in consequence of having been conveyed in old wine and rum casks, which necessarily communicate a sour and unpleasant taste to the water.

5*th*.—A complaint made officially by Captain Poppleton to Colonel Wynyard of the state of the water. Cipriani in town employed as usual.

6*th*.—Lady Lowe paid a visit to Countess Bertrand.

Sir Hudson Lowe had a long conversation with me relative to Napoleon; the purport of which was, that if he put the limits on their old footing, Napoleon should not make a practice of visiting the houses that were situated in them, and at the same time that he (Napoleon) should not know that any restriction existed to prevent him. Informed him of some of the sentiments which had been expressed yesterday by Napoleon. His excellency said, that there was a great difference

between limits for exercise and limits for correspondence and communication; that if he gave larger limits, they must be subject to the restriction of not entering a house, unless accompanied by a British officer. I observed that there were only four houses within the limits of Woody Range. Sir Hudson said, that perhaps it might be settled by his giving General Bonaparte a list of such houses as he would permit him to enter. I informed him that Napoleon had said that if he had a mind to intrigue with the commissioners, or with others, he might easily do so by instructing them to meet him within the limits of the alarm-house, which was always in his power to effect; but that he (Napoleon) would never do any thing which had the appearance of an intrigue. Sir Hudson replied, that "General Bonaparte had never been without intriguing, and never would." He then desired me to say, that he daily expected a ship with fresh orders, and permission to grant an extension of limits. That he should have no objection to allow general Bonaparte to enter into certain houses which he (Sir H.) would point out, nor indeed to send a list of them to Count Bertrand.

7th.—Communicated Sir Hudson Lowe's ideas to Napoleon. "If he were to give me the whole of the island, on condition that I would pledge my word not to attempt an escape," replied he,

"I would not accept of it, because it would be equivalent to the acknowledging myself a prisoner, although at the same time, I would not make the attempt. I am here by force and not by right. If I had been taken at Waterloo, perhaps I might have had no hesitation in accepting it, although even in that case, it would be contrary to the law of nations, as now there is no war. If they were to offer me permission to reside in England on similar conditions, I would refuse it. I do not understand what he means by correspondence. What is he afraid of? Perhaps the commissioners. The admiral never was afraid of his conduct being published. I hope," continued Napoleon, "that you told him I said that he had not the right to impose any restrictions, unless they were signed by the ministers." I replied, that I had, and that the governor had said that he had it in his power to impose whatever restrictions he thought necessary. "By the bill," replied Napoleon, "he has not the right. By the law of force he can do what he likes, in the same manner as the English parliament have passed a bill to legalize illegality, and to authorize a proscription contrary to the laws of nations, to good faith, and to their own honour. But even in that, it is not allowed to delegate the authority."

After some further observations, Napoleon desired me to communicate to the governor, "that, if he

sent a list to Count Bertrand, or told him that within the limits there were two or more houses which he either suspected or was unwilling that I should visit, I shall not enter either them, or those of the commissioners. If he arranges it in this manner, it will be understood, but if he sent a list of all the houses in the island except one, and specified that I might enter all but that one, I would not accept of it. Whereas, on the contrary, if he made another list of every house in the island except one, and said that he did not wish me to go into any of those mentioned in that list, and made no observation about the remaining one, I would sooner accept of it than of the first, although I could go only into one house, whereas by the other, I could enter all on the island excepting one. By availing myself of the first, it would appear like visiting by his permission, whereas the other would seem to be voluntary, as in consequence of nothing having been mentioned, it would be left at my option to go in or not. It would be like a free will. Tell him this," continued he; "although I am sure that it is merely some shuffling trick on his part, and will come to nothing."

"I think," added Napoleon, "that it is owing to some small remains of the influence *of my star*, that the English have treated me so ill; at least that this man whom they have sent out as gover-

nor, has conducted himself in such an * * * manner. At least posterity will revenge me."

The meat has been of so bad a quality for some days, that the orderly officer has thought it incumbent upon him to return it, accompanied with official complaints.

8*th.*—Went to Plantation House, and communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe the purport of the above mentioned conversation. His excellency replied, that by the proposed arrangement, the principal difficulties were removed, and that he would speak to Count Bertrand about it. Cipriani in town endeavouring to procure some good meat.

9*th.*—Scott, the servant, to whom Count Las Cases had given the letter, released from prison under the following conditions, viz. his father to go security for him, and to forfeit 100*l.* if his son ever went beyond the inclosure of the father's little property.

10*th.*—Acquainted Napoleon that I had communicated his desires to Sir Hudson Lowe, who had promised to talk the matter over with Count Bertrand. Napoleon replied, "you may depend upon it that it will end in nothing. It is merely to deceive *you.* He will act as he has done in that affair with the admiral."

"Gourgaud," added Napoleon, "is stopped

at Hut's Gate every day. The sentinel cries '*halt;*' then the serjeant comes out, and after a sort of consultation together, says '*pass.*'"

Had some conversation about Alexandria.—"Your ministers," said he, "acted most unwisely in not having retained possession of Alexandria. For if you had kept it *then*, it would now be an old robbery like Malta, and would have remained with you quietly. Five thousand men would be sufficient to garrison it, and it would pay itself by the great trade you would have in Egypt. You could prohibit the introduction of all manufactures except English, and consequently you would have all the commerce of Egypt, as there is no other sea-port town in the country. In my opinion, it would be to you an acquisition far preferable to Gibraltar, or Malta. Egypt once in possession of the French, farewell India to the English. This was one of the grand projects I aimed at. I know not why you set so great a value upon Gibraltar; it is a bad harbour, and costs an enormous sum of money. From it you cannot prevent a fleet from passing into the Mediterranean. When I was sovereign of France, I would much rather have seen Gibraltar in your hands, than in those of the Spaniards; because your having possession of it always fed the hatred of the Spaniards against you." I observed that it had been reported he

had intended to besiege it, and for that purpose had marched a great army into Spain; although others said that his object was merely to get his troops a footing in that country. He laughed, and said, "*C'est vrai.* Turkey," added he, "must soon fall, and it will be impossible to divide it without allotting some portion to France, which will be Egypt. But, if you had kept Alexandria, you would have prevented the French from obtaining it, and of ultimately gaining possession of India, which will certainly follow their possession of Egypt."

12*th.*—Found Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House closeted with Sir Thomas Reade. Had a conversation with him afterwards in the library relative to the proposition which had been made to him on the 8th. His excellency, however, would not understand that the visiting of only such houses into which entrance had not been prohibited by him, and abstaining from entering all which were marked as objectionable in a list made by himself, was in the end precisely the same as the mode which he had suggested of only visiting certain houses that were specifically named in a list. He said, with considerable ill-humour, that General Bonaparte had some *design* in it, and that he would not grant his consent. I observed that it was rather unfortunate that he had desired me to make any proposition on the sub-

ject, as it might afford a foundation for another charge of shuffling. His excellency replied by desiring me to tell General Bonaparte, as he had done on former occasions, that he might consider himself very fortunate in having so good a man to deal with, &c.

Mrs. and Misses Balcombe arrived at Longwood. I dined with Napoleon in company with them. He was extremely lively and chatty, and displayed a fund of *causerie* rarely to be met with. He instructed Miss Eliza how to play at Billiards.

In the evening, Napoleon directed me for the future not to bring him any more communications or propositions from Sir Hudson Lowe, without having first asked the latter what the result would be, provided he, (Napoleon,) agreed to them. "*C'est un menteur*," said he, "*un homme d'insinuations comme les petits tyrans d'Italie, qui n'a rien d'Anglais, et qui a la rage de tourmenter et de tracasser les gens.*"

Application made on the 10th to Sir Hudson Lowe to allow Cipriani to go down into the valley (guarded by a soldier,) to purchase sheep and vegetables from the farmers, as the meat sent by the government was not eatable. Refused by Sir Hudson Lowe. The daily allowance of meat, vegetables, wines, &c. being carted up in the sun to Longwood, many of the articles are rendered unfit for use on the road.

14*th*.—Breakfasted with Napoleon, with whom I had a conversation about Russia. "If Paul had lived," said he, "there would have been a peace with England in a short time, as you would not have been long able to contend with the united northern powers. I wrote to Paul to continue building ships, and to endeavour to unite the north against you; not to hazard any battles, as the English would gain them, but allow you to exhaust yourselves, and by all means to get a large fleet into the Mediterranean."

Some conversation then took place relative to the manner in which the British ministers had treated him, which he asserted to be much worse than that which had been practised towards Queen Mary.

"Mary," said he, "was better treated. She was permitted to write to whom she pleased, and she was confined in England, which of itself was every thing; it appears that she was persecuted more on account of her religion by the Puritans, than from any other cause." I observed that Mary was accused of having been an accomplice in the murder of her husband. He replied, "of that there is not the smallest doubt. She even married his murderer afterwards. **** employs the murderers of his father. One of them O*** is now his aid-de-camp. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that at T*** he ob-

served to me that I paid a great deal of attention to B****, and begged to know my reasons for it? I answered, because he is your general. '*Cependant*,' said ***, '*c'est un vilain coquin. C'est lui qui a assassiné mon père*, and policy alone has obliged, and obliges me to employ him, although I wish him dead, and in a short time will send him about his business.' Alexander and the king of Prussia," continued he, "dined with me every day, and in order to pay a compliment to ***, I had intended, on the day that this conversation took place, to have asked B**** to dinner, as being the commander-in-chief of his army. This displeased ***, who, although he asked B**** to his own table, did not wish me to do so, because it would have raised him so high in the eyes of the Russians. Paul," continued he, "was murdered by B****, O****, P***, and others. There was a Cossac, in whom Paul had confidence, stationed at his door. The conspirators came up, and demanded entrance. P*** told him who he was, and that he wanted to see the emperor upon immediate business. The faithful Cossac refused. The conspirators fell upon him, and after a desperate resistance, overpowered and cut him to pieces. Paul, who was in bed, hearing the noise got out and endeavoured to escape to the empress's apartments. Unluckily for himself, he, in his suspicions, a day or two be-

fore, had ordered the door of communication to be closed up. He then went and concealed himself in a press. Meanwhile the conspirators broke open the door, and running to the bed, perceived that there was nobody in it. 'We are lost,' they cried, 'he has escaped.' P***, who had more presence of mind than the rest, went to the bed, and putting his hands under the bed-clothes said, 'The nest is warm, the bird cannot be far off.' They then began to search, and finally dragged Paul out of his hiding-place. They presented him a paper containing his abdication, which they wanted him to sign. He refused at first, but said that he would abdicate, if they would release him. They then seized and knocked him down, and tried to suffocate him. Paul made a desperate resistance, and, fearful that assistance might arrive, B**** despatched him by stamping his heel into his eyes, and thus beating his brains out, while the others held him down. Paul in his struggles for life, once got B****'s heel into his mouth, and bit a piece out of the skin of it."

I asked him if he thought that Paul had been mad? "Latterly," said Napoleon, "I believe that he was. At first, he was strongly prejudiced against the revolution, and every person concerned in it; but afterwards I had rendered him reasonable, and had changed his opinions altogether. If Paul had lived, you would have lost India before

now. An agreement was made between Paul and myself to invade it. I furnished the plan. I was to have sent thirty thousand good troops. He was to send a similar number of the best Russian soldiers, and forty thousand Cossacs. I was to subscribe ten millions, for the purchase of camels and other requisites for crossing the desert. The King of Prussia was to have been applied to by both of us to grant a passage for my troops through his dominions, which would have been immediately granted. I had at the same time made a demand to the King of Persia for a passage through his country, which would also have been granted, although the negotiations were not entirely concluded, but would have succeeded, as the Persians were desirous of profiting by it themselves. My troops were to have gone to Warsaw, to be joined by the Russians and Cossacs, and to have marched from thence to the Caspian Sea, where they would have either embarked, or have proceeded by land, according to circumstances. I was beforehand with you, in sending an ambassador to Persia to make interest there. Since that time, your ministers have been *imbecilles* enough to allow the Russians to get four provinces, which increase their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians they will take India from you."

I asked then if it were true that Alexander had intended to have seized upon Turkey? Napoleon answered, "All his thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it; at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, on account of the numbers of Greeks in the Turkish dominions who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained. I considered that the Barbarians of the north were already too powerful, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria already trembles, Russia and Prussia united, Austria falls, and England cannot prevent it. France under the present family is nothing, and the Austrians are so *lâches*, that they will be easily overpowered. *Una nazione a colpo di bastone.** They will offer little

* Means a nation that may be ruled with blows.

resistance to the Russians, who are brave and patient. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier, always a soldier. Barbarians, who, one may say, have no country, and to whom every country is better than the one which gave them birth. When the Cossacs entered France, it was indifferent to them what women they violated, old or young were alike to them, as any were preferable to those they had left behind. Moreover the Russians are poor, and it is necessary for them to conquer. When I am dead and gone, my memory will be esteemed, and I shall be revered in consequence of having foreseen, and endeavoured to put a stop to, that which will yet take place. It will be revered when the barbarians of the north will possess Europe, which would not have happened, had it not been for you, *signori Inglesi*."

Napoleon expressed great anxiety relative to Count Montholon, as the governor had made some insinuations that his removal was in contemplation. "I should feel," continued he, "the loss of Montholon most sensibly; as, independent of his attachment to me, he is most useful, and endeavours to anticipate all my wants. I know that it would grieve him much to leave me, though in truth it would render him a great service if he were removed from this desolate place, and restored to the bosom of his friends, as

he is not proscribed, and has nothing to fear in France. Moreover, being of a noble family, he might readily find favour with the Bourbons if he chose."

Accompanied Countess Montholon to Plantation House, to pay a visit to Lady Lowe. Saw Sir Hudson, who said that "he would not place any confidence in the assurances of General Bonaparte, and was determined that he should not enter any house unaccompanied by a British officer." Some discussion then took place relative to the *passes* which his excellency had formerly given to persons who were desirous to visit Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe wished to persuade me that he had never given a pass for one day only,* and that Major Gorrequer could testify to the truth of that. I remarked, that several persons to whom he had granted passes, had shewn them to Count Bertrand at Hut's Gate, and pointed out to him, that on the pass itself the day had been specified, and on that account they had begged of Bertrand to exert himself, to induce Napoleon to see them, as their passes were null after that day. Sir Hudson angrily replied, that "they were *liars*."

Before my departure, Sir Hudson Lowe told me that I might take some of the numbers of

* This was a matter of public notoriety both at St. Helena and amongst the passengers to and from England.

the Ambigu to Longwood, and shew them to General Bonaparte.

On my return informed Napoleon that I had received some numbers of a periodical work called *l'Ambigu*, which, I added, were extremely abusive of him. He laughed, and said, "children only care for abuse;" and then desired me to bring them to him. When he saw them, he said, "Ah! Pelletier. He has been libelling me these twenty years. But I am very glad to get them."

Countess Montholon, and Mrs. and Miss Balcombe, passed an hour in conversation with Napoleon after dinner yesterday.

Cipriani in town, employed as customary.

17*th.*—Napoleon observed that he found Peletier's Ambigu very interesting, although it contained many falsehoods and *bêtises*. "I have been reading," continued he, "the account of the battle of Waterloo contained in it, which is nearly correct. I have been considering who could have been the author. It must have been some person about me. Had it not been for the imbecility of Grouchy," added he, "I should have gained that day."

I asked if he thought that Grouchy had betrayed him intentionally. "No, no," replied Napoleon, "but there was a want of energy on his part. There was also treason amongst the staff. I believe that some of the staff officers whom I had sent to Grouchy, betrayed me, and went over to

the enemy. Of this, however, I am not certain, as I have never seen Grouchy since.

I asked if he had thought Marshal Soult to have been in his interest? Napoleon answered, "certainly, I considered so. But Soult did not betray Louis, as has been supposed, nor was he privy to my return and landing in France. For some days, Soult thought that I was *mad*, and that I must certainly be lost. Notwithstanding this, appearances were so much against Soult, and without intending it his acts turned out to be so favourable to my projects, that, were I on his jury, and ignorant of what I know, I should condemn him for having betrayed Louis. But he really was not privy to it, although Ney in his defence stated that I told him so. As to the proclamation which Ney said that I had sent to him, it is not true. I sent him nothing but orders. I would have stopped the proclamation, had it been in my power, as it was unworthy of me. Ney was deficient in education, or he would have not published it, or indeed have acted as he did. For when he promised the king to bring me back in an iron cage, he was sincere, and really meant what he said, and continued so until two days before he actually joined me. He ought to have acted like Oudinot, who asked his troops if they might be depended upon, to which they unanimously replied, 'We will not fight against the

emperor, nor for the Bourbons.' He could not prevent the troops from joining me, nor indeed the peasants, but he went too far."

"Mouton Duvernet," said he, "suffered unjustly; at least considering all circumstances, he did not deserve it more than another. He hung upon the flanks of my little army for two days, and his intentions were for the king. But every one joined me. The enthusiasm was astonishing. I might have entered Paris with four hundred thousand men, if I had liked. What is still more surprising, and I believe unparalleled in history is, that it was effected without any conspiracy. There was no plot, no understanding with any of the generals in France. Not one of them knew my intentions. In my proclamations consisted the whole of my conspiracy. With them I effected every thing. With them I led the nation. Not even Massena knew of my intention. When he was informed of my having landed with a few hundred men he disbelieved it, and pronounced it impossible, thinking that if I had entertained such a project I should have made him acquainted with it. The Bourbons want to make it appear that a conspiracy existed in the army, which is the reason they have shot Mouton Duvernet, Ney, and others, because my having effected what I did, not by the aid of a conspiracy, or by force, as

not a musquet was fired, but by the general wish of the nation, reflects such disgrace upon them."

"There never was yet," continued Napoleon, "a king who was more the sovereign of the *people* than I was. If I were not possessed of the smallest talent, I could reign easier in France than Louis and the Bourbons, endowed with the greatest abilities. The mass of the French nation hate the old nobles and the priests. I have not sprung from the *ancienne noblesse*, nor have I ever too much encouraged the priests. The French nation have predominant in them, *la vanità, la leggerezza, l'independenza, ed il capriccio*,* with an unconquerable passion for glory. They will as soon do without bread, as without glory; and a proclamation will lead them *(les entrainer)*. Unlike England, where the inhabitants of a whole county may be inflamed by, and will follow the opinion of two or three noble families, they must be themselves courted."

"Some young and ignorant peasants," continued Napoleon, "who were born since the revolution, were conversing with some older and better informed men about the Bourbons. 'Who are those Bourbons?' said one. 'What are they like?' 'Why,' replied one of the older men, 'they are like that old ruined chateau, which you see near

* Vanity, levity, independence, and caprice.

our village: like it, their time is past and gone, they are no longer of the age.'"

"The Bourbons will find," added he, "that their caressing the marshals and generals will not answer. They must caress the *people*. To *them* they must address themselves. Unless they adopt some measures to render themselves popular, you will see a terrible explosion burst forth in France. The nation will never bear to live debased and humiliated as it is at present. When I hear of a nation living without bread, then I will believe that the French will exist without glory.

"At Waterloo not a single soldier betrayed me. Whatever treason there was, existed among the generals, and not among the soldiers or the regimental officers; these last were acquainted with each other's sentiments, and purged themselves by turning out such as they suspected."

"Your nation," continued Napoleon, "is chiefly guided by interest in all its actions. I have found since I have fallen into your hands, that you have no more liberty than other countries. I have paid dearly for the romantic and chivalrous opinion which I had formed of you."

Here I repeated nearly what I had said upon former occasions. Napoleon shook his head, and replied, "I recollect that Paoli, who was a great friend to your nation, in fact who was almost an Englishman, said, on hearing the English extolled

as the most generous, the most liberal, and the most unprejudiced nation on earth, 'Softly, you go too far; they are not so generous nor so unprejudiced as you imagine; they are very self-interested; they are a nation of merchants, and generally have gain in view. Whenever they do any thing, they always calculate what profit they shall derive from it. They are the most calculating people in existence.' This Paoli said, not without at the same time having given you credit for the good national qualities which you really possess. *Now* I believe that Paoli was right."

Napoleon then made some remarks upon Longwood, expressed his surprise that some person had not made a contract to bring a supply of water to it and to the camp; stipulating that he should be permitted to establish a garden in the valley, by means of which a sufficiency of vegetables might be produced at a cheap rate, not only for Longwood and the camp, but also for the ships.—"Here," continued he, "if water were brought by a conduit, Novarre, with the help of two or three Chinese, would produce a sufficiency of the vegetables which we so much want. How preferable would it be to dispose of the public money in conducting water to those poor soldiers in camp, than in digging of ditches and throwing up fortifications round this house, just as if an army were coming to attack it. A man who has no

regard for his soldiers ought never to have a command. The greatest necessity of the soldier is water."

Sir Thomas Reade made a long harangue this day upon the "impropriety of allowing Bonaparte any newspapers, unless such as had been previously inspected by the governor."

18*th*.—Saw Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House. Found him busied in examining some newspapers for Longwood, several of which he put aside, as not being, in his opinion, proper to be sent to Napoleon, observing to me, at the same time "that however strange it might appear, General Bonaparte ought to be obliged to him for not sending him newspapers indiscriminately, as the perusal of articles written in his own favour might excite hopes which, when not ultimately realized, could not fail to afflict him; that moreover, the British government thought it improper to let him know every thing that appeared in the newspapers."

19*th*.—Sir Thomas Reade very busy in circulating reports in the town that "General Bonaparte was sulky and would see nobody; that the governor was too good, and that the villain ought to be put in chains."

21*st*.—The David transport brought the news of the arrival of the Adolphus at the Cape, laden chiefly with iron rails, to surround Napoleon's

house, for which the governor had sent to England.

Sir Hudson Lowe came up to Longwood, and inspected the works throwing up about the stables, and the sentinels that he had placed. Held a long conversation with me afterwards about the restrictions and limits, without coming to any determination.

After having observed that I was responsible in some degree to ministers for any unfavourable impressions which might exist upon Napoleon's mind, his excellency proceeded to catechise me relative to my conversations with him. I hinted to him the peculiar delicacy of my situation, and the impropriety and indeed impossibility that existed of my making the disclosures which he required. Sir Hudson said, " that he admitted the peculiar delicacy of my situation, but at the same time that I ought to make a full and ample disclosure to him, and to him only, of the language made use of by General Bonaparte, especially of any abusive epithets. That it was necessary for him to know every thing that passed. That for a man who had so much intercourse with General Bonaparte, he thought I was less influenced by him than ninety-nine out of a hundred would have been. That my situation was of great importance, and one in which I could render great services. That absolute silence as to what was going on, except to

him, was imperatively necessary, and indeed the chief requisite."

His excellency then told me, in order, as he said, to shew the good opinion that he entertained of me, that "he had no scruple in informing me, that the commissioners were to be looked upon with great suspicion; that they were in fact spies upon every body and upon every thing, and only wanted to pick something out of me, in order to send it to their courts; that I had better be very cautious, as in all probability they would report to their employers every thing that I said, as they had already done to him; in proof of which he repeated to me the tenor of the conversation which I had held with Baron Sturmer at Plantation House on the 21st of Oct. 1816, adding his satisfaction at having found that I had been cautious in my remarks. He also said that he had written to Lord Bathurst in very favourable terms about me, and had recommended that my salary should be augmented to 500*l.* per annum."

After this his excellency acquainted me that he had received a letter from young Las Cases for me, which he would send.

In the evening I received the above-mentioned letter under an inclosure, containing one to General Gourgaud from his mother, as Sir Hudson described it in his note, which I was directed to deliver to him.

24*th.*—Mr. Vernon came up to Longwood to *ondoyer* Count Bertrand's child. Napoleon played at Billiards in the evening.

25*th.*—Cipriani in town, purchasing provisions.

28*th.*—Napoleon had very little rest during the night. Got up at five o'clock and walked about in the billiard-room for some time. Found him lying on his sofa. Looked low, and out of spirits. Saluted me with a faint voice. Gave him a Portsmouth paper of the 18th of November last. On reading some remarks made about the injury that was likely to accrue to the French interest by the marriage of the Emperor of Austria and the Princess of Bavaria, together with an observation that he, Napoleon, had prevented it even when in the plenitude of his power; Napoleon said, "*c'est vrai.* I was apprehensive of the consequences of the alliance between the two houses. But what signifies it now. Under the Bourbons, France will never be a first-rate power. There is no occasion to be afraid of her, she will always be an inferior power under that house of blockheads."

Adverting to the commercial distress of England, he observed that Lord Castlereagh deserved the reprobation of the English nation for the little care which he had taken of their interests at the time of the general peace. "The misfortunes which befel me," said he, "gave such an ascendancy to England, that almost any demand made by her

would have been granted; independent of the *right* which she had to claim a recompence for the vast expence which she had been at. An opportunity offered itself, which probably will never occur again, for England to recover and extricate herself from all her difficulties in a few years, and to relieve her from the immense load of debt which weighs her down. Had Castlereagh been really attentive to the interests of his own country, he would have embraced, at an early period, the only opportunity that had been presented to him to secure such commercial advantages to England as would have relieved her from her embarrassments. But, instead of this, he only attended to paying his court to kings and emperors, who flattered his vanity by taking notice of him; well knowing that in doing so, they gained the great point of making him neglect his country's interests, and consequently benefited their own. He was completely duped, and will yet be cursed by your nation.

"I see no other way now," continued he, "to extricate you from your difficulties, than by reducing the interest of the national debt, confiscating the greatest part of the revenues of the clergy, all the sinecures, diminishing considerably the army, and establishing a system of reduction altogether. Let those who want priests pay them. Your sinking fund is a humbug. Impose a heavy

tax upon absentees. It is too late now for you to make commercial treaties. What would *then* have been considered as only just and reasonable would now be thought far different. The opportunity is gone, and the nation is indebted to your *imbecilles* of ministers for all the calamities which will befal it, and which are solely to be attributed to their criminal neglect,"

"I understand," said he, "that the botanist* is on the eve of departure, without having seen me. In the most barbarous countries, it would not be prohibited even to a prisoner under sentence of death to have the consolation of conversing with a person who had lately seen his wife and child. Even in that worst of courts, the revolutionary tribunal of France, such an instance of barbarity and of callousness to all feeling was never known; and your nation, which is so much cried up for liberality, permits such treatment. I am informed that this botanist has made application to see me, which was refused; and in my letter to Las Cases, which was read by the governor, I complained of it as a hardship, and thereby made application to see him. If I had asked it in any other manner, I should have exposed myself to the insult of a refusal from this

* Napoleon had been informed, and I believe with truth, that this gentleman had seen and conversed with the empress and her son a short time before he left Germany for St. Helena.

*bourreau. C'est le comble de la cruauté.** He must indeed be a barbarian who would deny to a husband and a father the consolation of discoursing with a person who had lately seen, spoken to, and touched his wife, his child," (here Napoleon's voice faltered); "from whose embraces he is for ever separated by the cruel policy of a few. The Anthropophagi of the South Seas would not practise it. Previous to devouring their victims, they would allow them the consolation of seeing and conversing with each other. The cruelties which are practised here would be disavowed by cannibals."

Napoleon now walked up and down for some time, much agitated. Afterwards he proceeded, "You see the manner in which he endeavours to impose upon the passengers going to England, that he may make them believe he is all goodness to me, and that it is all my own fault if I do not receive strangers. That he interests himself so far as even to send up his own aid-de-camp to effect it, although he well knows this last circumstance would of itself be sufficient to prevent my receiving the person whom he accompanied. His object now is to impress upon the minds of the public that I hate the sight of an Englishman. That is the reason he desired you to tell me that

* It is the height of cruelty.

Las Cases had made me say that I abhorred the sight of the English uniform."

I observed that Sir Hudson Lowe had also told me that he conceived it to be an invention of Las Cases. "It is an invention of his own," replied the emperor, "in order to impose upon you. If I had hated the English, should I have given myself up to them, instead of going to the emperor of Russia, or of Austria? Is it possible that I could have given a greater proof of esteem for a nation, than that which I have done for the English,—unfortunately for myself?"

Napoleon now opened the door, called St. Denis, and in my presence asked him if in Las Cases' journal it was asserted that he (Napoleon) had ever said that he hated the sight of the English uniform, or the English, or words of a similar tendency and meaning? St. Denis replied, that nothing of the kind was contained in the journal. "There," said Napoleon, "if Las Cases had said so, it would have been in his journal. He *must* be wicked who would torment me under the circumstances in which I am placed. He has got nothing here," continued Napoleon, placing his hand over his heart, "and when there is nothing here, the head must be bad: he is a man unfit to command, or to act for himself. Nature in forming some men intended that they should

always remain in a subaltern situation. Such was Berthier. There was not in the world so good a *chef d'état major;* but change his occupation, he was not fit to command five hundred men. A good scribbler, like this man, an excellent *commis.* You may see how unfit for command he is, when he allows himself to be led by the nose by such a contemptible *imbecille* as that Colonel Reade. Have you ever read Gil Blas?" I replied that I had. "That eternal smile on Reade's lips," rejoined Napoleon, "is not natural, and reminds me of Ambrose de Lamela. Like Lamela's going to church while he was plotting to rob his master, it masks his real intentions. I have been informed," continued he, "that the Balcombe's were interrogated and cross-examined both by the governor and by his privy councillor, Reade, touching what they had heard and seen at Longwood, and that the father replied, that his daughters had come here to have the honour of visiting us, and not as spies."

March 1*st.*—Napoleon conversed with me for some time relative to the iron railing said to have been brought out in the Adolphus. I told him that it was customary in England to put rails round the country-houses of gentlemen, at which he looked rather incredulous.

2*nd.*—Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room, lying on his sofa. He was rather low spirited,

looked pale, and complained of diarrhœa. Of the remedies which I advised, he would only consent to take freely of weak chicken-broth, or barley-water.

During the course of conversation he observed that he saw a change in the system of the Bourbons favourable to them, as, instead of employing the ultra faction, and other violent characters, they had appointed men who had been formerly employed by him, and who had the confidence of the nation. Amongst others he mentioned Molé.

Asked Napoleon whether the statement contained in the Observer relative to Clarke's conduct towards Carnot, in having withheld his pension, and the manner in which he himself was reported to have acted, were true. Napoleon replied, "it is perfectly true. But I was surprised to see the papers occupied so much about Clarke, who is not of sufficient importance for people to trouble themselves about him." I asked his opinion of Clarke. He replied, "he is not a man of talent, but he is laborious and useful in the *bureau*. He is, moreover, incorruptible, and saving of the public money, which he never has appropriated to his own use. He is an excellent *redacteur*. He is not a soldier, however, nor do I believe that he ever saw a shot fired in his life. He is infatuated with his nobility. He pretends that he is descended from the ancient kings of Scotland, or

Ireland, and constantly vaunts of his noble descent. A good clerk. I sent him to Florence as ambassador, where he employed himself in nothing but turning over the old musty records of the place, in search of proofs of the nobility of my family, for you must know that they came from Florence. He plagued me with letters upon this subject, which caused me to write to him to attend to the business for which he had been sent to Florence, and not to trouble his head or mine with his nonsense about nobility; that I was the *first* of my family. Notwithstanding this, he still continued his inquiries. When I returned from Elba he offered his services to me, but I sent him word that I would not employ any traitors, and ordered him to his estates." I asked if he thought that Clarke would have served him faithfully. "Yes," replied the emperor, "as long as I was the strongest, like a great many others." I inquired if it were true that he had written the letter which had been attributed to him, announcing to Clarke the death of his nephew? He replied, that he had, and that his name was Elliot.

I remarked that his ancestors were noble. He replied, they were senators of Florence.

Napoleon then observed, "in the papers, they make me serve for all purposes, and say whatever suits their views. Lord Castlereagh, on his return to Ireland, publicly asserted a falsehood re-

lative to what had been my intentions upon England, and put expressions into my mouth since my arrival here, which I never made use of." I observed, that in all probability Lord Castlereagh had been informed that he had said so. He replied, "it may be, but your ministers have little scruple in having recourse to falsehood when they think it will forward any object they have in view. It is," continued he, "always dishonourable and base to belie the unfortunate, and doubly so when in your power, and when you hold a padlock upon the mouth to prevent a reply."

3*rd*.—Saw Napoleon dressing. Free from any complaint. In very high spirits. Laughed and quizzed me about some young ladies, and asked me to give all the *little* news of the town. Appeared to be in better spirits than he had been for a long time.

Had some further conversation relative to the governor's declaration that Count Las Cases had, in his journal, made Napoleon say, that he abhorred the sight of the British uniform, and his excellency's assertion, that Las Cases had endeavoured to make him hate the English. "I cannot conceive," said Napoleon, "what object Las Cases could have in view by doing so? What could he gain by it? On the contrary, Las Cases always spoke well of the English, said that he

had been ten years amongst them, and had been always well-treated. It is an invention of this man's, whose whole superstructure is built upon lies. I said, certainly, that I did not like to see officers in uniform, closely attending or watching me, because the uniform reminded me that I was considered as a prisoner, and gave rise to unpleasant reflections. If even *you* were to come into my apartment every day in your uniform, it would give me the idea of your being a *gendarme.* But this man has no *morale.* The admiral had, and immediately understood the delicacy of it when it was mentioned to him."

He then asked some medical questions, went into the billiard-room, ordered some bottled porter, took a glass of it, saying in English, *your health*, and made me take another. Asked many questions about porter, and was much surprised at the low price it bore in England. While walking about the room, "What sort of a man did you take me to be before you became my surgeon?" said he, "What did you think of my character, and what I was capable of? Give me your real opinion frankly." I replied, "I thought you to be a man, whose stupendous talents were only to be equalled by your measureless ambition, and although I did not give credit to one-tenth part of the libels which I had read against you, still, I believed that you would not hesitate to commit a

crime, when you found it to be necessary, or thought it might be useful to you." "This is just the answer that I expected," replied Napoleon, "and is perhaps the opinion of Lord Holland, and even of numbers of the French. I have risen to too great a pitch of human glory and elevation, not to have excited the envy and jealousy of mankind. They will say, 'it is true that he has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of glory, *mais pour y arriver, il commit beaucoup de crimes*, (but to attain it, he has committed many crimes).' Now the fact is, that I not only never committed any crimes, but I never even thought of doing so. *J'ai toujours marché avec l'opinion de grandes masses et les évènemens*, (I have always gone with the opinion of great masses, and with events). I have always made *peu de cas* of the opinion of individuals, of that of the public a great deal; of what use, then, would crime have been to me? I am too much a fatalist, and have always despised mankind too much to have had recourse to crime to frustrate their attempts. *J'ai marché toujours avec l'opinion de cinq ou six millions d'hommes*, (I have always marched with the opinion of five or six millions of men); of what use, then, would crime have been to me?"

"In spite of all the libels," continued he, "I have no fear whatever about my fame. Posterity will do me justice. The truth will be known,

and the good that I have done, with the faults that I have committed, will be compared. I am not uneasy for the result. Had I succeeded, I should have died with the reputation of the greatest man that ever existed. As it is, although I have failed, I shall be considered as an extraordinary man: my elevation was unparalleled, *because* unaccompanied by crime. I have fought fifty pitched battles, almost all of which I have gained. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. From nothing I raised myself to be the most powerful monarch in the world. Europe was at my feet. My ambition was great, I admit, but it was of a cold nature, *(d'une nature froide,)* and caused *par les évènemens*, (by events), and the opinion of great bodies. I have always been of opinion, that the sovereignty lay in the people. In fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic. Called to the head of it by the voice of the nation, my maxim was, *la carrière ouverte aux talens*, (the career open to talents,) without distinction of birth or fortune, and this system of equality is the reason that your oligarchy hate me so much."

"If ever policy," continued he, "authorized a man to commit a crime and murder others, it authorized me to put to death Ferdinand, and the other Bourbons of his family when in France.

Were I a man accustomed to commit crimes, would I not have effected one which it would have been so beneficial to me to put in execution? Ferdinand and his family once out of the way, the Spaniards would have had nothing to fight for, and would have submitted. No, had I been inclined to commit crimes, I should not be here. Would a French Bourbon be in existence now, had I consented to their murder? Not only did I refuse to consent, but I positively prohibited that any attempt of the kind should be made."

"It is not," added Napoleon, "by what the Quarterly Review, or Pichon says, or by what I could write myself, that posterity will judge of me; it is by the voice of so many millions of inhabitants who have been under my government."

"Those," continued he, "who consented to the union of Poland with Russia, will be the execration of posterity, while my name will be pronounced with respect, when the fine southern countries of Europe are a prey to the barbarians of the north. Perhaps my greatest fault was, not having deprived the King of Prussia of his throne. which I might easily have done. After Friedland, I ought to have taken Silesia and * * * from Prussia, and given them to Saxony, as the king and the Prussians were too much humiliated not to revenge themselves the first opportunity. Had I done this, given them a free constitution, and

delivered the peasants from feodal slavery, they would have been contented."

Napoleon afterwards walked down to Count Bertrand's. For two or three days he has taken much more exercise than formerly.

4th.—Saw Napoleon in the billiard-room. He was in extremely good spirits. Returned me the Ambigu for 1816, and desired me to endeavour to obtain the numbers for 1815.

In answer to a question of mine about P***, he said "P*** is a *polisson* who would write for any body that would pay him. He made offers to me to change his style, and write for me in such a manner that the British government would not be aware that he was employed by me. One time in particular, he sent to the police a MS. copy of a book written against me, with an offer that it should not be printed provided he were paid a certain sum of money. This was made known to me. I ordered the police to answer, that if he paid the expences of printing, the work should be published in Paris for him. He was not the only one who made offers of the kind to me when I was in power. Some of the editors of the English newspapers made similar advances, and declared that they could render me most essential services, but I *then* did not attach sufficient importance to their offers, and refused them. Not so the

Bourbons. In 1814, the editor of The ***** newspaper was paid about three thousand pounds of your money, besides having a great number of copies taken.* I told you before that I found his receipt amongst Blacas's papers on my return from Elba. I do not know if he is in their pay now. In that year also a great number of pamphlets were printed in London against the Bourbons, and copies of each sent over to them, with a threat of publication if they were not paid. The Bourbons were greatly frightened, and greedily bought them up. There was one pamphlet in particular, a terrible libel against the late queen of France, which it cost them a large sum of money to suppress.

"When I was on the throne," continued he, "there were thirty clerks employed in translating the English newspapers, and in making extracts from English works of merit. Matters which appeared of importance were extracted from the newspapers, and daily submitted to me. But I never had it done in my presence, or endeavoured to accompany the translator in his progress, as has been asserted. I did not even know the English article '*the*' at that time. Indeed, to me it was not of sufficient importance to learn the language purposely to read the papers, especially as I had

* "Now, though no one journal is mentioned more than another in this passage, *it is impossible not to suppose* THE TIMES to be the journal meant."—*Times Newspaper, July 15th,* 1822.

letters and intelligence constantly from the spies in England. The papers, however, served to corroborate their information relative to the movements of troops, assembling and sailing of men of war, and other measures of government."

The governor at Longwood. Explained his intentions of putting the iron railing round the house, the doors of which he said he should cause to be locked at seven or eight o'clock at night, and the keys sent to Plantation House, where they should remain until day-break the next morning.

5th.—The Tortoise store-ship, Captain Cook, arrived direct from England, which she had left on the 18th of December, 1816. Went to town, and learned that Warden had published a book about Napoleon which had excited considerable interest, and was supposed to have produced a favourable impression towards him. Received some newspapers containing extracts from the work.

On my return to Longwood I found Napoleon in quite different spirits from yesterday. He was reclining on his sofa, in a very pensive attitude, his head resting upon one of his hands, and apparently melancholy. His morning gown was on, a madras round his head, and his beard unshaved. In rather a desponding manner, he asked me "What news?" and if the ship had arrived from England? I replied that she had arrived direct from that country. After having related

something of what I heard and conceived to be most interesting, I mentioned that a book had been published respecting him by Warden, which had excited great interest. At the name of Warden he raised his head and said, "What, Warden of the Northumberland?" I replied in the affirmative. "What is the nature of the work? Is it for or against me? Is it well written? What is the subject?" I replied, that it was a description of what had passed on board of the Northumberland and here; that it was in his favour, and contained many curious statements, and also refutations of some accusations that had been made against him, an explanation about the affair of the Duke d'Enghien, and that it was well written, &c. "Have you seen it?" I replied, "No." "Then how do you know that it is in my favour, or that it is well written?" I replied that I had seen some extracts from it in the newspapers, which I gave to him. He sat down to read the papers, asked the explanation of a few passages, said they were true; inquired what Warden had said of the affair of the Duke d'Enghien? I replied that he asserted that Talleyrand had detained a letter from the Duke for a considerable time after his execution, and that he had attributed his death to Talleyrand. "*Di questo non c'è dubbio*" (of this there is no doubt), replied Napoleon.

Napoleon then asked how the work had been

received in England? I replied, "I had heard that it had succeeded very well." He asked "whether the ministers were pleased with it." I answered, "that they had not as yet shewn any displeasure, as Warden had been recently appointed to a ship." "I suppose," said Napoleon, "that he has arranged it so as to please the ministers?" I replied that from what I had been able to learn, he had endeavoured to state the truth.

I then assisted him in reading over some extracts which were in the Observer, the correctness of which he admitted. He perused very attentively and made me explain to him three times an article which stated that the Empress Marie Louise had fallen from her horse into the Po, and with difficulty had been saved from a watery grave. He appeared considerably affected by the perusal.

Subsequently he conversed about the tumults in England, and the distress of the poorer classes. "Your ministers," said he, "are answerable for all the misery and the distress of England, by their having neglected to take advantage of favourable circumstances to secure to the country great commercial advantages. In consequence of my misfortunes in Russia, successes unparalleled in the history of the world attended her, and by the force of circumstances an opportunity was afforded her of rendering herself

the most flourishing and powerful nation in the world. I have always considered England to be in a dangerous state, in an unnatural state of over-exertion, and that if some unforeseen circumstance did not arise to succour her, she must sink under the pressure of the exertions she has made, and the load of taxation. Such an opportunity *has occurred*, but your ministers, like blockheads, have not taken advantage of it, but preferred paying their court to those kings to consulting the interests of their country. Every sovereign or minister ought to hold the interests and welfare of his own country paramount to all other considerations, and ought never to fail to take advantage of existing circumstances to benefit it, particularly when it can be done by means of a treaty. Those who neglect it, are traitors to their country. You have already the hatred of all nations, in consequence of your maritime laws, and your pretensions to be mistress of the seas, which you say belongs to you by right. Then why not take advantage of it? You have made a most unprofitable bargain; you have the hatred of all other nations, on account of your maritime pretensions, without enjoying any benefit from them. Your ministers do not know the situation of their own country."

"It appears to me," continued he, "to be clearly the intention of your ministers to subject Eng-

land to a military yoke, to put down by degrees the liberty which prevails there, and to render their own power unlimited. All those honours conferred upon the military, and the tenor of several other steps lately adopted, are only so many preliminaries towards it. I can discern their object. Assistance, if necessary, will probably be rendered by the other sovereigns of Europe, who are jealous, and cannot bear the idea that England should be the only free nation in Europe. They will all assist in putting you down.' I observed that the English would never submit to be made a nation of slaves. He replied, "there is every appearance that the attempt will be made."

Some broken numbers of the Times and a few letters sent up by the governor. General Gourgaud received a letter from his sister, which informed him that Sir George Cockburn had called twice to see his mother in Paris. This mark of attention on the part of the admiral quite enchanted General Gourgaud. Count and Countess Bertrand in raptures, as the same letter stated that Madame Dillon, the Countess's mother, was doing well. Though for many years a wanderer, I never observed so forcibly before the satisfaction and consolation afforded by a letter from distant relations or friends, to those who are separated from their home. By the joy in the countenances

of some at Longwood, it was easy to distinguish those who had received intelligence, as the melancholy and dissatisfaction pourtrayed in the others denoted the contrary. There was no necessity for asking any questions. A line of writing from Europe is, at Longwood, a treasure above all price.

6*th*.—Some French newspapers sent up to Napoleon by the admiral, through the governor. Napoleon very anxious to hear some further intelligence of Marie Louise. The circumstance he observed yesterday appeared to have excited some apprehensions for her safety in his mind, which was not much relieved when he perceived that only broken numbers of the newspapers had been sent up by the governor. On coming afterwards to an article in the French papers, which stated that the project for supplying Paris with water by an English company had been abandoned, he called out to me: "Have I not told you so, and that the people would not suffer it?" Informed him that the governor had sent up Mr. Warden's book to me, with instructions to deliver it to him. He looked at the fac-simile of his own hand-writing and laughed heartily.

At night Napoleon sent for me. Said that he was convinced the governor had kept back some letters and newspapers. That he had no doubt that Sir Hudson Lowe had himself received a complete series of papers, but that he had kept back

some according to his usual brutal custom, because there might have been an article which would prove agreeable to him. "At first," said he, "I thought that there might have been some bad news of my wife, but a moment's reflection taught me, that if so, this man would not have failed to send it directly, in order to afflict me. Perhaps there may be some news of my son; when you go to town to-morrow, endeavour to see a complete series of papers, and look attentively at them. You can find out ten articles in your papers, while I am searching for one. Try and get some more of the Portsmouth papers, as the news is more condensed in them, and I do not lose myself as in looking over a number of the Times."

7th.—Cipriani in town making purchases of provisions.

8th.—Mrs. and Misses Balcombe at Longwood. Napoleon sent for and conversed with them for a few minutes. Sir Hudson Lowe, when informed of this, said, "that they had no business to have spoken to General Bonaparte, as their pass had only specified Count Bertrand's family."

10th.—Napoleon in good spirits. Had some conversation relative to Warden's book. I asked him about that part which treats of the governor's physiognomy; and Warden's reply, that he liked Lady Lowe's better. He laughed, and replied, "as well as I recollect, it is true. But I said

much worse than what Warden has stated there, which I believe is to be found in Las Cases' journal, where the governor must have seen my remarks."

I then asked his opinion of Warden's book. He replied, "the foundation of it is true, but he has badly understood what was said to him; as in the work there are many mistakes, which must have arisen from bad explanation; Warden does not understand French. He has acted wrong in making me speak in the manner he has done. For, instead of having stated that it had been conveyed through an interpreter, he puts down almost every thing, as if I had been speaking to him all the time, and as if he could have understood me; consequently he has put into my mouth expressions unworthy of me, and not in my style. Any person who knows me, will readily see that it is not my style. In fact, most of what he has received through interpretation, and that composes a large portion of the work, is more or less incorrect. He has said that Massena had stormed the village of Esling thirteen times, which, if the work is translated into French, will make every French officer acquainted with the battle laugh, as Massena was not at that particular spot during the whole of the action. What he says about the prisoners that had been made at Jaffa, is also incorrect, as they were marched on twelve leagues in

the direction of Bagdat, and not to Nazareth. They were Maugrabins from near Algiers, and not natives of the country that he mentions: he is incorrect in stating that I proposed to give the sick opium; I did not propose it. It was first made by one of the medical officers. He is wrong in the explanation which he has given of the reason why I wished Wright to live. My principal reason was, to be able to prove, as I told you before, by Wright's evidence, that *** had caused assassins, hired by the Count d'**** to be landed in France, to murder me. This I thought I should have effected by Wright's own evidence at a trial in presence of the ambassadors of the powers in friendship with me. Now there was something glorious in Wright's death. He preferred taking away his own life, to compromising his government."

"The Duke d'Enghien was to have come to Paris to assist the assassins. The Duke de Berri also was to have landed at a certain place in Picardy, to have excited insurrection and assassination. I received information of this, and Savary was despatched to the spot to arrest him. If he had been taken, he would have been instantly shot. He was on board of an English vessel which came in close to the coast, but a certain signal which had been previously agreed upon, not having been made from Beville, he became afraid

and stood off. The place where they were to have landed was called the *falaise de Beville*, near Dieppe, at the foot of a steep precipice, up which people are obliged to climb by the help of ropes. It was chosen by them on this account, as they were not likely to be interrupted by the custom-house officers. The Count d'*** and the Duke de B** were always endeavouring to procure my assassination. Louis, I believe, was not privy to it. They thought, I suppose, that they were at liberty to make as many attempts to assassinate me as they chose, with impunity. As head of the French government, by the laws of politics, and by the laws of nature, I should have been justified in causing assassination in return: which it would have been most easy for me to have effected."

"Shortly after Marengo," continued Napoleon, "Louis wrote a letter to me, which was delivered by the Abbé Montesquieu, in which he said, that I delayed for a long time to restore him to his throne; that the happiness of France could never be complete without him; neither could the glory of the country be complete without me; that one was as necessary to it as the other; and concluded by desiring me to chuse whatever I thought proper, which would be granted under him, provided I restored to him his throne. I sent him back a very handsome answer, in which I stated

that I was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of himself, and his family; that I was ready to do every thing in my power to relieve them, and would interest myself about providing a suitable income for them, but that he might abandon the thought of ever returning to France as a sovereign, as that could not be effected without his having passed over the bodies of five hundred thousand Frenchmen.

"Warden has been incorrectly informed that Maret was privy to my return to France. He knew nothing about it, and such a statement may injure his relations in France. He has acted also unguardedly in asserting matters upon the authority of Count and Countess Bertrand, as it may cause them many enemies. He ought to have said, 'I have been told at Longwood.' As to his saying that the information came from me. I care not, as I *fear nobody*, but he ought to have been cautious about the others.

"Warden," added he, "is a man of good intentions, and the foundation of his work is true; but many of the circumstances are incorrectly stated, in consequence of misconception, and bad interpretation. Gourgaud was very angry yesterday about what was said of him. I told him that he ought to take example by me, and observe with what patience I bore the libels on me, with which the press was overwhelmed; that

they had made me a poisoner, an assassin, a violator; a monster who was guilty of incest, and of every horrid crime, &c. That he ought to reflect upon this, and be silent."

"I see," continued he, "by some answers in the Times, that the Morning Chronicle appears to defend me. What harm could it possibly be to let me see that paper. To let me read something favourable of myself. It is very seldom that I now see any thing of the kind, but it is a cruelty to withhold so slender a consolation.

"You recollect I told you that the English would change their opinion of me, and that from the great intercourse they had with France and Italy, they would soon discover that I was not the horrid character they had believed me to be; and also that the English travellers in returning from the countries which had been under my dominion, would bring back with them sentiments quite different from those with which they had set out. This is now beginning to take place, and will increase every day. Those people will say, 'We have been deceived. On the continent we have heard none of those horrid stories. On the contrary, wherever there was a fine road, or a noble bridge, and we asked, who made this? the answer has been, Napoleon, or Bonaparte.' They will naturally say, at least this man encouraged the arts and the sciences during his reign,

and endeavoured to facilitate and to increase the commerce of the countries under him.

"Lord Castlereagh," continued he, "has been guilty of a base libel by having declared that I had said, since I came here, that 'in peace, or in war, I aimed at the destruction of England.' It is wholly false, and I shall make it a subject of complaint to his master, the Prince Regent, and expose to him the unworthy conduct of his minister; conduct degrading to the character of a man. It is always dishonourable and base to publicly insult and belie the unfortunate; especially when in your power, and at such a distance as to preclude the possibility of a reply."

He then made some observations respecting Talleyrand. "As to Talleyrand," said he, "*C'est un coquin, un homme corrompu, mais homme d'esprit.* A man who seeks every opportunity to betray. After the marriage of Prince Eugene, I was obliged to turn him out of office, on account of complaints made against him by the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg. Nothing was to be got, no treaty to be made, or arrangement for commerce, without first having bribed him. There were some commercial treaties on foot at the time, to conclude which he demanded enormous sums. The Bourbons have done right to get rid of him, as he would have betrayed them the first opportunity, if he saw that there was any probability of

success, as he had offered to do after my return from Elba.

"Your ministers," said he, "reason thus for sending me to St. Helena. This Bonaparte is a man of talent, and has always been an enemy to England. The Bourbons are a set of *imbecilles*, and it is better for the English to have *imbecilles* on the throne of France, than persons of talent; for the former will not have the ability, though they may have the inclination to do as much mischief to England as the latter. We must do every thing we can to keep down the French, who are our natural enemies; and the best mode of effecting it, is to place a set of fools upon the throne, who will occupy themselves in restoring the old superstition, ignorance, and prejudices of the nation, and consequently weaken, instead of strengthening it. They would have done better," continued he, "to have left me upon the throne. I would have given the English great commercial advantages, which the Bourbons dare not offer. Besides, it would have kept up the importance of the English on the continent. For the other powers being afraid of me, would have made sacrifices to keep on good terms with them, in order to have them on their side, well knowing that without their aid, they could do nothing against me; whereas now, as they are not afraid of the Bourbons, they will set but little value upon

the friendship of a power that they are jealous of, and want to humble. Moreover, your ministers could always have held *me* up *in terrorem* to the people of England, whenever they wanted to command the exertions of the nation.

"I see," added Napoleon, "no feasible measure to remedy the distresses of your manufacturers, except endeavouring by all means in your power to promote the separation of the Spanish South American colonies from the mother-country. By means of this, you would have an opportunity of opening a most extensive and lucrative commerce with the South Americans, which would be productive of great advantages to you. If you do not adopt some steps of the kind, the Americans will be before-hand with you. If you act as I have said, they could trade with no other nation than you. Both Spain and France must be shut to them."

"If the war with England had lasted two or three years longer," added he, "France would not have had any further occasion for colonies. In consequence of the great encouragement I gave, and the premiums I paid to those who devoted their chemical labours to the making of sugar, especially from the beet-root, it was sold so low as fifteen sous a pound, and when the process should have been a little more matured, sugar would have been made in France as cheap as it

could have been imported from the West Indies."

I remarked that the French could with difficulty have done without coffee. "They could very well have contented themselves with several kinds of herbs, as tea," replied the emperor. "Moreover, it would have been possible to have grown coffee in some of the southern parts of France, and an inferior kind of coffee of grain might have been substituted."

A few moments afterwards Napoleon observed, that it was true, as had been stated in the papers, that the Belgians were sorry that the English had gained the battle of Waterloo. "They considered themselves as Frenchmen," said he, "and in truth they were such. The greatest part of the nation loved me, and wished that I might succeed. The stories that your ministers have taken such pains to circulate respecting the nations that I had united to France having hated me and detested my tyranny, are all falsehoods. The Italians, Piedmontese, Belgians, and others, are an example of what I say. You will receive hereafter the opinions of those English who have visited the continent. You will find that what I tell you is correct, and that *millions* in Europe now *weep* for me. The Piedmontese preferred being as a province of France, to being an independent kingdom under the King of Sardinia."

Count Bertrand's cook went to camp and got

so drunk as to be totally incapable of cooking the dinner for the family. Napoleon, when informed of this at dinner, sent some dishes off the table down to Countess Bertrand, with his compliments.

11*th.*—The Griffon sloop of war arrived from the Cape with a mail, in which were some letters for the French. Count Bertrand received the pleasing intelligence that his brother was no longer in exile, but had been permitted to return to his home, and to remain there under *surveillance.*

Informed by one of the partners, that last week an official letter had been sent to the house of Balcombe and Co., to demand an explanation why *fourteen shillings* more than the sum that had been allowed by government, had been expended for fish for the establishment of Longwood, in the preceding fortnight. Also a demand to know why two shillings and sixpence more than the allowance had been expended for twine. Moreover, that forty pounds of barley had been sent up to Longwood by order of the surgeon, for the use of Countess Bertrand, a repetition of which in future was prohibited, unless the order was first approved of at Plantation House.

Last Sunday Mr. Balcombe and myself had a conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe, in the library at Plantation House, relative to the affairs of Longwood. Mr. Balcombe presented two sets of

bills drawn by Count Bertrand for his approval. His excellency professed himself to be greatly surprised at the large sums of money laid out by the French, and said that twelve thousand a year ought to cover all expenses. He was informed by Mr. Balcombe and myself, that it was chiefly expended in the purchase of provisions, and various necessaries of life, as the allowance granted by government was not sufficient. Amongst many other articles, I mentioned that only seventy-two pounds of beef was allowed. Sir Hudson said, that he would increase the quantity to one hundred, and would confer with Count Bertrand on the subject. He was apparently in a very bad humour, and railed at what he termed the *impudence* of Las Cases, in having presumed to send from the Cape to Longwood, some wine, Florence oil, and other articles of a similar nature, for the use of the French, which he said was an insult to the British government, and concluded by refusing to approve of more than one set of bills.*

12*th.*—Saw the emperor at eleven, a. m. in a very good humour. He made some remarks again about the disturbances in England. Observed, that he thought the Prince Regent must adopt

* Sir Hudson Lowe would not allow any bill of exchange drawn by any of the inhabitants of Longwood to be cashed, unless it had been previously approved of, and indorsed by himself.

some measures in order to pacify the people, such as reducing the taxes. "It is impossible," said he, "that a nation in cold blood will consent to pay in time of peace, taxes nearly equal to the amount of those paid by them in war, when there is no longer that stimulus, that irritation of mind which made them consider such drainings of their purses absolutely necessary to prevent their country from being devoured by a foreign nation. England," continued he, "is in an unnatural state, and some change must take place."

I said, that although great distress existed in England, the disturbances were confined to the lower classes, and that it would end by a few of them being hanged. Napoleon replied, "it may be so, Mr. Doctor, but you must consider that the *canaille*, as you call them, are the bulk of the people. They, and not the nobles, *form the nation*. When the *canaille* gains the day, it ceases to be any longer *canaille*. It is then called the nation. If it does not, why then some are executed, and they are called *canaille*, rebels, robbers, &c. Thus goes the world."

I then asked Napoleon if it were true, as had been stated, that he was once in danger of being taken by the Cossacs? "At the battle of Brienne," replied he, "I recollect, that about twenty or twenty-five Uhlans, not Cossacs, got round one of the wings of my army, and endeavoured to fall

upon a part of the artillery. It was at the close of the day, and just beginning to be dark. They stumbled some how or other upon me and my état-major. When they saw us, they were quite lost, and did not know how to act. They did not however know who I was, neither was I myself for some time aware of who they were. I thought they were some of my own troops. Caulaincourt, however, perceived who they were, and called out to me that we were amongst enemies. Just at this moment, those Uhlans being frightened, and not knowing what to do, began to fly, and tried to escape in all directions. My staff began to fire upon them. One of them galloped up so close to me (without knowing me) as to touch my knee violently with his hand. He had a spear in his hand at the charge, but it was with the opposite one that he touched me. At first I thought that it was one of my own staff who was riding roughly by me, but looking round, I perceived that he was an enemy. I put my hand down to draw out one of my pistols to fire at him, but he was gone. Whether he was killed or escaped I know not. That day I drew my sword, which was a circumstance that rarely had occurred, as I gained battles with my eye and not with my arms. Those Uhlans were afterwards, I believe, cut to pieces." I asked if he had considered himself to have been in any great

peril on that day? "No," said he, "it was an accident. My cavalry was in another part of the field at the time. It was possible certainly, that I might have been killed, but they were more intent upon running away themselves, than upon killing any of us."*

I asked, if during the retreat from Moscow, he had ever been in danger of being taken by the Cossacs? "Never," replied Napoleon, "I had always with me a guard sufficient to repel any at-

* It has been said, that on the same night, when the French had in their turn stormed the village of Brienne, Blucher and his staff fell in with a party of their cavalry, and were prevented from having been taken by two Cossacs who had seen them, and who stopped Blucher at the foot of a flight of stairs when on the point of going out, who otherwise would have been killed or made prisoner. That they had drawn their swords, and were prepared to fall upon the French, but after having made a *réconnoissance*, they were found to be so numerous, as not to admit of a probability of success. This, if true, forms a singular coincidence with what I have related above, but as I had it from Sir Hudson Lowe, I cannot of course be responsible for the correctness of the statement. Sir Hudson Lowe also informed me of what, according to his ideas, was a praiseworthy specimen of the utter contempt in which Blucher held the French nation, in the following terms: "At the time when Blucher made his first hostile entrance into France, the mayor of the town he occupied waited upon him to offer his services to procure whatever he might want, as is customary under similar circumstances. When the Prussian general had heard his business, his reply was 'Bring me a wench!'"

tack, or even to admit of any apprehension as to the result in case one was made."

13*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. In very good spirits. After some conversation on the subject of what had been lately published respecting him, "I suppose," said he, "that when you go to England, you will publish *your* book. You certainly have a better right to publish about me than Warden, and you can say, that you have heard me say many things, and have had long conversations with me. You would gain a great deal of money, and every body would believe you. Truly, no French physician has ever been so much about me as you have been. I saw them only for a few minutes. The world is anxious to know every little circumstance of a man that has happened to make any figure in it, such as all the little trifles about how he eats, drinks, sleeps, his general habits, and manners. People are more anxious to learn those *sottises* than to know what good or bad qualities he may possess. *Pour moi, il suffit de dire la verité.*"

Napoleon walked out about five, and paid a visit to Countess Montholon. He remained a few minutes looking at Captain Poppleton, who was busily employed in digging some potatoes out of a little garden that we had endeavoured to cultivate in front of the house.

14*th*.—Napoleon in very good humour. Told him that a letter had appeared in the French papers, which was attributed to Marquis Montchenu, stating that upon his arrival, he (Napoleon) had given him an invitation to dine, to which he had replied, that he had been sent to St. Helena to guard, and not to dine with him. "*Ces messieurs sont toujours les mêmes*," replied the emperor, "it is very likely that he has been *bête* enough to write it. Those old French noblesse are capable of any *bêtise*. He is worthy of being one of the *grande naissance** of France."

Mentioned to him that in one of the papers it had been stated, that Sir George Cockburn had gone to Paris, impressed with a poor opinion of his (Napoleon's) abilities, and had said, that on the score of talent, he was an ordinary character, and by no means to be feared. Napoleon replied, "probably and with reason he does not suppose me to be a God, or to be endowed with supernatural talents; but I will venture to say that he gives me credit for posssesing *some*. If he has really expressed the opinion attributed to him, it pays a poor compliment to the discernment of the greatest part of the world."

* The contemptuous manner in which the marquis generally expressed himself of any person who was not able to count some hundred years of nobility in his family, was notorious in St. Helena.

He then desired me to get him the paper which contained the report of Sir George Cockburn's opinion, adding that he was now so much accustomed to read libels, that he cared but little what was said, or what calumnies were published about him.

"The people of England with difficulty will believe," added he, "that I not only read those libels without anger, but even laugh at them. From the violence of temper which has been attributed to me, I suppose they think that I must be worked up by rage to fits of madness. They are mistaken; they only excite my laughter. *La verité seule blesse.*"

I asked him about the affair of Palm, and said, I had been informed that he had given a satisfactory explanation of every sanguinary act, excepting that, that he had been accused of having committed. Napoleon replied, "I never have been asked any explanation about it. All that I recollect is, that Palm was arrested by order of Davoust, I believe, tried, condemned, and shot, for having, while the country was in possession of the French, and under military occupation, not only excited rebellion amongst the inhabitants, and urged them to rise and massacre the soldiers, but also attempted to instigate the soldiers themselves to refuse obedience to their orders, and to mutiny against their generals. I believe that he met

with a fair trial. I should like," continued he, "to read the principal libels which have been published against me in England, if I could have them in French. There is Pelletier," added he, laughing, "who *proves* that I was *myself* the contriver of the infernal machine."

Major Hodson paid a visit to Countess Bertrand. Informed her that both himself and his wife would be most happy to call frequently upon her; but that insinuations had been made to him that it would not be liked at Plantation House.

15*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe gave directions to Captain Poppleton, that General Bonaparte, or any of his suite might go unaccompanied along the road to Woody Range, and to Miss Mason's; but that they were not permitted to quit the path, and that they might re-enter Longwood at the bottom of the wood. That the two sentinels at the end of the wood were still to remain. He then asked what were the orders of those sentinels? Captain Poppleton replied, "to let no person in or out of Longwood." Sir Hudson desired that those orders should *still be continued in force*, adding, that he did not think that the path by which the French were to be permitted to enter was near enough to the sentinels to allow them to interfere with them. He desired also that the sentinels should be posted a little before sun-set.

Cipriani in town, making the usual purchases of provisions.

16*th*.—Saw the emperor in the drawing-room. He was in extremely good spirits, laughed repeatedly, joked with me on a supposed attachment to a fair damsel, and endeavoured to speak some English. Said that he had seen Lady Bingham the day before, but that she could not speak French; that she "looked good tempered."

"Bertrand," said Napoleon, "has told me that the governor has at last sent up his answers. They are full of imbecility. I have not read them myself, but from what Bertrand tells me, they are a very poor production, and would make one pity the writer who covers over so many pages without arriving at any conclusion. He asserts that he never has signed a pass for one day only, when the fact is, that numbers of persons have shewn the passes signed by him to Bertrand, and pointed out to him that the day was specifically marked, and consequently begged of him to interest himself to induce me to see them on that day, as they could not enter Longwood upon any other. *Si fa pietà di lui.*"*

Napoleon then spoke at length about Talleyrand. "The triumph of Talleyrand," said he, "is the triumph of immorality. A priest united to another man's wife, and who has paid her husband

* Meaning, that it makes one pity him.

a large sum of money to leave her with him. A man who has sold every thing, betrayed every body and every side. I forbade Madame Talleyrand the court, first, because she was a disreputable character, and because I found out that some Genoese merchants had paid her four hundred thousand francs, in hopes of gaining some commercial favours by means of her husband. She was a very fine woman, English or East Indian, but *sotte* and grossly ignorant. I sometimes asked Denon, whose works I suppose you have read, to breakfast with me, as I took pleasure in his conversation, and conversed very freely with him. Now all the intriguers and speculators paid their court to Denon, with a view of inducing him to mention their projects or themselves in the course of his conversations with me, thinking that even being mentioned by such a man as Denon, for whom I had a great esteem, might materially serve them. Talleyrand, who was a great speculator, invited Denon to dinner. When he went home to his wife he said, 'my dear, I have invited Denon to dine. He is a great traveller, and you must say something handsome to him about his travels, as he may be useful to us with the emperor.' His wife being extremely ignorant, and probably never having read any other book of travels than that of Robinson Crusoe, concluded that Denon could be nobody else than Robinson. Wishing to be

very civil to him, she, before a large company, asked him divers questions about his man Friday! Denon, astonished, did not know what to think at first, but at length discovered by her questions that she really imagined him to be Robinson Crusoe. His astonishment and that of the company cannot be described, nor the peals of laughter which it excited in Paris, as the story flew like wildfire through the city, and *even* Talleyrand *himself* was ashamed of it.

"The doctor has said," continued he, "that I turned Mahometan in Egypt. Now it is not the case. I never followed any of the tenets of that religion. I never prayed in the mosques. I never abstained from wine, or was circumcised, neither did I ever profess it. I said merely that we were the friends of the Mussulmen, and that I respected Mahomet their prophet, which was true; I respect him now. I wanted to make the Imans cause prayers to be offered up in the mosques for me, in order to make the people respect me still more than they actually did, and obey me more readily. The Imans replied, that there was a great obstacle, because their prophet in the Koran had inculcated to them that they were not to obey, respect, or hold faith with infidels, and that I came under that denomination. I then desired them to hold a consultation, and see what was necessary to be done in order to become a Mus-

sulman, as some of their tenets could not be practised by us. That as to circumcision, God had made us unfit for that. That with respect to drinking wine, we were poor cold people, inhabitants of the north, who could not exist without it. Therefore that we could neither circumcise nor abstain from wine. They consulted together accordingly, and in about three weeks issued a Fetham, declaring that circumcision might be omitted, because it was merely a profession; that as to drinking wine, it might be drunk by Mussulmen, but that those who drank it would not go to paradise, but to hell. I replied that this would not do; that we had no occasion to make ourselves Mussulmen in order to go to hell, that there were many ways of getting there without coming to Egypt, and desired them to hold another consultation. Well, after deliberating and battling together for I believe three months, they finally decided that a man might become a Mussulman, and neither circumcise, nor abstain from wine; but that in proportion to the wine drunk, some good works must be done. I then told them that we were all Mussulmen and friends of the prophet, which they readily believed, as the French soldiers never went to church, and had no priests with them. For you must know that during the revolution there was no religion whatever in the French army. Menou," continued Napoleon, "really turned Ma-

hometan, which was the reason that I left him behind."

He then spoke about some of the plans that he had had in contemplation for making canals of communication in Egypt. "I intended," said he, "to have made two, one from the Red Sea to the Nile at Cairo, and the other to the Mediterranean. I had the Red Sea surveyed, and found that its waters were thirty feet higher than the Mediterranean when they were highest, but only twenty-four at the lowest. My plan was to have prevented any water from flowing into the canal unless at low water, and this in the course of a distance of thirty leagues in its passage to the Mediterranean would have been of little consequence. Besides, I would have had some sluices made. The Nile was seven feet lower than the Red Sea, when at its lowest, but fourteen feet higher (I think he said) during the inundation. The expense was calculated at eighteen millions of francs, and two years' labour. It is only," continued he, "the ignorance and barbarity of the Turks which prevents your India trade from being ruined. If any European nation had possession of Egypt, it would speedily be effected, and one day or another Egypt will destroy the East India Company. If Kleber had lived you would never have conquered it. He would have had the army down from Cairo in nine days, and would have over-

whelmed you. If I had been there myself, I would have brought the troops down in seven days, and have been on the coast before you had disembarked. I had done so before, when the Turks landed with Sydney Smith."

I asked if he had not saved Menou's life after the 13th of Vendémiare? He replied, "I certainly was the means of saving his life. The convention ordered him to be tried, and he would have been guillotined; I was then commander-in-chief of Paris. Thinking it very unjust that Menou only should suffer, while three *commissaires* of the convention, under whose orders he acted, were left untried and unpunished; but not venturing to say openly that he ought to be acquitted, (for," continued he, "in those terrible times a man who told the truth lost his head,) I had recourse to a stratagem. I invited the members who were trying him to breakfast, and turned the conversation upon Menou. I said, that he had acted very wrong, and deserved to be condemned to death; but that first, the commissioners of the convention must be tried and condemned, as he had acted by their orders, and all must suffer. This had the desired effect. The members of the court said, 'We will not allow those civilians to bathe themselves in our blood, while they allow their own commissioners, who are more culpable, to escape with impunity.' Menou was immediately

declared innocent." I then asked how many men he supposed had lost their lives in the business of the 13th Vendémiare? He replied, "Very few, considering the circumstances. Of the people, there were about seventy or eighty killed, and between three and four hundred wounded; of the conventionalists, about thirty killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded. The reason there was so few killed, was, that after the first two discharges, I made the troops load with powder only, which had the effect of frightening the Parisians, and answered as well as killing them would have done. I made the troops at first fire ball, because to a rabble who are ignorant of the effect of fire-arms, it is the worst possible policy to fire powder only in the beginning. For the populace after the first discharge, hearing a great noise, are a little frightened, but looking around them, and seeing nobody killed or wounded, pluck up their spirits, begin immediately to despise you, become doubly outrageous, and rush on without fear, and it is necessary to kill ten times the number that it would have been, had ball been used at first. For, with a rabble, every thing depends upon the first impressions made upon them. If they receive a discharge of fire-arms, and perceive the killed and wounded falling amongst them, a panic seizes them, they take to their heels instantly, and vanish in a moment.

Therefore, when it is necessary to fire at all, it ought to be done with ball at first. It is a mistaken instance of humanity to use powder only at that moment, and instead of saving the lives of men, ultimately causes an unnecessary waste of human blood."

17*th.*—Napoleon walked round the house for a short time.

A letter written by Captain Poppleton to Sir Hudson Lowe, informing his excellency that the horses of the establishment had been three days without receiving any hay, and that for a length of time they had had no litter. Also, that the stuff sent as hay, was grass recently cut, with occasionally a large portion of cow-grass* mixed with it. That upon allowing fifty pounds of the said miscalled hay to dry for two days, it only weighed, with the rope which bound it, twenty pounds, according to a very accurate trial made by himself. That in consequence, he had directed the grooms to go and cut some grass if they could find any, as the horses were starving.

18*th.*—Napoleon in very good humour. Joked with me for some time about St. Patrick, and endeavoured to speak some English, in which he succeeded better than I had ever observed before. I said, that I had remarked divers of his

* A species of inferior coarse grass, which horses will not eat.

expressions in some of the French bulletins. That from having had the honour of being accustomed to speak to him, I had recognized some of them, and took the liberty of asking him if he had not occasionally written them? He replied, "Where have you seen them?" I answered, at the governor's, and that I had particularly remarked his forcible expressions in the bulletin announcing the burning of Moscow. He laughed, gave me a gentle pull by the ear, and said, "You are right. Some of them are mine."

Napoleon then observed, "Your ministers will not be able to impose always upon the nation. Because they are afraid of me, and think that I have some talent, and because I have been always at war with them, and that I have made France greater than ever she was before, they fear that I might do so again, and as any thing for the advantage of France would be disadvantageous to them, they endeavour by all means to prevent it, by putting a set of *imbecilles* on the throne, under whom France must necessarily decay. In order to find an excuse for sending me here, and to give a colour to their proceedings, they seek all means of blackening my character. Mark me, the Englishthemselves will be the first to justify me, and to vindicate my character from the calumnies which their ministers have thrown upon it. Posterity will revenge me. Recollect my words, and

recollect that this is not the first time that I have told you so."

"I am told," added he, "that there is twenty thousand pounds worth of iron railing sent out. It is money thrown into the sea. Before this railing can be fixed up here, I shall be under ground, for I am sure that I shall not hold out more than two years under the treatment that I experience."

"If," continued Napoleon, "my greatest enemies knew the way in which I am treated, they would compassionate me. Millions in Europe will weep for my lot when it is known, and known it will be, in spite of the endeavours of this governor to envelope every thing in secrecy and mystery. He shews how little he knows of England by thinking to effect this. A man who has always been accustomed to be amongst a set of low, vagabond deserters and brigands, where his word was a law. On a band of poor ignorant wretches like those, who trembled at the sight of him, and whom he could threaten to send back to their own country to be shot, he might impose secrecy. Like a man putting his hat over a candle, he could then conceal the light, but now his endeavours resemble those of one who would attempt to obscure and hide the light of the sun by holding his hat before it. He has nothing English about him, either within or without. He badly serves his government, who are desirous that as

little as possible should be said about me, but he takes the most certain method of effecting the contrary."

Sir Hudson Lowe very busy inspecting the ditches and other works he had ordered to be thrown up about Longwood House and the stables.

19*th*.—Saw Napoleon in his bath. He was reading a little book, which I perceived to be a French New Testament. I could not help observing to him, that many people would not believe that he would read such a book, as it had been asserted and credited by some that he was an unbeliever. Napoleon laughed and replied, "*Cependant ce n'est pas vrai. Je suis loin d'être Athée.* (Nevertheless, it is not true. I am far from being an Atheist.) In spite of all the iniquities and frauds of the teachers of religion, who are eternally preaching up that their kingdom is not of this world, and yet seize every thing which they can lay their hands upon, from the time that I arrived at the head of the government, I did every thing in my power to re-establish religion. But I wished to render it the foundation and prop of morality and good principles, and not *à prendre l'essor* of the human laws. Man has need of something wonderful. It is better for him to seek it in religion than in M^lle^ le Normand.* Moreover,

* A celebrated fortune-teller at Paris, consulted by emperors and kings.

religion is a great consolation and resource to those who possess it, and no man can pronounce what he will do in his last moments."

Napoleon then made some remarks upon the conduct of the governor, whom he declared to be a man totally unfit for his situation. "If he were," said he, "he might make it pleasant and interesting. He might spend much of his time with me, and get great information with respect to past occurrences, with which no other person could be so well acquainted or so satisfactorily account for. You see what I am, *dottore*. Even unknown to myself, he would imperceptibly have opportunities of getting information from me, which would be very desirable to his ministers, and which I am certain they have ordered him to obtain, and that he burns to know. If I had really any intention of effecting my escape from this place, instead of disagreeing with him I would caress and flatter him, endeavour to be on the best terms, go to Plantation House, call on his wife, and try to make him believe that I was contented, and thereby lull his suspicions asleep. In fact, this governor *è un imbecille che sa scrivere* (he is an imbecile who knows how to write). Every person, however *imbecille*, has some kind of talent: one for music, another for drawing, another for some mechanical art, and this imbecile for writing *(per lo scrivere)*."

I said that I could not deny that Sir Hudson Lowe was hasty, and allowed the fear of his (Napoleon's) making his escape to get the better of his understanding, but that he was not devoid of talent. That he had said his situation was one of great delicacy, his responsibility great, and his orders rigid. That he had desired me to say, that Las Cases had confessed that the French about his person had made him see every thing *par un voile de sang.* "*Les bêtes même ont leurs talens,*" replied the emperor. "As to his saying, that I was made to see every thing *à travers d'un voile de sang, ma foi, partout où l'on voit le bourreau, on voit du sang.* Las Cases certainly was greatly irritated against him, and contributed materially towards forming the impression existing upon my mind, because Las Cases is a man of a feeling mind, and extremely sensible to the ill treatment which has been put in practice towards me and himself. But I had no occasion for the assistance of Las Cases towards giving me that opinion, as the treatment I experienced was fully sufficient in itself to create it, and Montholon has merely written according to my orders."

20*th.*—Saw Napoleon in his bed-room in his morning gown. He spoke at length about some statements in Warden's book. "At one time I had appointed Talleyrand," said he, "to proceed on a mission to Warsaw, in order to arrange and or-

ganize the best method of accomplishing the separation of Poland from Russia. He had several conferences with me respecting this mission, which was a great surprise to the ministers, as Talleyrand had no official character at the time. Having married one of his relations to the Duchess of Courland, Talleyrand was very anxious to receive the appointment, that he might revive the claims of the Duchess's family. However, some money transactions of his were discovered at Vienna, which convinced me that he was carrying on his old game of corruption, and determined me not to employ him on the intended mission. I had designed at one time to have made him a cardinal, with which he refused to comply. Madame Grant threw herself twice upon her knees before me, in order to obtain permission to marry him, which I refused; but through the intreaties of Josephine, she succeeded on the second application. I afterwards forbade her the court, when I discovered the Genoa affair, of which I told you before. Latterly," continued he, "Talleyrand sunk into contempt."

"Ney," said he, "never made use of haughty language at Fontainbleau in my presence; on the contrary, he was always submissive before me, although in my absence he sometimes broke out into violence, as he was a man without education. If he had made use of unbecoming language to-

wards me at Fontainbleau, the troops would have torn him to pieces."

"Lavalette," added Napoleon, "knew nothing of my intended return from Elba, or of what was hatching there. Madame Lavalette was of the family of Beauharnais. She was a very fine woman. Louis my brother fell in love with and wanted to marry her; to prevent which I caused her to espouse Lavalette to whom she was attached."

"When Lavalette was director of posts," continued Napoleon, "I was desirous to be made acquainted with the sentiments of the nation relative to my administration. I appointed twelve persons, all of different ways of thinking, some jacobins, others royalists, some republicans, imperialists, &c. with a salary of a thousand francs a month, whose business it was to make monthly reports to Lavalette of the opinions which they had heard expressed and their own, relative to the public acts. These reports were brought to me unopened by Lavalette. After reading, and making extracts when necessary, I burned them. This was conducted so secretly, that even the ministers did not know of it."

Napoleon added, that he had never told Ney that he had entered France with the privity and support of England; that on the contrary he had always disclaimed and reprobated the idea of returning by the aid of foreign bayonets, and had

come purposely to overturn a dynasty upheld by them. That all he looked for was the support of the French nation, to which all his proclamations would bear witness. He afterwards delivered the following history of Pichegru's conspiracy.

"The doctor has given a very imperfect account of the part taken by Captain Wright in the conspiracy against me. In different nights of August, September, and December, 1803, and January, 1804, Wright landed Georges, Pichegru, Rivière, Coster, St. Victor, La Haye, St. Hilaire, and others, at Beville. The four last named had been accomplices in the former attempt to assassinate me by means of the infernal machine, and most of the rest were well known to be chiefs of the Chouans. They remained during the day in a little farm-house near to where they had landed, the proprietor of which had been bribed to assist them. They travelled only by night, pretending to be smugglers, concealing themselves in the daytime in lodgings which had been previously procured for them. They had plenty of money, and remained at Paris for some time without being discovered, although the police had some intimation that a plot was going on, through Mehée de la Touche, who although paid as a spy by your ministers,*

* Napoleon informed me that Mehée had received from Mr. Drake and other official persons nearly 200,000 francs.

disclosed every thing to the French police. He had several conferences with Drake, your charge d'affaires at Munich, from whom he received large sums of money. Some of the brigands who had been landed were arrested and interrogated By their answers it appeared that a man named Mussey, who lived at Offembourg, along with the Duke d'Enghien, was very active in corresponding with and sending money to those who had been secretly landed on the coasts; and most of whom could give no good reason why they had ventured to return to Paris at the imminent hazard of their lives, as they had not been included in the amnesty. The list of the prisoners and their answers on examination were submitted to me. I was very anxious, and on looking over it one night, I remarked that one of the number named Querel, was stated to be a surgeon. It immediately struck me that this man was not actuated by enthusiasm, or by a spirit of party, but by the hope of gain. He will therefore be more likely to confess than any of the others; and the fear of death will probably induce him to betray his accomplices. I ordered him to be tried as a Chouan; and according to the laws, he was condemned to death. It was not a mock trial, as Warden thought: on the contrary, while leading to execution, he demanded to be heard, and promised to make important disclosures. Information of this was brought to

me by Lauristan, and Querel was conducted back to prison, where he was interrogated by the grand judge Réal. He confessed that he had come from England, and had been landed in August, 1803, from Wright's ship, along with Georges and several others. That Georges was then in Paris, planning the assassination of the first consul. He also pointed out the houses where the other conspirators and himself had stopped on their way to Paris. Police officers were immediately sent to the place he had designated; and from the result of their inquiries it appeared that he had told the truth, and that since the time he had described, two other landings of similar gentry had been effected by Wright, with the last of whom there had been some person of consequence whose name they could not discover, and that they soon expected another cargo. The Duke of Rovigo, as I told you once before, was immediately sent to Beville with a party of the police, in the hope of being able to seize them. An emigrant, named Bouvet de Lozier, who has since been employed at the Isle of France, was also arrested. After he had been confined for some weeks he became desperate and hung himself in the prison one morning. The gaoler, who heard an uncommon noise in his room, went in and cut him down before life had departed. While he was recovering his senses he burst out into incoherent

exclamations, that Moreau had brought Pichegru from London. That he was a traitor, and had persuaded them that all the army were for him, and that he would prove the cause of their destruction. Those expressions excited an alarm. The police knew that a brother of Pichegru's who had once been a monk, lived in Paris. He was arrested and examined. He avowed that he had seen his brother a day or two before, and asked if it were a crime? Moreau was immediately arrested, and large rewards were offered by the police for the apprehension of Georges and Pichegru. Pichegru was betrayed by one of his old friends, who came to the police and offered to deliver him into their hands for a hundred thousand francs paid on the spot. Georges still continued to elude the vigilance of the police. I proclaimed the city of Paris to be in a state of siege, and no person was allowed to quit it unless by day, and through certain barriers, where were stationed people to whom the persons of the conspirators were familiar. About three weeks afterwards, Georges was betrayed and taken, after having shot one of the men who tried to arrest him. All his accomplices were subsequently taken. Pichegru did not deny having been employed by the Bourbons and behaved with great audacity. Afterwards finding his case desperate, he strangled himself in the prison. The rest of the conspirators were publicly

tried in the month of May before the tribunal of the department of the Seine, and in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors in Paris. Georges, Polignac, Rivière, Coster, and sixteen or seventeen others were found guilty of having conspired against the life of the chief magistrate of the French nation, and condemned to death. Georges, Coster, and seven or eight more were executed. Rivière was pardoned, partly by the prayers of Murat. I pardoned some of the others also. Moreau was condemned to two years imprisonment, which was commuted into banishment to America. Jules de Polignac, confidant of the Count d'Artois, and many others, were also condemned to imprisonment.

"It was discovered," continued Napoleon, "by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the Duke d'Enghien was an accomplice, and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France for the news of my assassination, upon receiving which he was to have entered France as the king's lieutenant. Was I to suffer that the Count d'Artois should send a parcel of miscreants to murder me, and that a prince of his house should hover on the borders of the country that I governed to profit by my assassination. According to the laws of nature, I was authorized to cause him to be assassinated in retaliation for the numerous attempts of the kind that he had before caused to be made

against me. I gave orders to have him seized. He was tried and condemned by a law made long before I had any power in France. He was tried by a military commission formed of all the colonels of the regiments then in garrison at Paris. He was accused of having borne arms against the republic, which he did not deny. When before the tribunal, he behaved with great bravery. When he arrived at Strasburg, he wrote a letter to me, in which he offered to discover every thing if pardon were granted to him, said that his family had lost their claims for a long time, and concluded by offering his services to me. This letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it until after his execution. Had the Count d'Artois been in his place he would have suffered the same fate; and were I now placed under similar circumstances, I would act in a similar manner. As the police," added Napoleon, "did not like to trust to the evidence of Mehée de la Touche alone, they sent Captain Rosey, (a man in whose integrity they had every confidence,) to Drake at Munich, with a letter from Mehée, which procured him an interview, the result of which confirmed Mehée's statement, that he was concerned in a plot to *terrasser le premier consul*, no matter by what means."*

* While the Duke d'Enghien was on his trial, Madame la Maréchal Bessière said to Colonel Ordèner, who had arrested him, "Are there no possible means to save that *malheureux?* Has his guilt been

23*rd*.—Napoleon dressed and in the billiard-room. In very good humour. Gave him some libels upon himself. They were all in French, and amongst others was "*Mémoires secrets*," "*Bonaparte peint par lui même*," and which excited his laughter.

Napoleon then asked several questions about the governor. I said that Sir Hudson had desired me to say, a few days ago, that he had every wish to accommodate, and that he thought that Las Cases, Warden, and Mrs. Skelton,* and some others, had been the means of producing much ill-blood, and a great deal of misunderstanding. Napoleon replied, "*S'inganna* (he is deceived). In the first place, it was the badness of his physiognomy *(era sua cattiva faccia)*; next his wanting to force me to receive the visit of an officer twice in the twenty-

established beyond a doubt?" "Madame," replied Colonel Ordèner, "I found in his house sacks of papers sufficient to compromise the half of France."—The duke was executed in the morning, and not by torch-light as has been represented.

* Mrs. Skelton was accused by the governor of having told Napoleon one day at dinner, that from experience she knew he would not always find Longwood pleasant. That at certain times of the year it was a damp, disagreeable, bleak, and unhealthy residence; as a proof of which, she mentioned that she never could succeed in rearing poultry there; while down in the company's garden, situated in a sheltered valley, about four hundred yards distant, she had no difficulty in bringing them up. Mrs. Skelton and family had resided at Longwood a few months in each year for four or five years before Napoleon arrived.

four hours; then the letter to Bertrand; his wishing that I should send you away, and to give me a surgeon of his own choice; the manner in which he spoke to me about the wooden house; his letters full of softness, accompanying the train of vexations which followed; and his always leaving something doubtful which he could afterwards interpret as best suited his views. In fact, he wanted, by shewing that he could render things disagreeable, to compel us to bend, and submissively demand pardon of him, go to Plantation House, and be his very humble servants."

"It appears that Warden has been informed," added Napoleon, "that I applied some lines of Shakespeare to Madame Montholon. You well know that I could not then, nor can I now, quote English verse, nor have I ever intended to convey a reflection on Madame Montholon. On the contrary, I think that she possesses more firmness and *caractère* than most of her sex."

24*th.*—Napoleon complained of swellings in his legs, for which I recommended some simple remedies, which he put in practice.

He afterwards observed that he had been reading all yesterday the Secret Memoirs of himself, Pichon's work, &c. "These libels," said he, "have done me more good than harm in France, because they irritated the nation both against the writers, and the Bourbons who paid them, by re-

presenting me as a monster, and by the improbable and scandalous falsehoods they contained against me, and the government under me, which were degrading to them as a nation. Even Chateaubriand has done me good by his work. Pichon, the author of the state of France under Bonaparte, had been consul in America, and was disgraced by me for having embezzled three millions, part of which he was obliged to refund, as I was very particular with consuls and other agents, and always examined their accounts myself. This Pichon, after he had published his libel, was sent by me to London as a spy after my return from Elba; at least, he was so far sent by me, that I suffered it, because, although he was *un coquin*, he had some *esprit*, and on account of the nature of his writings, would not be suspected. You see what dependance is to be placed upon writers of libels. This man, who in 1814 had written such a libel against me, went in 1815 as a spy for the police of the very person whom he had so grossly libelled."

25*th*.—Napoleon in his bath. His legs much better. In very good spirits. "It appears, Mr. Doctor," said he, "from the books you lent me, that at a very early age I poisoned a girl; that I poisoned others for the mere pleasure of poisoning; that I assassinated Desaix, Kleber, the Duke of Abrantes, and I know not how many others:

that I went to the army of Italy, consisting of some thousand galley-slaves, who were extremely happy to see me, as being one of their fraternity. It is surprising what things are believed on both sides, in consequence of not having had communication with each other. In France, if a house was burnt down, the vulgar attributed it to the English. Pitt, Pitt, was the cry directly. Nothing could persuade the French *canaille* that the conflagration at Lyon had not been effected by the English. In like manner, you English believed every thing bad of me, which belief was always encouraged by your ministers. Your **** also, with the exception of Fox, who was sincere in his desire for peace, encouraged *** against me." Here I made some observations in disbelief of the assertion, to which Napoleon replied, "When they furnished ships to land, and money to support, men whose professed object was to assassinate me, was not that being privy to it?" I said that they had furnished ships and money to assist in accomplishing a revolution, but without having known that assassination formed part of their plans. "Doctor," replied Napoleon, "you are a child. They knew it well. Fifty or sixty brigands, the most of them notorious for assassination, could have no other mode of effecting a revolution. They had republished in London at the same time a book called, '*Killing no Murder.*'

which had been originally printed in Cromwell's time; for the purpose of inculcating a belief that assassinating me was not only not a crime, but that it would be a praiseworthy and meritorious action. Fox indeed was of a contrary opinion. That great man wrote to Talleyrand, and informed him that a *coquin* had come that morning to him with a proposal to assassinate me."

"When I was at Elba," added Nopoleon, "I was visited by an English nobleman, a Catholic, about thirty years old, and from Northumberland, I believe. He had dined a few weeks before with the Duke de Fleury, with whom he had a conversation relative to the sum of money to be allowed me annually by France, according to the agreement that had been signed by the ministers of the allied powers. The duke laughed at him for supposing for a moment that it would be complied with, and said, that they were not such fools. This was one of the reasons which induced me to quit Elba. I do not believe that Castlereagh thought I would have ventured to leave it, as otherwise some frigates would have been stationed about the island. If they had kept a frigate in the harbour, and another outside, it would have been impossible for me to have gone to France, except alone, which I never would have attempted. If even the king of France had ordered a frigate with a picked crew to cruise off the island, it

would have prevented me." I asked if he thought that it had been the intention of the allies to have sent him to St. Helena? "Why," replied the emperor, "it was much spoken of. However, Colonel Campbell denied it. They must have sent an army to take me, I could have held out for some months. But there were many violations of the treaty of Fontainbleau by the allies, which authorized and obliged me to take the step I did. Independent of what I have told you, it was stipulated and agreed to, that all the members of my family should be allowed to follow me to Elba; but in violation of that, my wife and child were seized, detained, and never permitted to join a husband and a father. They were also to have had the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which they were deprived of. By the treaty Prince Eugene was to have had a principality in Italy, which was never given. My mother and brothers were to receive pensions, which were also refused to them. My own private property, and the savings which I had made on the civil list, were to have been preserved for me. Instead of that, they were seized in the hands of Labouillerie, the treasurer, contrary to the treaty, and all claims made by me rejected. The private property of my family was to be held sacred; it was confiscated. The dotations assigned to the army on the Mont Napoleon, were to be preserved, they were

suppressed; nor were the hundred thousand francs, which were to be given as pensions to persons pointed out by me, ever paid. Moreover, assassins were sent to Elba to murder me. Never," continued Napoleon, "have the terms of a treaty been more evidently violated, and, indeed, openly scoffed at, than those were by the allies, and yet your ministers had the impudence to tell the nation, that I was the first violator of the treaty of Fontainbleau."

I observed that the allies had given as a reason for their conduct towards him, that he had aimed at universal dominion. "No," replied the emperor, "I certainly wished to render France the most powerful nation in the world, but no further. I did not aim at universal dominion. It was my intention to have made Italy an independent kingdom. There are natural bounds for France, which I did not intend to pass. It was my object to prevent England from being able to go to war with France, without assistance from some of the great continental powers, without which, indeed, she ought never to venture."

Had some conversation about Ferdinand of Spain. "When Ferdinand was at Valençay," said Napoleon, "he always expressed great hatred of the English, and declared, that the first thing he would do, on his return to Spain, would be to

re-establish the Inquisition. You English will find one day, that by restoring him, you have done yourselves a great national injury. While at Valençay, he said that he would prefer remaining in France to returning to Spain, and wrote several times to me, begging of me to adopt and give him a Frenchwoman in marriage."

"I observe now," added he, "that as your ministers and the Bourbonists cannot any longer deny that I have done some good to France, they endeavour to turn it, by saying, that whatever good I effected was done through the persuasions of Josephine. For example, they say that it was Josephine who induced me to recall the emigrants. Now the fact is, that Josephine was the most amiable and the best of women, but she never interfered with politics. Their object is to persuade the world that I am incapable of a good action. But your English travellers will produce a great change in the opinion of their nation."

Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, Captains Stanfell and Festing, of the navy, came up and had an interview with Napoleon. When they came out, Captain ** expressed his astonishment at finding Napoleon so different a person to what he was reported. "Instead of being a rough, impatient, and imperious character," said he, "I found him to be mild, gentle in his manner, and

one of the pleasantest men I ever saw. I shall *never* forget him, nor how different he is from the idea I had been led to form of him."

Sir Pulteney Malcolm expressed to me his ardent wish that matters might be accommodated between Napoleon and the governor, adding, that two opportunities of effecting it would soon present themselves, viz. the arrival of Lord Amherst, and of Admiral Plampin; that he much wished that *both* should be introduced by Sir Hudson Lowe, and, indeed, thought that Lord Amherst could not be introduced by any other person.

Napoleon, accompanied by Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, and their husbands, walked down into the wood. On their return, chairs were brought out and placed in front of the billiard-room, where they remained for some time after sun-set.

26*th*.—Napoleon conversed a good deal about the battle of Waterloo. "The plan of the battle," said he, "will not in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place, he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading to the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army,

without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing any thing about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shewn that vigour and genius which they had displayed in other times, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied that they saw an army of a hundred thousand men everywhere opposed to them. I had not time enough myself to attend to the *minutiæ* of the army. I accounted upon surprising and cutting them up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock; but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favour. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me, I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about seventy thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were cavalry. I had also two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good, that I esteemed them sufficient to beat a hundred and twenty thousand. Now Lord Wellington had under his command about ninety thousand, and, two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and Bulow had thirty thousand, making a hundred and twenty thousand. Of all those troops,

however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from thirty-five to forty thousand. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the continent; and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left thirty-four thousand men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten, and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them; instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this, the English attack succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve, which however occurred here, whether in consequence of treason,

or not, I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

"If Lord Wellington had entrenched himself," continued he, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not shew talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy; but a little must be taken away even from that when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that, had he made the attempt, not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest obstinacy and courage, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blucher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit due as a general; because he, although beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but in the eye of the historian, his military reputation will gain nothing by it."

Napoleon then spoke about the libels upon himself which I had collected for him. "As yet," said he, you have not procured me one that is worthy of an answer. Would you have me sit

down and reply to Goldsmith, Pichon, or the Quarterly Review? They are so contemptible and so absurdly false, that they do not merit any other notice than to write *faux, faux,* in every page, The only truth I have seen in them is, that one day I met an officer, Rapp, I believe, in the field of battle, with his face covered with blood, and that I cried, *oh, comme il est beau!* This is true enough; and of it they have made a crime. My admiration of the gallantry of a brave soldier is construed into a crime, and a proof of my delighting in blood. But posterity will do me that justice which is denied to me now. If I were that tyrant, that monster, would the people and the army have flown to join me with the enthusiasm they shewed when I landed from Elba with a handful of men? Could I have marched to Paris, and have seated myself upon the throne without a musquet having been fired? Ask the French nation? Ask the Italian?"

"I have," continued he, "been twice married. Political motives induced me to divorce my first wife, whom I tenderly loved. She, poor woman, fortunately for herself, died in time to prevent her witnessing the last of my misfortunes. Let Marie Louise be asked with what tenderness and affection I always treated her. After her forcible separation from me, she avowed in the most feeling terms to *** her ardent desire to join me, ex-

tolled with many tears both myself and my conduct to her, and bitterly lamented her cruel separation, avowing her ardent desire to join me in my exile. Is this the result of the conduct of a merciless, unfeeling tyrant? A man is known by his conduct to his wife, to his family, and to those under him. I have doubtless erred more or less in politics, but a crime I have never committed. The doctor in his book makes me say that I never committed an useless crime, which is equivalent to saying that I have not scrupled to commit one when I had any object in view, which I deny altogether. I have never wished but the glory and the good of France. All my faculties were consecrated to that object, but I never employed crime or assassination to forward it."

"The Duke d'Enghien, who was engaged upon the frontiers of my territories in a plot to assassinate me, I caused to be seized and given up to justice which condemned him. He had a fair trial. Let your ministers and the Bourbons do their utmost to calumniate me, the truth will be discovered. *Le mensonge passe, la vérité reste.* Let them employ all dishonourable means like Lord C****, who, not content with sending me here, has had the baseness to make me speak and to put such words into my mouth as he thinks will best answer his views. *C'est un homme ignoble.* Perhaps they wish me to live for a short time, and

do not put me to death, in order to make me say whatever will suit their purposes. The ruin of England was never my intention. We were enemies and I did my utmost to gain the upper hand. England did the same. After the treaty of Amiens I would always have made a peace, placing the two countries upon equal terms as to commercial relations."

I mentioned that I had conceived he had once expressed to me that his intentions had been to have united England to France, if he had found himself sufficiently powerful. He replied, "I said that I could not unite two nations so dissimilar. I intended, if I had succeeded in my projected descent, to have abolished the monarchy, and established a republic instead of the oligarchy by which you are governed. I would have separated Ireland from England; the former of which I would have made an independent republic. No, no; I would have left them to themselves after having sown the seeds of republicanism in their *morale*."

I told the emperor then, that Lord Amherst, (the late British ambassador to China,) was expected here in a few days. He said, he thought the English ministers had acted wrong in not having ordered him to comply with the customs of the place he was sent to, or otherwise not to have sent him at all. I observed, that the English would consider it as debasing to the nation, if

Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the manner required. That if such a point was conceded, the Chinese would probably not be contented, and would require similar ceremonies to be performed as those insisted upon by the Japanese, and complied with so disgracefully by the Dutch. That, besides, Lord Amherst was willing to pay the same obeisance to the emperor as he would do to his own king. Napoleon replied, "It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony, performed by all the great men of the nation to their chief, and the other is a national degradation required of strangers, and of strangers only. It is my opinion, that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, you kiss the king's hand at court. Such a thing in France would be considered ridiculous, and the person who did it would be held up to public scorn; but still the French ambassador who performed it in England, would not be considered to have degraded himself. In England, some hundred years back, the king was served kneeling, the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy, you kiss the pope's toe, yet it is not considered as a degradation. A man who goes into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use

there, and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to have submitted to such ceremonies before the emperor of China, as are performed by the first mandarins of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such respect as was paid to his own king. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they must perform certain ceremonies, because such are practised in England. Suppose now, for the sake of example, that it were the custom in England, instead of kissing the king's hand, that he should offer his breech to be kissed by those who were presented to him; why then, forsooth, the Emperor of China must let down his breeches, ————————, because it was the practice in England."

These observations were delivered with such suitable action, and significant gestures, that I could not help, for some moments, giving vent very freely to laughter, in which the emperor good humouredly joined.

If I," continued he, "had sent an ambassador to China, I would have ordered him to make himself acquainted with the ceremonies performed before the emperor, by the first mandarins; and, if required, to do the same himself, and no more. Now, perhaps, you will lose the friendship of the nation, and great commercial advantages, through this piece of nonsense." I said, that we could

easily compel the Chinese to grant good terms by means of a few ships of war; that, for example, we could deprive them altogether of salt, by a few cruizers properly stationed. Napoleon replied, "It would be the worst thing you have done for a number of years, to go to war with an immense empire like China, and possessing so many resources. You would doubtless, at first, succeed, take what vessels they have, and destroy their trade; but you would teach them their own strength. They would be compelled to adopt measures to defend themselves against you; they would consider, and say, 'we must try to make ourselves equal to this nation. Why should we suffer a people, so far away, to do as they please to us? We must build ships, we must put guns into them, we must render ourselves equal to them.' They would," continued the emperor, "get artificers and ship-builders from France and America, and even from London; they would build a fleet, and, in the course of time, defeat you."

I observed that it was likely Lord Amherst would wait upon him. Napoleon replied, "if he is to be presented by the governor, or if the latter sends one of his staff with him, I will not receive him; if he comes with the admiral, I shall. Neither will I receive the new admiral if he is to be introduced by the governor. In his last letter there is an insult to us. He says, that we may go round by

Miss Mason's, but that we must not go off the main road.* Where is this main road? I never could find any. If I were obliged to step aside a few yards for any occasion I should be exposed to be shot at by a sentinel. The admiral, when he was here last, spoke like his advocate, and wanted me to receive him with Lord Amherst. I would not receive my own son if he were to be presented by him!"

27*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. Gave me some explanations touching what had been said of his having kept secret from his soldiers in Egypt for a long time that the plague had got into the army. "I," said he, "*once* touched a soldier in the hospital who was infected, with a view to convince the troops that the disease was not the plague; and I believe that I succeeded for fifteen days in persuading them that it was only a fever, with buboes. I rarely practised visiting the hospital," continued he, "as the extreme sensibility of my nose was such, that the smell always made me ill, on which account I was advised by Corvisart and my other physicians not to attempt it. Even during my campaigns in Europe I seldom visited them."

29*th.*—The emperor again in his bath. Conversed about the English manufacturers, blamed

* The *main road* is a path impassable by wheel-carriages.

the ministers for not having availed themselves of circumstances that had existed to make a favourable commercial treaty with Spain and Portugal. "If," added he, "I were now on the throne of France, Ferdinand would be my friend. As long as the Spaniards and Portuguese retain their colonies in South America, so long will they be against England. The world is too enlightened to allow you to usurp the whole of the trade and manufactures. I, myself, during my reign, gave up near five hundred convents, without any payment, to individuals, on the sole condition of their engaging to establish a manufactory in each. Moreover, I lent them out of my own pocket upwards of fifty millions of francs to enable them to go on, which they were to retain for nine years, without paying any interest, after which term the principal was to be returned. In England, your machines are so numerous, that in a short time you would have had no occasion for hands." I observed, that the prevalence of machinery was one cause of the great distress in England. "But," replied Napoleon, "you were obliged to have recourse to the aid of machinery, because the necessaries of life are twice as dear in England as on the continent, and your taxes six times greater, and also because other nations have them. Otherwise, you could not have sold your manufactures as cheap

as they could, and consequently would not find purchasers. In Germany and Switzerland, for example, there were a great number of machines."

He spoke again about Lord Amherst, and observed, that it would be an insult to ask a Chinese ambassador if there were one in London, to perform similar ceremonies there, as were required of the English ambassador at Pekin, because it was not the custom of the country he was in. "For example," said he, "if the king of France were to require the English ambassador to kiss his hand, it would be an insult to him, because it is not the custom in France, although *his ambassador* did it in London. In like manner to ask a mandarin to perform a similar ceremony before king George's picture is a *bêtise* and an insult to China; because it is not the custom of the place. An ambassador is for the *affairs*, and not for the *ceremonies* of the country he belongs to. He becomes the same as one of the first nobles of the country he is in, and should conform to the same ceremonies. If any thing *more* were required of him, then indeed he ought to refuse his consent."

31*st*.—Dined at Plantation House in company with Count Balmaine, Baron and Baroness Sturmer, Captain Gor, &c. The commissioners very anxious to know something about Napoleon. Told Baron Sturmer, with whom I had a long conversation, that Napoleon had said when he read

a letter in the newspapers which was attributed to the Marquis Montchenu, that it was another proof of the imbecility of *l'ancienne noblesse de France, que ces messieurs là sont toujours les mêmes.*

April 2nd.—Saw Napoleon, who was in tolerable spirits. I asked if it were true that he had been induced to quit Egypt by his having received private information that the directory purposed to get him assassinated there? "No," replied the emperor, "I never heard, or thought so; neither had the directory any intention of causing it to be done. They were jealous of me certainly, but they had no idea of the kind; and in the actual situation of France, I do not think that they wished it. I returned from Egypt because my presence was necessary to the republic, and because the first object of the expedition had been gained by the conquest of Egypt." I asked if the project had originated with him, or with the directory. "With both one and the other," replied Napoleon, "We both thought of it at the same time."

Told him what I had said to Baron Sturmer about Montchenu. "For the credit of France," said he, "they ought to have sent out amongst the English some person possessed of a little talent, instead of an old imbecile."

Mr. and Misses Churchill from India came up yesterday to see Madame Bertrand, for the pur-

pose of having an interview with Napoleon. His excellency, however, took an effectual mode of preventing it, by sending up Sir Thomas Reade to accompany them. It is probable that Napoleon, who is very partial to female society, and was informed that the young ladies were highly accomplished, and spoke French fluently, would have managed to have met them *accidentally*, had not Sir Thomas been an attentive listener close to their sides during the whole time.

Captain Cook, of the Tortoise, and Mr. Mackenzie, midshipman of the same ship, came up to Longwood. Mr. Mackenzie had been midshipman on board of the Undaunted, Captain Usher, when the emperor took a passage in that ship to Elba. Capt. Cook told me, that after waiting some time on the look out, they saw Napoleon walking in the garden, who sent for and asked them many questions. He recollected Mr. Mackenzie, observed that he had grown much since he had seen him before, and made some inquiries about Capt. Usher. He asked Captain Cook how long he had been in the service? to which he replied, "Thirty years." He seemed surprised at this, and asked what actions? Cook mentioned, amongst others, Trafalgar. Napoleon asked the name of the ship he belonged to, and divers questions about the battle, where he came from, and concluded by asking him where he was going to

dine? "At camp," was the reply; "at camp, then take care," said Napoleon, "that you do not get drunk."

Cipriani in town, making the usual purchases.

3*rd*.—Napoleon observed, that he had seen yesterday an old seaman, which he expressed in English. "He looks," said he, "like a seaman *e pare un brav'uomo*. There was with him a midshipman who was on board of the frigate with Usher, when I took a passage in her to Elba. He is much grown," continued he, "but I recollected him." I told him that the midshipman had said, the ship's company of the Undaunted had liked him, (Napoleon,) very much. "Yes," replied Napoleon, "I believe they did; I used to go amongst them, speak to them kindly, and ask different questions. My freedom in this respect quite astonished them, as it was so different from that which they had been accustomed to receive from their own officers. You English are *aristocrats*. You keep a great distance between yourselves and the *popolo*."* I observed that on board of a man-of-war, it was necessary to keep the seamen at a great distance in order to maintain a proper respect for the officers. "I do not think," replied the emperor, "that it is necessary to keep up so much as you practise. When the officers do not eat or drink, or make too many freedoms with them, I see no necessity for any greater distinc-

* People.

tions. Nature formed all men equal. It was always my custom to go amongst the soldiers and the *canaille*, to converse with them, ask their little histories, and speak kindly to them. This I found to be of the greatest benefit to me. On the contrary, the generals and officers, *li trattai poco bene*, and kept them at a great distance.

"I asked," continued he, "the *old seaman* where he was to dine, and cautioned him not to get drunk. He told me he was married, and had no children. I asked him what he intended to do with his money. He said that he would leave it to an hospital. I then asked him if he had any nephews or nieces, and recommended him to leave his riches to them, instead of to an hospital.

"You brought a book," said he, "about the battle of Waterloo, to Gourgaud. The author says that I am an *imbecille*, that my army was a set of robbers, and that I committed one of the greatest blunders of which a military man could be guilty, by engaging Lord Wellington with a forest in his rear. Now the great fault in Lord Wellington was having engaged me in a position with a forest in his rear, with only one road leading to it; for in case of a defeat he could not have retreated. To effect a retreat well, it is necessary to have several roads by which your army can retire in large bodies, and with celerity; and also be able to defend themselves if attacked. It would

have required twelve hours, without being molested, to enable Wellington's army to have got into the forest. The confusion of a beaten army attempting to retreat by *one* road, would have been such as to cause its total destruction when attacked. Another libeller says that I conquered Italy with a few thousand *galley-slaves*. Now the fact is, that probably so fine an army never had existed before. More than one half of them were men of education, the sons of merchants, of lawyers, of physicians, or of the better order of farmers and *bourgeosie*. Two thirds of them knew how to write, and were capable of being made officers. Indeed, in a regiment it would have puzzled me to decide who were the most deserving subjects, or who best merited promotion; as they were all so good. Oh," continued he with emotion, "that all my armies had been the same! When on a march, I frequently called to the soldiers for some one to come forward, and write from my dictation. I was surrounded directly by dozens eager to undertake it, as there were few who did not write like a clerk.

"If," continued he, "the French army had even been a set of brigands, which was not the case, it ill becomes a Frenchman to say so. But for your purposes, you have found worse Frenchmen than Louis has yet found Englishmen. Perhaps there is more nationality, more public spirit

than in France. You are islanders. *C'è lo spirito isolare.* And, besides, you have not had a revolution so lately as in France. To form a correct judgment of the two nations, it would be necessary to see both immediately after a revolution. Moreover, your ministers have many Frenchmen in pay to write whatever is pointed out to them, against their own country."

Napoleon then asked if we kept Good Friday sacred, if we fasted, and what was our mode of doing so? I replied that we did observe it; that *protestants* seldom fasted; but that when we practised it, we abstained altogether from food. That we did not consider avoiding animal food, and gorging with turbot, or with any other delicate fish, as fasting: "You are right," said the emperor, "You are perfectly right. If one fasts at all it ought to be from every thing, or else it does not deserve the name. *Oh come gli uomini son bestie,* to believe that abstaining from flesh, and eating fish, which is so much more delicate and delicious, constitutes fasting. *Povero uomo.*"

"Before my reign," said he, "the oath taken by the French kings was *to exterminate all heretics!* At my coronation, *I* swore to *protect all worships!* Louis has not yet sworn, because he has not been crowned, and in all probability, through fear of you and of the Prussians, will not take the oath of extermination; not that he has

not the will, on the contrary, he would with pleasure both swear and *cause it to be effected.* For the family of the Bourbons are the most intolerant upon earth. The English will yet discover what they are."

Napoleon afterwards spoke about Hoche.—"Hoche," said he, "was one of the first generals that ever France produced. He was brave, intelligent, abounding in talent, decisive, and penetrating; *intrigant* also. If Hoche had landed in Ireland, he would have succeeded. He possessed all the qualities necessary to insure success. He was accustomed to civil war, and knew how to conduct himself under such circumstances. He had pacified La Vendée, and was well adapted for Ireland. He had a fine handsome figure, a good address; he was prepossessing and intriguing, but by some imbecility he was placed on board of a frigate which never reached the Irish coast, while the rest of the expedition of about eighteen thousand men, got into Bantry Bay, where they remained for some days perfectly masters of the means of disembarkation. But Grouchy, who I believe was second in command, did not know what to do; so that after having had it in their power to land and send the ships away, as they ought to have done, they remained a short time, did nothing, and then departed like *imbecilles.* If Hoche had arrived, Ireland was lost to you."

"If the Irish," added he, "had sent over honest men to me, I would have certainly made an attempt upon Ireland. But I had no confidence in either the integrity or the talents of the Irish leaders that were in France. They could offer no plan, were divided in opinion, and continually quarrelling with one another. I had but a poor opinion of the integrity of that O'Conner who was so much spoken of amongst you."

4th.—Napoleon dressed and in the billiard-room. In very good spirits. Spoke about the Admiralty; asked who signed the commissions of naval officers? Was surprised when I informed him that none were signed by the king. "What, was not Nelson's commission signed by King George?" I replied in the negative, and said that none but officers of the army and marines had commissions signed by the king; that his majesty had nothing to do with naval promotions. "Who appoints the Admiralty?" said Napoleon. I replied, "the sovereign." "Then," said he, "it is a humbug; for if the king wishes to give a command to an admiral, or to promote an officer, he has nothing more to do than to signify his desire to the Admiralty, who would not dare to refuse him, through fear of losing their own places." I observed in reply, that it had been said that the sovereign had at times caused the appointment of an admiral and commander in chief not exactly agreeable

to the wishes of the Admiralty; but that in such cases, it was at the option of the lords of the Admiralty to confirm or not the promotions made by him, excepting certain vacancies which by right or by custom were in his gift. "Bah," said Napoleon, "if they did not confirm the promotions, would not the king dismiss them from their places? The king can promote whom he likes. He has great power, because he appoints the ministers, and commands those who have the direction of every thing. Ministers, unless in rare instances, love their places too well to run the risk of losing them, by refusing to comply with the wishes of the sovereign. It has happened to myself that a minister has said, 'Sire, I cannot agree to this. It is contrary to my opinion, and I will sooner resign than comply.'"

I remarked that several instances were not wanting in England of ministers having given up their places rather than comply with the wishes of the crown, in acting against their principles. That the king of England had considerable power over the army and the navy; but that over independent persons not military, naval, placemen, or place-hunters, he had only the influence which arose from their being conscious of the rectitude of his measures. "And what more had I in France?" said Napoleon, "what could I effect unless with those classes that you have excepted?" I ventured

to observe that in France there was neither liberty of speech, nor of the press, and that a man might be thrown into prison for opposing the measures of government, and detained there for an indefinite period. Napoleon replied, "There certainly was not in France that freedom of discussion which prevails in England; although sometimes there was a very strong opposition in the senate; nor was there so much freedom of speech or liberty of the press; but what could I have done to a banker, or to other independent persons who opposed my measures? Put them in prison, vex and annoy them by arrestations? They could appeal to the senate and to the laws. Besides, it would have been an unworthy mode of acting. I do not deny that the old constitution of France was a very bad one, and required to be newly modified; but that constitution which I gave them when I returned from Elba was excellent; indeed its only fault was that it left too little power in my hands, and perhaps too much in those of the senate. I could not imprison a man without a decree, order a fine, impose taxes, or levy them by conscription; and there was a law for the liberty of the press." I said that his enemies had asserted that the constitution he had given was only for the moment; and that when firmly seated on the throne, he would have brought back things to the old system. "No, no," replied the emperor, "I

would have continued the last constitution; I was well convinced that the old one required a great change. I suppose that it was Lord Castlereagh who made the assertion; but you must not believe Lord Castlereagh. You know what falsehoods he publicly asserted about me since I came here. I should not be surprised if they were to falsify all the official papers, as they have already done those concerning Murat and myself. When I returned from Elba, I found all the *apparatus*. They had falsified a number of the state papers, with the intention of publishing them. M. Blacas had the direction of the whole; but it was a priest who managed and executed it. The same had been done before to Murat's papers. The fabrications were shewn to some Englishmen. Blacas in like manner falsified a letter from a *femme de chambre* of my sister Pauline, containing seven or eight pages of *bavardage*. He had it interpolated so as to make it appear that I had slept with my sister! This Blacas is a wicked man, and a blockhead withal. He was base enough to leave behind him at Paris letters signed by the writers themselves, containing the offers of all those in France who had betrayed me before, by which, if I had pleased, I could have executed thousands. I did not however make any use of them further than remembering their names. Now a greater proof of imbecility and of treachery could

not have been given than this conduct of Blacas; those letters ought to have been the very first things put into a state of security, or destroyed; as they compromised the lives of so many persons. But M. Blacas was only intent upon saving his *quattrini*;* and gave himself but little concern about the lives of those who had been the means of bringing himself and his master back. He was then minister of the king's household. Every thing was trusted to him by Louis, who is himself incapable, and whose chief qualities are dissimulation and hypocrisy. His legs are covered with ulcers, which are dressed for him by the Duchess of Angouléme. He gorges to that degree every day, that they are obliged to give him God knows what to enable him to disencumber himself of his load. Some morning he will be found dead in his bed. He has some ignorant *imbecilles* of physicians about him. They wanted Corvisart to attend him, but he refused, saying, that if any accident happened he might be accused of having contributed to his end. When I returned to the Thuilleries I found my apartments poisoned with the smell of his legs, and of divers sulphureous baths which he was in the habit of using."

"These Bourbons are the most timorous race imaginable," continued Napoleon; "put them in fear, and you may obtain any thing. While I was

* Money.

at Elba, an actress named Mademoiselle Raucoudied. She was greatly beloved by the public, and an immense concourse of people went to her funeral. When they arrived at the Church of St. Roch to have the funeral service performed over the corpse, they found the doors shut, and admittance was refused to it. Nor would they allow it to be buried in consecrated ground, for by the old regulations of those priests people of her profession were excluded from Christian burial. The populace broke open the doors with sledges, and perceiving that there was no priest to perform the funeral service, they became clamorous, their rage knew no bounds. They cried, *au château, au château des Thuilleries.* We will see what right these priests have to refuse interment to a Christian corpse. Their fury was heightened still more by learning that the very *coquin*, the curate of St. Roch, who had refused Christian burial to the corpse of Mademoiselle Raucour, had been in the constant habit of receiving presents from her, both for himself and for the poor, (for she was extremely charitable) and had dined and supped with her repeatedly. Moreover, that he had actually administered the sacrament to her a few days before her demise. The populace cried out, here is a *canaille* of a priest, who administers the sacrament to a woman, and afterwards denies her body Christian burial. If she

was worthy of the sacrament, she surely is worthy of burial. He receives her benefactions, eats her dinners, and refuses her body interment. About fifty thousand of them went to the Thuilleries to seek redress from the king. An architect, who was in the inner apartments at the time, told me that he was present when Louis was first informed of it. Not being then aware that the mob was so numerous, Louis said, 'the curate is right. Those players are ungodly gentry, they are excommunicated, and have no right to Christian burial.' A few minutes afterwards Blacas entered in great fright, and said, that there were above seventy thousand furious people about the palace, and that he was afraid they would pull it down about them. Louis, almost out of his senses with fear, cried out to give immediate orders to have the body buried according to the rites of the church, and actually hurried some persons away to see it instantly carried into execution. He was not clear of his terror for some days. Those priests tried an experiment of a similar nature with me respecting the body of a beautiful dancer, but *per Dio*, (said he with emotion) they had not Louis to deal with. I soon settled the affair."

"I," continued Napoleon, "rendered all the burying places independent of the priests. I hated friars, *(frati)*, and was the annihilator of them and of their receptacles of crime, the monas-

teries, where every vice was practised with impunity. A set of miscreants, *(scelerati)*, who in general are a dishonour to the human race. Of priests I would have always allowed a sufficient number, but no *frati*.

After this, I observed to the emperor, that it had been asserted, that after having at first refused to agree to the peace proposed by the allies at Chatillon, he had sent a messenger to inform Lord Castlereagh that he had changed his mind, and was willing to agree to the terms which had been offered; but Lord Castlereagh had replied, "that it was too late, and that they had determined upon their measures."* Napoleon answered, "it is false. I never would consent to the peace at Chatillon, because I had sworn to preserve the integrity of the empire, rather than deviate from which, I wrote to Caulaincourt that I would abdicate. I would have agreed to the terms proposed at Francfort, where the Rhine was to form the boundaries of France, as being the natural ones."†

* This information was given to me by Sir Hudson Lowe.

† The following extract of a letter from the Duke of Vicenza may not be uninteresting:—

Sir—In a work of M. Koch, entitled, "*Campagne de* 1814," several fragments of letters written by me to the emperor and to the Prince de Neufchatel, during the congress at Chatillon, are inserted.

As to the congress of Chatillon, if events have justified the de-

I took the liberty to observe, that it might naturally be supposed that he would not have ad-

sire which I had to see peace restored to my country, it would be unjust to leave France and history ignorant of the motives of national interest and honour which induced the emperor to refuse signing the conditions which the allies desired to impose upon us.

I fulfil, therefore, the first of duties, that of equity and truth, in making known those motives, by the following extract from the orders of the emperor.

Paris, January 19*th*, 1814. "That which the emperor insists on the most, is the necessity of France preserving her limits. This is a *sine qua non* condition. All the powers, even England, have recognized these limits at Francfort. France reduced to her ancient limits, would not have to-day two thirds of the relative power which she possessed twenty years ago. What she has acquired on the side of the Alps and of the Rhine, does not compensate what Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have acquired by the sole dismemberment of Poland. All these states are aggrandized. To wish to bring back France to its ancient state, would be to bring it to decay and degradation. France, without the departments of the Rhine, without Belgium, without Ostend, without Antwerp, would be nothing. The system of bringing back France to her ancient frontiers is inseparable from the re-establishment of the Bourbons, because they alone could offer a guarantee for the maintenance of this system; England feels this well. In all other respects peace upon such a basis would be impossible, and could not last. Neither the emperor nor the republic, if some political commotion should revive it, would ever subscribe to such a condition. For the emperor's part, his resolution is taken; he is unchangeable; he will not leave France less great than he has received her. If then the allies wish to change the basis proposed and accepted, *the natural limits*, he can see but three courses: either to fight and conquer, or to fight and die gloriously; or finally, if the nation would not support him, to abdicate.

hered to the treaty of Paris, the terms of which were worse. "Yes," replied Napoleon, "I would have strictly complied with that treaty. I would not have made it myself; but finding it made, and that it was not my work, I would have adhered to it and remained at peace."

A part of the conversation which followed led me to make some remarks not favourable to Maréchal Davoust, and also to ask Napoleon whether he was not considered as one of the best of his generals. "No," replied the emperor; "I do not think him a bad character. He never plundered for himself. He certainly levied contributions; but they were for the army. It is necessary for an army, especially when besieged, to provide for itself. As to being one of the first of the French generals, he is by no means so, although a good officer." I then asked who in his opinion was now the first? "It is difficult to say," replied Napoleon. "I think, however, that Suchet is probably the first. Massena was; but you may say

He does not cling to high place; he never will preserve it by his own degradation."

I expect, Sir, from your impartiality, that you would give a place to this letter in your journal, and I seize this opportunity of offering you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) CAULAINCOURT, DUC DE VICENCE.

To the Editor of the Constitutionnel.

that he is dead. He has a complaint in his breast which has rendered him quite another kind of man. Suchet, Clausel, and Gerard, are in my opinion the first of the French generals. It is difficult to pronounce which is superior,* as they have not had many opportunities of commanding in chief, which is the only mode by which you can ascertain the extent of a man's talents." He also mentioned Soult in terms of commendation.

Went along with Captain Poppleton, Captain Fuller, Impett, and other officers of the 53rd, to a *rat hunt* in the camp, which was conducted in the following manner. Some soldiers had been furnished with spades and began to dig close by a ditch and a wall, which were infested with rats. Two dogs were in waiting, and we were provided with sticks. As soon as the rats found their premises moving about them, they sallied out and endeavoured to make their escape. They were then attacked by the dogs and men, and a most animated scene of confusion took place; the rats trying to get into other holes, and the others pursuing and striking at them in every direction, and hitting each other's legs, in their eagerness to reach their prey. Some of the rats turned upon the

* As the emperor was rolling the balls of the billiard-table about at this moment, I am not positive whether it was only the two last that he mentioned as not having often commanded in chief.

assailants, and made a desperate resistance. Fourteen of them were killed in less than half an hour.

The rats are in numbers almost incredible at Longwood. I have frequently seen them assemble like broods of chickens round the offal thrown out of the kitchen. The floors and wooden partitions that separated the rooms were perforated with holes in every direction. The partitions being for the most part double, and of one inch deal, afforded a space between them sufficiently large to admit a rat to move with facility. It is difficult for any person who has not actually heard it to form an idea of the noise caused by those animals running up and down between the partitions, and galloping in flocks in the garrets, whether in search of food or in amorous gambols, I know not. At night, when disturbed by their entrance into my chamber, and by their running over me in bed, I have frequently thrown my boots, the boot-jack, and every thing I could readily reach, at them, without intimidating them in the slightest degree, to effect which I have been at last obliged to get out of bed, to drive them away. We amused ourselves sometimes in the evening by removing the pieces of tin which were nailed over their holes, and allowing them sufficient time to enter, when the servants, armed with sticks, and followed by dogs, rushed in, co-

vered the holes, and attacked the rats, who frequently made a desperate resistance, and bit the assailants severely.

However good the dogs may have been at first, they generally became indifferent, or unwilling to attack those noxious animals; and the same may be said of the cats. Poisoning them was impracticable, as the smell of their putrid carcases would render the rooms uninhabitable. Indeed in more instances than one it has been necessary to open a partition, for the purpose of extracting the body of a rat that had died there, and had caused an insupportable stench.

The wretched and ruinous state of the building, the roofs* and ceilings of which were chiefly formed of wood, and covered with brown paper smeared with a composition of pitch and tar, together with the partition being chiefly of wood, greatly favoured the introduction of those reptiles, and was productive of another great inconvenience, as the composition, when heated by the rays of the sun, melted and ran off, leaving a number of

* All the additions made to the old building were roofed in this manner. As this book may fall into the hands of some readers who may not credit the above description of Longwood House, I beg to call the attention of respectable persons who may touch at St. Helena, to the state of the house in which the exiled sovereign of France breathed his last after six years of captivity. To them I confidently appeal for a confirmation of the above, and of the description of the island in the Appendix.

chinks open, through which the heavy tropical rains entered in torrents. Countess Montholon was repeatedly obliged to rise in the night, to shift her own and her children's beds to different parts of the rooms, in order to escape being deluged. The construction of the roofs rendered this irremediable, as a few hours of sunshine produced fresh cracks.

6*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Mentioned Marquis Cornwallis in terms of great praise. "Cornwallis," said he, "was a man of probity, a generous and sincere character. *Un très brave homme*. He was the man who first gave me a good opinion of the English; his integrity, fidelity, frankness, and the nobleness of his sentiments, impressed me with a very favourable opinion of you. I recollect Cornwallis saying, one day, 'There are certain qualities which may be bought, but a good character, sincerity, a proper pride, and calmness in the hour of danger, are not to be purchased.' These words made an impression upon me. I gave him a regiment of cavalry to amuse himself with at Amiens, which used to manœuvre before him. The officers of it loved him much. I do not believe that he was a man of first-rate abilities, but he had talent, great probity, and sincerity. He never broke his word. At Amiens, the treaty was ready, and was to be signed by him at the Hôtel de la Ville, at nine

o'clock. Something happened which prevented him from going; but he sent word to the French ministers, that they might consider the treaty as having been signed, and that he would sign it the following day. A courier from England arrived at night, with directions to him to refuse his consent to certain articles, and not to sign the treaty. Although Cornwallis had not signed it, and might have easily availed himself of this order, he was a man of such strict honour, that he said he considered his promise to be equivalent to his signature, and wrote to his government that he had promised, and that having once pledged his word, he would keep it. That if they were not satisfied, they might refuse to ratify the treaty. *There* was a man of honour—a true Englishman. Such a man as Cornwallis ought to have been sent here, instead of a compound of falsehood, suspicion, and meanness. I was much grieved when I heard of his death. Some of his family occasionally wrote to me, to request favours for some prisoners, which I always complied with."

He then spoke about his having given himself up to the English, and observed, "My having given myself up to you, is not so simple a matter as you imagine. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh offered me an asylum in England, and said, that I should be very well treated there, and much better off than at Elba." I said, that

Lord Castlereagh was reported to have asserted, that he (Napoleon) had applied for an asylum in England, but that it was not thought proper to grant it. "The real fact," said Napoleon, "is, that he first proposed it. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh said to Caulaincourt, 'Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? Let him come to England. He will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and will experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, because that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us, without making any conditions, and he will be received with the greatest joy, and be much better than at Elba.' This," added he, "had much influence with me afterwards."

On asking Napoleon his opinion of Baron Stein, he replied, "A patriot, a man of talent, and a busy, stiring charracter." I observed, that I had heard it asserted that Stein had done him more mischief than Metternich, or indeed any other person, and had been mainly instrumental to his fall. "Not at all," replied Napoleon; "He was certainly a man of talent, but had his advice been followed, the King of Prussia would have been ruined past all redemption; Stein was always hatching intrigues, and wanted Prussia to declare prematurely against me; which would have caused her destruction. The king, however, was better

advised, and did not declare himself until the proper time had arrived, that is to say, until that accident of Russia, of which he took immediate advantage." A pause now took place, Napoleon walked a few paces, stopped, looked at me, and said, in an expressive manner, "none but myself ever did me any harm; I was, I may say, the only enemy to myself: my own projects, that expedition to Moscow, and the accidents which happened there, were the causes of my fall. I may, however, say, that those who made no opposition to me, who readily agreed with me, entered into all my views, and submitted with facility, were those who did me the most injury, and were my greatest enemies; because, by the facility of conquest they afforded, they encouraged me to go too far. They were more my enemies than those who formed intrigues against me, because the latter put me upon my guard, and rendered me more careful. I caused Stein to be sent away from the court of Prussia. It would, however, have been very fortunate for me if his projects had been followed, as Prussia would have broken out prematurely, and I should have extinguished her like that," (raising one of his feet, and stamping, as if he were putting out the snuff of a candle); "I could," continued he, "have dethroned the King of Prussia, or the Emperor of Austria, upon the slightest pretext, as easily as I

do this," stretching out one of his legs. "I was then too powerful for any man, except myself, to injure me."

I asked him if he had ever said any thing of the following tenor relative to Metternich: "One or two lies are sometimes necessary, but Metternich is all lies. Nothing but lies, lies, lies, from him!" Napoleon laughed and said, "*C'est vrai.* He is composed of nothing but lies and intrigues." I asked if he were not a man of great talent? "Not at all," replied he, "*è bugiardo ed intrigante—intrigante e bugiardo.** That is the sum total of his character."

"Lord Whitworth," continued Napoleon, "in that famous interview which he had with me, during which I was by no means violent, said on leaving the room, that he was well satisfied with me, and contented with the manner in which I had treated him, and hoped that all would go on well. This he said to some of the ambassadors of the other powers. A few days afterwards when the English newspapers arrived with his account of the interview, stating that I had been in such a rage, it excited the astonishment of every body; especially of those ambassadors who remonstrated with him and said, 'My Lord, how can this account be correct. You know that you allowed to us that you were well contented and

* He is a liar and an intriguer—an intriguer and a liar.

satisfied with your reception, and stated your opinion that all would go on well.' He did not know what to answer, and said, 'But this account is also true.'

"Your ministers never publish the facts," continued he: "If this governor sent no other accounts of the battles, and other circumstances, than those that were published in the papers, he betrayed his country; as they are almost all false, similar to those of others employed on your political missions. A false account is sent to be submitted to the public, and deposited in the archives; and a secret one, stating the truth, for your ministers themselves to act upon, but never to be produced. So that your ministers, upon an enquiry being made by parliament, have a set of documents in the archives ready to submit for inspection; from whence conclusions are to be drawn, and decisions made. In this manner, although the contents are untrue, the ministers cannot be accused of imposing false statements upon the parliament, because they were officially transmitted to them, and the public and parliament are satisfied. References are made, and every thing appears satisfactory, yet the ground-work of the whole is false. In consequence of having been so long opposed to your ministers, there is nobody knows them better than I do. Your system is a compound of lies and

truth. In no other ministry in the world is there so much *machiavelism* practised; because you have so much to defend, and so many important points to contest against the rest of Europe, and because you are obliged to enter into explanations with the nation."

I mentioned to Napoleon that it had been stated in one of the papers that he had once sent a shipwright to Algiers or Tunis, in order to teach the pirates ship-building. He replied, "Never. It is possible that they may have got a Frenchman as a ship-builder, but not with my consent. They might have procured some person from Marseilles. At Constantinople, when the Turks were at war with France, there was a ship-builder named Le Musa. Instead of succouring the pirates, I proposed to England to exterminate them, or at least to oblige them to live like honest people, to which your ministers would not consent. There was nobody who disliked or despised those *canaglie* of pirates more than I did, or who treated them more like dogs. It was not the policy of the English ministers to destroy those barbarians, or else they would have done it long ago. By permitting those wretches to exist and to plunder, you engrossed the greatest part of the trade of the Mediterranean to yourselves; because the Swedes, Danes, Portuguese, and others, were afraid to send their ships there; and consequently during

the war, you had almost all the Mediterranean trade. The reason you sent that expedition to Algiers, was to ingratiate yourselves with the Italians, and to prevent their regretting me. For I gave the French flag to all the Italian states, and made the barbarians respect it; which has not been the case since the Bourbons mounted the throne. The Italians would have been discontented, and have cried, that in Napoleon's reign, they were at least free from the attacks and piracies of the corsairs. That expedition deserves no credit except for the great bravery and nautical skill displayed by the admiral, and by those under him. As to the negociations, Lord Exmouth has failed; as he ought to have made the extinction of piracy, the surrender of their fleet, and an obligation to build no more ships of war, (unless the Grand Signor made war upon some of the European powers,) the *sine qua non.* You say that it has been stipulated that only prisoners, and not slaves, are in future to be made. I fear much that if any difference be made amongst those barbarians between the lot of prisoner and of slave, it will be to the disadvantage of the former. For those wretches had some interest in preserving the lives of their slaves, in other to obtain their ransom; whereas with prisoners they will have no such expectation; and therefore giving way to their natural cruelty and deadly hatred of Christians, they will in all

probability mutilate and put them to cruel deaths. I think that your ministers ordered Lord Exmouth *not* to endeavour to abolish piracy altogether, but merely to give it a check, to punish the Algerines in a certain degree, cause your flag to be respected, and gain the favour of the Italians and other Mediterranean states, which you have lost by your having so basely given them up to their oppressors. For, if the pirates were totally annihilated, all nations could trade securely in the Mediterranean, which would not agree with your ideas of engrossing the principal share of the commerce of that sea. Your ministers would not wish to see the corsairs destroyed. You say that the expedition gave an *éclat* to your marine.* Certainly it was a very gallant affair; but your marine has no occasion for another *éclat*. My opinion is, that it was a very ill advised expedition. You ran the risk of being drubbed by barbarians, and of losing two or three ships. Even with your victory, you may say that you lost a thousand men in killed and disabled, and got five or six ships knocked to pieces. Now the lives and limbs of a thousand brave English seamen are of more value and consequence than the *whole of the piratical states*. Blockading the port

* I had observed, that in consequence of the checks we had sustained from the Americans, it was desirable that our navy should wind up by doing something brilliant.

with a seventy-four and two or three frigates, under Captain Usher or Maitland, would have gained you just as good terms as you have got, without the loss of a man."

"I always had a high opinion of your seamen," continued Napoleon. "When I was returning from Holland along with the Empress Marie Louise, we stopped to rest at Givet. During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. I was very anxious to depart; and ordered all the boatmen of the place to be assembled, that I might be enabled to cross the river. They said that the waters were so high that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. I questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. I then recollected that there were English prisoners in the caserns; and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen amongst them should be brought before me to the banks of the river. The waters were very high and the current rapid and dangerous. I asked them if they could join a number of boats so that I might pass over. They answered, that it was possible but hazardous. I desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the other *imbecilles* had pronounced to be impossible; and I crossed

before the evening was over. I ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with me at the time."

"When I landed at Elba," added he, "with Usher, my guard had not arrived, and Usher gave me one composed of his marines under the command of a *sous officier*, who constantly remained at Porto Ferrajo, and formed my body-guard for some days. I had every reason to be contented with them. When my own guard arrived, they contracted a friendship with the marines and the sailors. They were frequently seen rolling about in the streets drunk, locked arm in arm, singing and shaking hands with each other. Your seamen were surprised at the familiarity with which I treated them, which was so different from the aristocratic *morgue* to which they had generally been accustomed. I believe that not a man in the ship would have injured me if it were in his power. When I left them, I ordered a Napoleon to be given to each, and I made Usher a present of a box, with my picture set round with diamonds. If I had had such able seamen as Usher for officers, the naval combats between the French ships and yours would have terminated very differently."

I mentioned that the governor had said he wished to have some conversation with Count

Bertrand relative to the ride towards Woody Range, and had said that if the count would give an assurance that certain houses would not be entered, it might be arranged. "What houses are there?" replied Napoleon, "Miss Mason's, and that of Legge, the carpenter. Is he afraid of Miss Robinson's virtue? *Bêtises*, if I wished to correspond, you well know that I could cause letters to be sent to Europe every day."

8th.—On the 7th, the races were held at Deadwood, at which Madame Sturmer, the three commissioners, and Captain Gor, were present. General Gourgaud also went, and had a long conversation with the Baron and Baroness Sturmer, Count Balmaine, and, latterly, Marquis Montchenu. During the greatest part of the time no British officer listened to them. Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade were *spectators* a considerable portion of the time. Lady Lowe was also present. Towards the end of the races, the commissioners, Madame Sturmer, and Baron Gourgaud, went to Mrs. Younghusband's house in camp, where they remained together for some time, before any of the governor's officers followed them. Mentioned to Sir Hudson Lowe the opinion which Napoleon had expressed of Marquis Cornwallis, to which his excellency replied, that "Lord Cornwallis was too honest a man to deal with him."

Napoleon went down to Count Bertrand's,

where he had from the upper windows a good view of the races, at which he remained until they were finished, and appeared to be highly entertained.

Sir Thomas Reade expressed great anger towards Mrs. Younghusband for having invited the commissioners and General Gourgaud together, without having been accompanied, and said, that the governor had a right, and ought to turn her off the island for it, adding, that the commissioners themselves were mean wretches for having spoken to Gourgaud, when his master treated them with such contempt.

Napoleon walked out for some time with Counts Montholon and Bertrand. Saw him at mid-day. He asked many questions about the races, in which he appeared to take an interest. Observed, that from what he had heard, Montchenu must have been very badly educated, as he had made use of very improper and even indecent language before Lady Lowe, on occasion of the breeze (which was very smart) having interfered with some lady's drapery. "In general," said Napoleon, "Frenchmen at his time of life are proverbially polite, but from what I have heard, this man never could have been brought up in good company, and has *l'air d'un sous lieutenant de l'ancien regime.*"

Mr. Rainsford, the minister of police, died on the 7th.

14*th*.—General Gourgaud, while going through the camp, went into the apartments of Major Fehrzen of the 53rd regiment, where he remained for a few minutes.

15*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for the orderly officer, and demanded "what business General Gourgaud had to enter Major Fehrzen's rooms?"

Saw Napoleon, who was reclining upon his sofa. Very anxious in his enquiries about the health of Madame Bertrand, Tristan de Montholon, and the little Napoleonne, both of whom were very unwell, especially Tristan, who laboured under a severe attack of dysentery of a highly inflammatory nature, and for which I had bled him. When I told Napoleon that the bleeding had afforded the child great relief, "Ah," said he, "experience, experience is every thing."*

Shewed him a very curious edict which had been issued by the emperor of China relative to the English ambassador, and explained the purport of it. After he had heard what I had to say, he replied that he was still of opinion, that the ambassador ought to have complied with such ceremonies as were practised by the first mandarins of the empire towards the emperor. That the Chinese did not ask us to send ambassadors to

* Napoleon had frequently before condemned the practice of bleeding, which he maintained was abstracting so much of one's life.

them. That our having sent one, was a proof that we had some favour to ask, or some object to gain; therefore, we ought to have complied with their customs, or else not have sent an ambassador. "You ought," continued he, "to have treated those brutes like children, to have humoured them in fact as if you had sent an ambassador to the moon. I recollect having had a conversation on the subject at Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander, when we were very good friends. He asked my opinion and advice: I gave it to him exactly as I have done to you. He was perfectly convinced, and wrote a reprimand to his ambassador for not having complied with the ceremonies that had been required from him."

"When I was at war with Russia," said he, "I had an intention of injuring the Russians in their Chinese trade, by inciting the king of Persia to make war upon them, which in fact he did. I had hopes of causing a diversion by means of the hordes of Tartars under the Persian government."

I asked afterwards if it were true that Talleyrand had proposed to him to cause all the Bourbons to be assassinated, and had even offered to negociate for its accomplishment? Napoleon replied, "It is true. Talleyrand proposed and offered to have it effected." In reply to a question of mine, whether one hundred thousand francs was not the sum demanded? the emperor answered,

"A great deal more; if I recollect right, a million of francs for each. But I always refused my consent. There wanted nothing but that. I even forbade the attempt to be made."

16*th*.—Napoleon informed me that he was now employed in writing observations, military and otherwise, upon the seven years war of the Great Frederic, which would when finished form two or three volumes.

In the course of conversation he mentioned General Lallemand, whose character he described in very favourable terms. "Lallemand," said he, "whom you saw in the Bellerophon, was employed by me at Acre as a negociator with Sydney Smith, during which he displayed considerable address and ability. After my return from Elba, he, like Labédoyère, declared for me in a moment of the greatest danger, and excited a movement of primary importance amongst the troops of his division, which would have succeeded, had it not been for the indecision of Davoust and some others who had agreed to join with him, but who failed when the hour of trial arrived. Lallemand *a beaucoup de décision, est capable de faire des combinaisons,* and there are few men more qualified to lead a hazardous enterprize. He has the *feu sacré.* He commanded the *chasseurs de la garde* at Waterloo, and *enfonça* some of your battalions." Victor he described to be "*une bête sans talens et sans*

tête. Soult, "an excellent minister of war, a very good planner, but not so well able to execute as to arrange. After the defeat of the Turks at Aboukir," added he, "Sydney Smith sent his secretary with a flag of truce to Alexandria as the bearer of some letters addressed to me, which one of his cruizers had taken on board of a ship, to which Sydney Smith joined some English newspapers, the contents of which decided me to return to France."

Cipriani employed in town as usual.

20*th*.—Count Balmaine and Captain Gor came up as far as Longwood, dogged by a serjeant of the 66th regiment, dressed in plain clothes, who was in the employ of Sir Thomas Reade.

END OF VOL. I.

J. M'Gowan and Son, Great Windmill Street.

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

NAPOLEON IN EXILE;

OR

A VOICE FROM ST. HELENA.

BEING THE

Opinions & Reflections of Napoleon,

ON THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS OF HIS LIFE & GOVERNMENT,

IN HIS OWN WORDS,

By Barry O'Meara, Esq:

HIS LATE SURGEON.

In Two Volumes

VOL. II.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND & MYRMIDON, CONVEYING NAPOLEON

TO THE ISLAND OF ST HELENA, OCTR 15, 1815.

LONDON.

Published by Jones & Co 3 Acton Place Kingsland Road

1827.

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SIXTH EDITION.

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1827.

TO

THE RIGHT HON. LADY HOLLAND,

WHOSE HUMANE ATTENTIONS

TO

NAPOLEON IN ST. HELENA,

DREW FROM HIM,

IN HIS DYING MOMENTS,

THE GRATEFUL EXPRESSION OF HIS

"SATISFACTION AND ESTEEM,"

THESE VOLUMES

ARE,

WITH HER LADYSHIP'S PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

HER LADYSHIP'S VERY OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

A VOICE

FROM

ST. HELENA.

21*st. April*, 1817.—NAPOLEON has been for some days in very good spirits. On Saturday, the 19th, several captains of East Indiamen came to see Count and Countess Bertrand. Captains Innes, Campbell, and Ripsley, with Mr. Webb, stationed themselves at the back of the house in such a situation as to be likely to see Napoleon on his return from Bertrand's, where he had gone about four o'clock. Napoleon beckoned to, and conversed with them for nearly an hour, during which time he asked many questions respecting India, the East India Company, Lord Moira, their own profits, &c.; and to the commodore, who had a very youthful appearance, in a laughing manner he observed, that he was a child, and ought to be ashamed of commanding captains so much older than himself.

Asked the emperor whether it was at Lodi or Arcola that he had seized the standard, and precipitated himself among the enemy's troops. He replied, "At Arcola, not Lodi. At Arcola, I was slightly wounded; but at Lodi no such circumstance occurred. Why do you ask? Do you think me *lâche?*" said he, laughing. I begged to assure him of my thorough conviction of the contrary, which was too well known to be doubted; and that it was merely to solve a difference of opinion that had arisen between some of us English who had not the means of procuring at St. Helena any books to satisfy us at which of the two it happened, that I had taken the liberty to ask him. "Those things," said he, with a smile, "are not worth mentioning."

Had a long conversation with him on medical subjects. He appeared to entertain an idea that in cases purely the province of the physician, the patient has an equal chance of being despatched to the other world, either by the doctor mistaking the complaint, or by the remedies administered operating in a different manner from what was intended and expected, and was for trusting entirely to nature. With respect to surgery, he professed a far different opinion, and acknowledged the great utility of that science. I endeavoured to convince him, that in some complaints, nature was a bad physician, and mentioned in proof of my argument

the examples that had taken place under his own eyes of the cases of Countess Montholon, General Gourgaud, Tristan, and others; who if they had been left to nature, would have gone to the other world. I observed that in practice we always had a *certain* object in view, and never prescribed remedies without first having considered well what we had to expect from their operation. Napoleon, however, was sceptical; and inclined to think that if they had taken no medicine, maintained strict abstinence from every thing except plenty of diluents, they would have done equally well. However, after having heard all my arguments, he said, "well, perhaps if ever I have a serious malady, I may change my opinion, take all your medicines, and do what you please. I should like to know what sort of a patient I should make, and whether I should be tractable, or otherwise, I am inclined to think the former." I reasoned with him afterwards about inflammation of the lungs, and asked him if he thought that nature, if left to herself, would effect a cure in that complaint. He appeared a little staggered at this at first; but after asking me what were the remedies, to which I replied that venesection was the sheet-anchor, he said, "that complaint belongs to the surgeon, because he cures it with his lancet, and not to the physician." I then mentioned dysentery and intermittent fevers. "The remedies given

in intermittent fevers," said he, "frequently produce worse complaints than the disease that they remove. Suppose now that the best informed physician visits forty patients a day; amongst them he will kill one or two a month by mistaking the disease, and in the country towns the charlatans will kill about half of those who die under their hands."

"The country towns in England, as well as in France," said he, "abound with *Molière*'s doctors. Are you a fatalist?" I replied, "in action I am." "Why not every where else?" said the emperor; I said, that I believed a man's dissolution, in certain cases, to be inevitable if he did not endeavour by the means placed in his power, to prevent his fate. For example, I said, that if a man in battle saw a cannon shot coming towards him, as sometimes happened, he would naturally step to one side, and thereby avoid an otherwise inevitable death; which comparison I thought would hold good with certain complaints, by considering the ball to be the disease, and stepping aside, the remedy. Napoleon replied, "perhaps by stepping to one side, you may throw yourself in the way of another ball, which otherwise would have missed you. I remember," added he, "an example of what I tell you having occurred at Toulon, when I oommanded the artillery. There were some Marseillois artillerymen

sent to the siege. Now of all the people in France, the Marseillois are the least brave, and indeed, generally speaking, have but little energy. I observed an officer, like the rest, to be very careful of himself, instead of shewing an example. I therefore called out and said, 'Monsieur officer, come out and observe the effect of your shot. You do not know whether your guns are well pointed or not.' At this time we were firing upon the English ships. I desired him to see if our shot struck them in the hull. He was very unwilling to quit his station; but at last he came over to where I was, a little outside of the parapet, where he began to look out. Wishing, however, to make himself small, and to secure as much of his body as possible, he stooped down and sheltered one side of his body behind the parapet, while he looked under my arm. He had not been long in that position before a shot came close to me, and low down, which knocked him to pieces. Now, if this man had stood upright, and more exposed to danger, he would have been safe, as the ball would have passed between us, without hurting either."

I recounted to the emperor, after this, a circumstance which had happened in the Victorious, seventy-four, Captain Talbot, when I was on board of her, which I explained minutely to him. During the action with his ship the Rivoli, a man who

had been slightly wounded, had crept into the heart of the cable tier in the orlop deck, and placed himself among the cables in such a manner, that it appeared to be a matter of impossibility that a shot could reach him. Notwithstanding the apparent security of the place, towards the end of the action a shot struck the ship very low down, penetrated the wings, went through two or three coils of the cable, then rose upwards, struck one of the beams which supported the lower deck, and being spent, rebounded back, fell upon this man's breast who was lying on his back, and killed him. He was found afterwards with the shot, (a thirty-six pounder,) lying upon his breast.

"This," said he, "confirms what I say to you, that a man cannot avoid his destiny." Napoleon appeared entertained with this anecdote, and asked, whether the man was a sailor or a soldier? I replied, a sailor.

The emperor during the course of conversation, spoke about eunuchs; the making of whom he observed was a most disgraceful and horrid practice. "I suppressed it," said he, "in all the countries under my dominion; even in Rome itself I prohibited it under pain of death. It was entirely put a stop to, and I believe that although the pope and the cardinals are now in power, it will not be again revived. I recollect, added

he, "an incident with respect to one of those gentry, which made me laugh. There was one Crescentini, an excellent singer, who often sang before me and delighted me much. As I wished to encourage merit in every science, and as it was his misfortune, and not his fault to have been mutilated, having been probably only two or three years old when it was performed, I conferred upon him the knighthood of the iron crown. This, however, displeased a great many, who said that a thing that was not a man ought not to have an order for manhood conferred upon him. There were great discussions about it, in which Madame Grassini, whom I suppose you know, took a part. Whilst others were blaming me, Grassini said, 'I really think the emperor has done right in giving it to him; I think that he deserves it.' Being asked why, she replied, 'I think he merits it, if it were only on account of his *wounds*.' This sally produced the greatest laughter, and turned the business completely. I believe that no person laughed more at it than myself."

23*rd*.—Yesterday Napoleon was indisposed, and had recourse to his customary remedies, diet and diluents. He remained all day in his bedroom, and eat nothing. Told me that he had risen at three in the morning, and wrote or dictated all day.

Gave him two or three newspapers. He re-

peated his disbelief of the rumour of war being likely to take place between Russia and America, as it was contrary to the interests of both.

General Gourgaud the day before yesterday rode out towards the alarm-house, and on his way met the Russian commissioner and Captain Gor, with whom he conversed for a considerable time. They were seen by Captain Poppleton, who was on his way to dine at Plantation House. When his excellency was informed of this, he said at first that Captain P. ought to have remained with them to listen; but when it was explained to him that he could not have done so without affronting them, as General Gourgaud knew that he was to dine at Plantation House, he acknowledged that it could not have been done.

This day, however, a note came from Major Gorrequer, stating that the governor wanted to see Captain Poppleton directly, and that he was required to write an official statement of what he had witnessed yesterday between the commissioner and Gourgaud. That the governor regretted he had not followed and kept company with them, in pursuance of the conversation he had had with him (Captain P.) in town on a certain day. In this conversation the governor said he expected that he would, whenever he saw them speaking together, drop in as it were by accident, and make one of their party.

These precautions appeared curious, as the parties had a long interview together at the last races before the governor himself and his staff without molestation.

Saw Napoleon in the evening again, who declared himself to be quite well. He spoke of the time he was in the habit of devoting to business when in Paris. That occasionally he used to dictate to four different secretaries at a time, all upon different subjects, and sometimes even to five, each writing as fast as he could. Made some observations upon the Emperor of Austria. Observed that if he were in his power, no treatment could be too good or limits too extensive. The emperor he pronounced to be a good and religious man, but a *ganache*. A man, who though he did not want common sense, never did any thing of himself, but was always led by the nose by Metternich or some one else.. As long as he had a bad minister, his government would be bad, as he entirely trusted to him, and only paid attention to botany and gardening.

24*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Very curious in his enquiries about Murat's expedition against Sicily. Asked me to describe minutely the strength of the English force which had then occupied Sicily, and appeared surprised when I said that it had amounted to about twenty thousand English, Hanoverians, &c. He asked if I thought

that Murat would have succeeded in taking the island, if he had landed?* I replied that I believed not, as independent of the formidable English force against him, in general the Sicilians themselves hated the French, and declared that they would have caused another "Sicilian Vespers" if they came. He asked "how many troops Ferdinand had?" I replied, perhaps fifteen thousand men, of whom, however, we were very doubtful, and consequently kept near Palermo, with the exception of a regiment of cavalry. He wished to know "if our ships could have kept the channel on the night that Murat had caused a landing to be made by a small body, and whether they could have remained at anchor along the Sicilian side of the Faro?" I replied, that I had no doubt the ships might have kept the channel on that night; that they might also have remained at anchor along the Faro, but at a risk during the *Scirocco* winds, as the bottom was a bad holding ground, and if the anchors went, the ships must go on shore. He asked the name of the English Admiral. "That imbecile Murat," added he, "lost me about twelve or thirteen hundred men by the foolish disembarkation he made in Sicily. I know not what

* It may be necessary to explain to the reader, that I was attached to the flotilla against Murat in a mortar-boat, under the command of Captain Coffin, R. N. during the whole of the period alluded to.

object he could have had in view by thus landing a few men." I replied that Murat had said he intended to have landed with his whole army near the Faro, while this small body was intended to act as a diversion. "Do you think that he could have landed on that night?" said Napoleon. I replied, I thought he could, as all our ships were withdrawn from their stations and locked up in the harbour of Messina. Napoleon said, "If I had really intended Murat to have taken Sicily, I would have pushed out the Toulon fleet with thirty thousand men to effect a landing near Palermo, from whence the fleet should have proceeded directly to the Faro, to cover Murat's landing. But it was only intended to keep your English army doing nothing in Sicily by means of the *canaglie* under Murat,* and not to take Sicily, as there were few French troops with him, and I was apprehensive that your army might have been employed elsewhere against me." I asked if there had been any secret treaty between Murat and the English admiral and gene-

* Murat was not aware of this. He was sincere in his intentions of landing in Sicily; but on the night in which he wanted to embark all his army for that purpose, General Grenier, who commanded the French troops with him, shewed him an order prohibiting them to make the attempt. Of this I have been since informed by a person who was minister to the unfortunate King Joachim at the time.

ral to allow Murat to withdraw with his boats and troops without molestation. "No," said the emperor, "none that I know of. Why do you ask such a question?" I replied, "because so little had been done to annoy them in their retreat, that I often thought some agreement must have been made to let Murat withdraw quietly with his troops, provided he abandoned his enterprize." He laughed, and said, "there was none, at least to my knowledge."

I then mentioned to him the plot to massacre the English officers, and drive the English out of Sicily, said to have been discovered in 1810, (I think) by ***. "Caroline," said he, "was very capable of forming such a plot. I believe, however, that ** invented a great part of it, and also betrayed you at the time that he pretended to make such important discoveries. Murat got information from some officer in the English service." I said that *** had frequently gone over to Calabria disguised as a peasant. "Very probably he betrayed you every time he went," replied Napoleon.

He spoke about the Corsicans: observed that they were brave and revengeful by nature, the best friends and the most inexorable enemies in the world. "Their prominent national character," added he, "is never to forget a benefit or an injury. For the slightest insult in Corsica, *una ar-*

chibugiata. Murders are consequently very common. At the same time no people are more grateful for benefits conferred, and they will not scruple to sacrifice their lives for the person who bestowed them."

25*th*.—Had some conversation with Napoleon relative to Count Bertrand having been stopped by the sentinel a few days back, when going down towards Mr. Wilton's cottage. Napoleon said, that he supposed the sentinel had orders to stop all *suspicious* persons, similar to those given to the one at Hut's Gate, and observed in a laughing manner, that the French were the only *suspicious* people in the island. Told him that a report had arrived in the island of war having been declared between Spain and America, and Russia and America. "Russia and America?" said he, "Impossible. If it takes place I shall never be astonished again at any circumstance that happens. The Spaniards will be well drubbed." I said, that one of the American large frigates could take a Spanish seventy-four. This he would not believe. I then said, that during the war with Spain, one of our frigates, which were smaller than the Americans, would not have been afraid to attack a Spanish seventy-four. Napoleon looked at me in rather an incredulous manner, shook his head, laughed, and said, "*Sempre per la marina, Dot-*

*tore**—she certainly would have been taken." I replied, that if the weather was bad, I did not think so. He said, that there never had been an instance on record of a frigate's having taken a seventy-four.

29*th*.—Dined with Sir Pulteney Malcolm in town. Count Balmaine came to pass the evening, during the course of which he had a long conversation with me. He said that he had that day met General Gourgaud near the alarm-house, and that finding himself in a very delicate situation, he told the general that his position was very embarrassing, as it appeared that he (Balmaine) was an object of suspicion to the governor; that he must consequently beg to decline any further communication with him beyond the customary salutations of politeness, however unpleasant it was to do so in a place where there was so little French society, until after the arrival of the Conqueror, by which vessel he expected instructions of importance, and such as would clearly point out to him the line of conduct which he was in future to pursue. That in doing this, he had rather gone beyond his present instructions, which were not to *éviter ces messieurs là*, but to treat them precisely as he did the inhabitants and other residents on the island; that he could not account

* Always for the navy, Doctor.

for the suspicion manifested by the governor, as it could not be supposed that *he* was sent out to betray.

Cipriani in town. On his return he related the obligations he was under to Sir Thomas Reade, who was busily employed in assisting him to procure some hams and other articles of provisions out of the company's stores.

30*th*.—Napoleon has been occupied for some days in dictating and writing observations upon the works of the Great Frederick. Told me that when finished they might probably comprise five or six octavo volumes, and would consist of military observations and reflections only, with as much detail as would be necessary for the explanation of the operations commented upon. For several mornings he has been up at three, a. m. writing. Saw several pages of his hand-writing, which was much more legible than any I had before seen. He observed, that formerly he had sometimes been in the habit of writing only half or three-quarters of each word, and running them into each other, which was not attended with much inconvenience, as the secretaries had become so well accustomed to it, that they could read it with nearly as much facility as if it were written plainly; that, however, no person, except one well acquainted with his manner of writing, could read it. Latterly, he said, he had begun to write a little

more legibly, in consequence of not being so much hurried as on former occasions.

Napoleon then observed, that I had made a considerable progress in French since he had first seen me, "though you have," said he, "a very bad accent. It has been said by some of the English, that I understand Italian better than French, which is not true. Although I speak the Italian very fluently, it is not pure. *Non parlo Toscano,** nor am I capable of writing a book in Italian, nor do I ever speak it in preference to the French."

Speaking about Chateaubriand's attacks upon him, he observed, "*C'est un de ces lâches qui crachent sur un cadavre.* (He is one of those poltroons who spit upon a dead body.) Like Pichon and others, he is one of those insects that feed upon a corpse, which, while living, they dared not approach." After some other conversation I asked him if there had been a sufficiency of provisions for his army on the retreat from Moscow, whether it might not have been accomplished with a loss much smaller than that which they had sustained? Napoleon answered, "No; the cold would have destroyed them, even if they had had a sufficiency of provisions. Those who had food, died by hundreds. Even the Russians themselves died like flies."

May 2*nd*.—General Montholon very ill. Napoleon expressed much anxiety about him.

* I do not speak Tuscan.

4*th.*—Baron Sturmer came inside of Longwood, and had some conversation with the orderly officer relative to Napoleon.

6*th.*—Saw Napoleon to whom I gave a book, entitled, *Mœurs et Coutumes des Corses*, which he ran over, frequently laughing very heartily at several of the anecdotes. The author, he said, was an *ignorantaccio*, and wholly unacquainted with many circumstances relative to the history, manufactures, &c. of Corsica; in fact, that he was either a place-hunter, or a man who had been *ben bastonato** by the Corsicans. That many of the anecdotes he related respecting assassinations which had been committed were true, but that the Corsicans were not in the habit of assassinating strangers; that they were the best friends and the worst enemies in the world; that those who espoused a party, remained unchangeable. "Even I," continued he, "in the height of my power, could never induce the English party to change their opinions, although I offered to receive them all into my service."

"The admiral," said he, "held a long conversation with me a day or two ago. He praised the governor; said that I was mistaken in him; that he was an extremely well informed man, and had a good heart at bottom. He was very anxious

* Well beaten.

that I should meet him, on an opportunity that soon would be afforded by the arrival of the ambassador, when he suggested that we might meet as if nothing had previously occurred. I told him that he did not know the governor; that until he changed his conduct I would not see him, unless by force. I observed that he might, without any discussion, alter his restrictions, and treat me as I would myself treat a person placed in a similar situation: in fact, in a word, put matters upon the same footing as he found them or nearly so: but that it would answer no purpose for us to meet. I complain of the ill treatment I receive. He says, 'I comply with my instructions.' This is always his excuse. Now, although I am convinced that his instructions extend no further than that he should take every precaution to prevent my escape, and otherwise to treat me well, and with as little possible expense as may be, yet I could not well tell him that he asserted a falsehood. All that I could reply would be by making a comparison (in doing which you must always exaggerate), by likening him to a hangman, who, while he puts a rope round your neck to despatch you, only executes his orders; but that is not a reason that you should be obliged to make a companion of him, or receive him until the moment of execution.—I could only say this, and tell him that if such were his orders, he had disgraced himself by ac-

cepting a dishonourable employment; that if he had not, he was still worse, in being the contriver of such. As long as he treats me *à la Botany Bay*, so long will not I see him. I certainly would *understand* not to see the commissioners, and not to enter houses which he said he suspected."

"I told the admiral," continued he, "that I hoped the Prince Regent would know of the treatment which I receive here. The admiral said, that if I thought myself aggrieved, I ought to complain, either to the Regent or to the ministers. I think it would be a degradation to me to complain to ministers who have treated me so ill, and who act from hatred. The admiral strove to excuse the governor, and declared that he knew it was the intention of the English government to treat me well, and that there must be some mistake or misconception, which would be rectified. I told him, that you English were great *égoïstes*, very fond of excusing each other, and of praising your country and yourselves; but that to strangers every thing was justifiable. I spoke to him about the detention of the French prisoners, and the reception of the prisoners who had broken their parole, of which I had been accused. I explained, that the English were the first to begin;" here Napoleon gave an explanation similar to that which appears in a former part of this work.

"I then published in the Moniteur the names of several English who had violated their parole and escaped, before any Frenchman had done the like. For it was much easier to escape in France, than in England, as the English prisoners were allowed great liberty, and much more space than the French were in England. But the fact is, that your ministers hate me, because I acted vigorously, and always retaliated upon them. When they blockaded France, I blockaded England, and I always made reprisals, which they had not been accustomed to under the feeble government of the Bourbons, whom they used to insult at their pleasure. I told him that the English would hereafter repent of having prosecuted the war with so much hatred against me. If they had left me in France after my return from Elba, all Europe would have been quiet, France contented, no internal commotions, nor hatred against the English, for forcing on the nation a king whom they detested. The revolutionary spirit which exists now against the actual government of France, may find its way to England, and if so, there is no knowing how it may terminate."

"I told him also," continued Napoleon, "that I had been well pleased at the capture of Copenhagen, because it made bitter enemies of the Danes, without injuring me. For it was not ships that I wanted, but naval officers and sea-

men who were all left behind to man my vessels. I also informed him, that the capture and robbery of the Spanish frigates pleased me; as it caused you to be hated in Spain, where you might have been and were popular before, and besides, was unworthy of a great nation. I told him that I did not receive money direct from Spain. That I got bills upon Vera Cruz, which certain agents sent by circuitous routes, by Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and other places, to London, (as I had no direct communication.) The bills were discounted by merchants in London, to whom ten per cent., and sometimes a premium, was paid as their reward. Bills were then given by them upon different bankers in Europe for the greatest part of the amount, and the remainder in gold, which last was brought over to France by the smugglers. Even for the equipping my last expedition, a great part of the money was raised in London." I asked if he meant that, after his return from Elba? He replied, "yes, that last expedition."

"I told the admiral," continued Napoleon, "that you had been the first violators of the peace of Amiens; that your ministers, who boast so much of not having acknowledged me as emperor, were so conscious, themselves, of having been the violators of the treaty, that they offered, through Lord Whitworth, to give thirty millions of francs, and to assist, as much as lay in their power, to

make me king of France, if I would consent to the English retaining Malta." I took the liberty of asking to whom the proposal had been made? "To *Malhouet*, who was minister to Louis a short time ago," replied the emperor. "My answer to this offer was, 'Tell Lord Whitworth that I will owe nothing to strangers, or to their interference. If the French nation do not of themselves, create me king, foreign influence shall never be employed by me to obtain it.' The fact is, that your ministers always deceived the people by false and artful representations, and are of the opinion expressed by the great Lord Chatham, 'that if England acted towards France with justice for twenty-four hours she would be ruined.'

"The admiral," continued Napoleon, "is very well informed about the history of the last years; is really an Englishman, and sticks up for his country whenever he can; but notwithstanding, he could not contradict several of the assertions I made to him, because they were incontrovertible facts. He returned frequently to the proposed interview with the ambassador, which he is most desirous should take place. I am convinced that no good would arise from it. I wish," added he, "that he should know my sentiments on these matters."

I remarked, that perhaps his refusing to see the ambassador, might be construed into an insult to

the British government, and to the nation which he represented. Napoleon replied, "it cannot admit of such a construction. He is not sent as an ambassador to St. Helena. He was ambassador to the emperor of China, and at St. Helena can only appear in his private capacity. Consequently, there is no necessity for his being introduced by the governor. If he wants to see me, let him go to Bertrand, without being accompanied by any of the governor's people, then we will see about it. However, I think it would be better for both that it should not take place. For if I receive him, I must put on an appearance of cheerfulness, and clothe my face with smiles; it is contrary to my custom to receive any person otherwise. Then, I must either be obliged to make complaints to a stranger of the barbarous treatment I receive here, which is lessening to the dignity and character of a man like me; or else, I must furnish an opportunity to this governor, to fill the amdassador's head with lies, and make him observe, that I am so well treated, that I have made no complaints, that I want for nothing, that for me *on a tous les égards possibles*, and enable him to write home a *bulletin* of falsehoods, with an appeal to the ambassador in proof of the truth of them. So that it would place me in an awkward dilemma, and one which it would be better to avoid."

He was very anxious in his enquiries about Captain Meynel, who was very dangerously ill. General Montholon much better.

I shewed him the Naval Chronicle, in which there was a long article about the death of Captain Wright. "No person," said Napoleon, "asserts positively that he had seen him murdered; and the principal evidence who testifies to the belief of it, was a man who was himself in prison. Let him be asked for what crime he was thrown into a gaol. It is not a place for honest people, or for those whose testimony could be relied upon. If I had acted properly, I should have ordered Wright to be tried by a military commission as a spy, and shot within twenty-four hours, which by the laws of war I was entitled to do. What would your ministers, or even your parliament have done to a French captain that was discovered landing assassins in England to murder King George? If I had, in retaliation of the assassins sent to murder me, sent others to murder *** and the Bourbon princes, what would have been done to the captain of the vessel who had landed them in England, if he were taken? They would not have been so lenient as I was with Wright. They would have had him tried and executed *sur le champ*."

7*th*.—Napoleon very particular in inquiring about Captain Meynel, whose death he observed

would grieve him, as he had *l'air d'un brave homme.* Had some further conversation with him relative to the prisoners made at the commencement of the war. I said, that I believed he had demanded that the ships as well as the prisoners made in them should be given up, in exchange for those detained in France. He replied, that he did not recollect that he had demanded the ships. "The only reason," added he, "that your government would give as a right for detaining them as prisoners was, that they *had always done so in preceding wars,* and that it would be lessening to the dignity of the government to give them up, or to consider as prisoners of war those who had been detained by me in France. To this I answered, that they had always done so, because they had to deal with *imbecilles,* and people who knew not how to act vigorously, and were afraid to retaliate. As to the exchange of prisoners, I offered to effect it in the following manner, viz. to send three thousand men, consisting of two thousand Spaniards and Portuguese, and one thousand English, to a certain place, there to be exchanged for three thousand French, and so on until all were exchanged. Your government would not consent to this, but required that all the English should be exchanged at first; although the others were your allies, and were taken fighting by your side. As soon as the French prisoners in England heard of this

proposal, they wrote over the strongest letters possible, protesting against, and praying me not to consent to such terms, alleging, that as soon as your ministers had got all the English prisoners, amounting I believe to ten thousand, they would under some pretext break off the exchange ;* and that they (the French prisoners,) who were already treated badly enough, would then be subjected to every species of brutality and ill treatment, as the English would no longer be afraid of reprisals. What I most regret," added he, " and am most to blame for is, that during my reign, I had not caused the English prisoners to be put on board of *pontons*, and treated exactly as you treated mine in England. Indeed, I had given orders to have it done, and to place them in ships in the Scheldt. Decrès, the minister of marine, although he hated you as much as a man could do, opposed it on the ground of the expense, the difficulty of effecting it, and other reasons. There were numbers of reports also from your transport board, testifying the good treatment which the prisoners en-

* I have some recollection (although I cannot find it in my journal) that Napoleon also told me that he had proposed to the English minister that both powers should simultaneously land their respective prisoners in such ports in England and France as might have been previously agreed upon, which proposal was not agreed to by his majesty's ministers.

joyed, which imposed upon me for a time; but, as I found out from the prisoners themselves afterwards, they were filled with lies, like the reports that are sent from this island. I was also so much occupied with affairs of a more important nature, that I forgot it." I took the liberty of observing, that I hoped he did not credit what he saw in Pillet's libel. "No, no," replied Napoleon, "I believe no exaggerated statement of the kind. I reason from the testimonies of the prisoners themselves and from the circumstances. In the first place, it was *le comble de la barbarie* to put any prisoners, especially soldiers, in ships at all. Even sailors like to be on shore. I see that the admiral likes to live on shore, as well as every officer and seaman who can effect it. Man is born on shore, and it is natural for him to like it. Your ministers said that they had not any fortresses to put them in. Then, why not have exchanged or sent them to Scotland, instead of massacreing them in *pontons*. I am very sorry that I did not carry my intentions into execution, as in the event of a war fifty or sixty years hence between the two countries, it will be said, but even Napoleon suffered the English to put the French prisoners in *pontons* without having retaliated. My intentions were to have put all the *milords* and the principal prisoners in *pontons*, and to have made them undergo precisely the same

treatment as that practised upon my prisoners in the prison-ships in England. This would have had the desired effect, and would have been beneficial to both parties. For the complaints of "*my lords*," to which I would have allowed every publicity to be given, would have produced such an outcry, such a sensation amongst you English, who are *égoïstes*, by making you feel yourselves that which you inflicted upon others, that your oligarchy would have been obliged to remove the French prisoners from the *pontons*, which would have been followed by a similar step on my part. I would have left the *canaille* in the fortresses, as they, poor devils, had nothing to do with the measures of your ministers, who indeed, cared but little what they suffered. I would not," continued Napoleon, "desire a better testimonial in my favour than that of the prisoners of the different nations who had been in France. Many of your English sailors did not want to be exchanged. They did not wish to be sent again on board of their floating prisons. The Russians declared that they were much better than in their own country, after they discovered that their heads were not to be cut off, which they at first had been persuaded to believe: and the Austrians would not have escaped, even if allowed."

"Another shocking act of your ministers," said Napoleon, "was the bundling *(jeté)* of some hun-

dred wounded and disabled soldiers who had been born in countries under me, and were wounded fighting your battles against me, on the coast of Holland, where they were liable by the laws of the country to be tried and shot within twenty-four hours, for having carried arms against it. When it was reported to me, and application made to try them, I said. 'Let them go on. Let them land as many as they like. They will tell what treatment they have received, and will prevent others of my troops from deserting and joining the English.' To say nothing of the inhumanity of the practice," said Napoleon, lifting up his hands with emotion, "it was very bad policy on the part of your ministers, as these poor mutilated wretches told it every where; and I also caused the names, countries where wounded, &c., of many of them, to be published in the Moniteur."

I endeavoured to controvert the tenor of some of his assertions; but in consequence of not being sufficiently well acquainted with the circumstances, I could make but a feeble effort against a man who was master of the subject, to say nothing of the difficulty of contending against such an antagonist.

11*th.*—Told Sir Hudson Lowe what Napoleon said relative to the restrictions, and the commissioners, &c. His excellency asked why I had

not told him this before? I replied, because it had only occurred yesterday, and that having often made him communications of a similar nature before, I had not thought it important. He observed, that it was of *great* importance, as having taken place since he had sent his answer to their observations upon his restrictions. He then observed, that the principal cause of all the difficulties which he had to combat with the French people had arisen from Sir George Cockburn's having, upon his own authority, and beyond his instructions, taken upon himself to grant much more indulgence, and a much greater space for limits without being accompanied by a British officer, than he had any right to do; not only had he not the right, but it was contrary to his instructions, and that on his arrival, he had been astonished at Sir George Cockburn's conduct. He then spoke for some time about the letter which had been written by Madame Bertrand to Marquis Montchenu; which he seemed to consider as a very heinous offence. I observed that Count Bertrand had said, that at the time the letter was written, there had existed no prohibition against epistolary correspondence with persons domiciliated in the island as the marquis was, and that since that letter had been written by Madame Bertrand, six sealed letters had been received by her, amongst

which was one from Sir George Bingham. His excellency did not appear to be well pleased with this observation of Count Bertrand's.

The quantity of wood and coals allowed not being nearly sufficient, Count Montholon desired me to represent to the governor, that in the admiral's time, when there were not by any means so many fires as at present, there was more than double the quantity of fuel allowed; that for some time they had been obliged to burn the wine-cases, and to request of him, if he did not think proper to increase the quantity furnished by government, that he would give directions to the purveyor to supply it, on their paying for it themselves. Went to Plantation House and explained to the governor the above communication, particularizing the number of fires; who, after some discussion, replied, that he would give orders for an additional supply to be furnished.

12*th*.—Napoleon in his bath. Had some conversation about the governor. "If," said he, "the governor on his arrival here had told Bertrand, that in consequence of orders from his government, he was under the necessity of imposing fresh restrictions, and had described the nature of them, directing that in future we should conform ourselves to them, instead of acting in the underhand manner he has done, I would have said, this is a man who does his duty clearly and openly with-

out tricks or shuffling. It is necessary that there should be in this world such men as gaolers, scavengers, butchers, and hangmen; but still one does not like to accept of any of those employments. If I were in the tower of London, I might possibly have a good opinion of the gaoler, from the manner in which he did his duty; but I would neither accept of his situation, nor make a companion of him. Captain H * * told Madame Bertrand, that in the whole British dominions, a worse man than this gaoler could not be selected as governor; and that we should very shortly find such to be the case. In fact he described him to be just as we have found him. But as we thought that he was desirous of inducing Madame Bertrand to leave the island with her family, it was supposed that he had exaggerated the imperfections of this man, although we evidently saw that there was something in it."

After some conversation on the same subject, Napoleon said, "When I was at Elba, the Princess of Wales sent to inform me of her intention to visit me. I, however, on her own account, sent back an answer begging of her to defer it a little longer, that I might see how matters would turn out; adding, that in a few months I would have the pleasure of receiving her. I knew that at the time it could not fail to injure the princess, and therefore I put it off. It is astonishing that

she desired it, for she had no reason to be attached to me, her father and brother being killed fighting against me. She went afterwards to see Marie Louise at * *, and I believe that they are great friends."

"Prince Leopold," continued he, "was one of the handsomest and finest young men in Paris, at the time he was there. At a masquerade given by the queen of Naples, Leopold made a conspicuous and elegant figure. The Princess Charlotte must doubtless be very contented and very fond of him. He was near being one of my aid-de-camps, to obtain which he had made interest and even applied; but by some means, very fortunately for himself, it did not succeed, as probably if he had, he would not have been chosen to be a future king of England. Most of the young princes in Germany," continued he, "solicited to be my aid-de-camps, and Leopold was then about eighteen or nineteen years of age."

Some conversation now took place relative to the infernal machine, and the different plots which had been formed to assassinate him. "Many of the plots of the Bourbons," said he, "and the *** were betrayed to me by Frenchmen, employed and well paid by themselves, and in their confidence, but who in reality were agents of the French police. By means of them, I became acquainted with their plans, and the names of the contrivers of

the plot, one of whom was the Comte d'***. Louis, the present king, always refused to give his consent. These agents had conferences with the Bourbon princes, and with some of your ministers, especially with Mr. H***, under-secretary of state, and rendered an account of every thing to the police. If I had acted right, I should have followed the example of Cromwell, who on the discovery of the first attempt made to assassinate him, the plot of which had been hatched in France, caused it to be signified to the French king, that if the like occurred again, he, by way of reprisal, would order assassins to be hired to murder him and a Stuart. Now I ought to have publicly signified, that on the next attempt at assassination, I would cause the same to be made upon king *** and the Bourbon princes, to accomplish which last indeed, I had only to say that I would not punish the projectors."

13*th*.—Application made by me to Major Gorrequer (on the part of the maître d'hôtel) to request that the governor would give directions to Mr. Breame (the company's farmer) to let the establishment have two calves monthly, as Napoleon was partial to veal, and Mr. Breame had refused to dispose of them without leave from the governor.

Permission was accordingly granted by Sir Hudson Lowe to let the French have two calves

monthly, for which the farmer was to be paid by the French themselves.

14*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Asked me "why I had dined in camp yesterday?" I replied, "Because there was nothing to eat at Longwood." He laughed heartily at this, and observed, "*that* certainly was the best reason in the world."

Afterwards he conversed for some time about Moreau, and said that he was by no means a man of that superior talent which the English supposed; that he was a good general of division, but not adapted for the command of a great army. "Moreau was brave," said he, "indolent, and a *bon vivant*. He did nothing at his *quartier général* but loll on a sofa, or walk about with a pipe in his mouth. He scarcely ever read a book. His disposition was naturally good, but he was influenced by his wife and mother-in-law, who were two intriguers. I recommended Moreau to marry her, at the desire of Josephine, who loved her because she was a creole. Moreau had fallen greatly in public estimation on account of his conduct towards Pichegru.* After Leoben, the senate of

* While Napoleon was at Moscow, Count Daru received a letter from Madame Moreau praying of him to ask the emperor to permit her to return to France for a few months on private and indispensable business. Daru knowing that the best mode of obtaining any thing from Napoleon was by being candid and open, shewed him the letter, "*Oui*," replied the emperor, "*elle doit*

Venice were foolish enough to stir up a rebellion against the French armies, without being either sufficiently strong themselves, or having adequate assistance from other powers to promise the slightest hope of success. In consequence of this, I caused Venice to be occupied by the French troops. An agent of the Bourbons, the Count d'Entraigues, of whom I suppose you have heard

être venue, et elle doit déjà être repartie." Daru said that a woman could not be dangerous. "*Elle vient intriguer,*" answered Napoleon, "Perhaps you are one of those who think that Moreau is a good citizen?" "*Sire,*" replied Daru, "*je crois que sous le rapport du civisme et du patriotisme, le caractère de Moreau est inattaquable.*" "*Eh bien, vous vous trompez,*" said Napoleon, and the subject was dropped. At Dresden, in 1813, while Napoleon was at breakfast along with Maréchal Victor and Daru, a Russian flag of truce was announced. After the person who bore it had accomplished his mission, Napoleon asked him some questions relative to the disorder which he had observed in the advanced posts of the enemy's army on the preceding day, and if the Russians had not lost some officer of distinction. The officer replied, "No." "*Cependant,*" said Napoleon, "*il y a eu du desordre ; à tel poste on a emporté quelqu'un blessé ou tué.*" "*Je ne sache pas,*" replied the officer, "*que nous ayons perdu personne, à moins que votre majesté ne veuille parler du Général Moreau, qui a été blessé à mort aux avant postes.*" "*Le Général Moreau?*" repeated Napoleon, and afterwards making a sign with his head to Daru, "*eh bien !*". . . . Daru instantly recollected the conversation at Moscow, when Napoleon had made use of the same words, at which time he supposed that the emperor's opinion had been influenced by personal motives, and allowed that he was now obliged to acknowledge that he had judged right, and that Moreau was far from being a good citizen.

in England, was there at the time. Fearing the consequences, he escaped out of Venice, but on his way to Vienna (I think he said) he was arrested on the Brenta by Bernadotte, with all his papers. As soon as it was known who he was, he was sent to me, being esteemed a man of some importance. Amongst his papers we found his plans, and the correspondence of Pichegru with the Bourbons. I had them immediately attested by Berthier and two others, sealed and sent to the directory, as they were of the greatest consequence. I then examined d'Entraigues myself, who, when he saw that the contents of his papers were known, thought there was no use in attempting concealment any longer, and confessed every thing. He even told me more than I could possibly have expected; let me into the secret plans of the Bourbons, with the names of their English partizans, and, in fact, the information I obtained from him was so full and so important, that it determined me how to act on the moment, and was the chief cause of the measures I then pursued, and of the proclamation which I issued to the army, warning them, that, if necessary, they would be called upon to cross the mountains, and re-enter their native country, to crush the traitors who were plotting against the existence of the republic. At this time Pichegru was chief of the legislative body. The Count d'Entraigues was so

communicative, that I really felt obliged to him, and I may say that he almost gained me. He was a man of talent and acuteness, intelligent and pleasant to converse with, though he proved afterwards to be a *mauvais sujet*. Instead of putting him in confinement, I allowed him to go where he pleased in Milan, gave him every indulgence, and did not even put him in *surveillance*. A few days afterwards I received orders from the directory to cause him to be shot, or what in those times was equivalent to it, to try him by a military commission, and sentence to be immediately executed. I wrote to the directory that he had given very useful information, and did not deserve such a return; and finally, that I could not execute it; that if they still insisted upon shooting him, they must do it themselves. Shortly after this, d'Entraigues escaped into Switzerland, from whence the *coquin* had the impudence to write a libel, accusing me of having treated him in the most barbarous manner, and even with having put him in irons; when the fact was, that I had allowed him so much liberty, that it was not until after he had escaped for several days that his flight was discovered, and then only by having seen the arrival of the Count d'Entraigues notified in the Swiss papers, which at first was thought to be impossible, but on sending to examine his quarters, it was found to be true. This conduct

of d'Entraigues greatly displeased all who at Milan had been witnesses of the indulgent manner in which I treated him. Amongst others, some ambassadors and diplomatic characters were so much offended, that they drew up and signed a declaration contradictory of these accusations. In consequence of the information gained from d'Entraigues, Pichegru was banished to Cayenne."

"Immediately after the seizure of d'Entraigues, Desaix came to see me. Conversing with him about Pichegru, I remarked that we had been greatly deceived, and expressed my surprise that his treason had not been discovered sooner. 'Why,' said Desaix, 'we knew of it three months ago.' 'How can that be possible?' I replied. Desaix then recounted to me the manner in which Moreau, with whom he had been at that time, had found in the baggage of the Austrian general Klinglin, a correspondence of Pichegru's, in which his plans in favour of the Bourbons were detailed, and those of the false manœuvres which he intended to put in practice. I asked Desaix if this had been communicated to the directory? He replied, 'no,' that Moreau did not wish to ruin Pichegru; and had desired him to say nothing about it. I told Desaix that he had acted very wrong; that he ought immediately to have sent all the papers to the directory, as I had done; that in fact it was tacitly conniving at the destruction

of his native country. As soon as Moreau was informed that Pichegru was found out, he denounced him to the army as a traitor, and sent to the directory the papers containing the proofs of it, which he had kept concealed in his possession for some months, and allowed Pichegru to be chosen chief of the legislative body; although he knew that he was plotting the destruction of the republic. Moreau was accused this time, and with justice, of double treachery. 'Thou hast first,' it was said, 'betrayed thy country, by concealing the treason of Pichegru, and afterwards thou hast uselessly betrayed thy friend, by disclosing what thou oughtest to have made known before; but which, when concealed by thee until it was discovered by other means, ought to have ever remained a secret in thy breast.' Moreau never recovered the esteem of the public again."

I mentioned the retreat of Moreau, and asked if he had not displayed great military talents in it? "That retreat," replied the emperor, "instead of being what you say, was the greatest blunder that ever Moreau committed. If he had, instead of retreating, made a *détour*, and marched in the rear of Prince Charles (I think he said), he would have destroyed or taken the Austrian army.—The directory were jealous of me, and wanted to divide, if possible, the military reputation; and as they could not give credit to Moreau for a victory,

they did for a retreat, which they caused to be extolled in the highest terms; although even the Austrian generals condemned Moreau for having done it. You may probably hereafter," continued Napoleon, "have an opportunity of hearing the opinion of French generals on the subject, who were present, and you will find it consonant to mine. Instead of credit, Moreau merited the greatest censure and disgrace for it. As a general, Pichegru had much more talent than Moreau."

"Moreau ridiculed the idea of the formation of the legion of honour. When he heard from some one that it was also intended to be given to those who had distinguished themselves in science, and not to be confined to feats of arms alone, he replied, 'Well, then, I shall apply for my cook to be made a commander of the order, as his talents are most superior in the science of cookery.'"

In reply to some arguments which I offered to convince him that *** and the English **** ** were ignorant of that part of Pichegru's plot which embraced assassination, Napoleon replied, "I do not suppose that **** or any other of the English ***** actually said to Georges or Pichegru, 'you must kill the first consul;' but they well knew that such formed the chief and indeed the only hope of success; and yet they, knowing this, furnished them with money, and provided ships to land them in France, which, to all intents

and purposes, rendered them accomplices; and if *** had been tried by an English jury, he would have been condemned as such. Lord **** took great pains to persuade the foreign courts that they were ignorant of the project of assassination, and wrote several letters, in which he acknowledged that the English had landed men for the purpose of overturning the French government; but denied the other. However, he made a very lame business of it, and none of the continental governments gave any credit to his assertions. It was naturally condemned as, on the ground of retaliation, none of the sovereigns or rulers were safe. It was at the time that I had it in contemplation to effect a descent in England. Your *** did not want to get rid of 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' but of 'the first consul.' Fox had some conversations with me on the subject of the 3rd Nivose. He too, like you, denied that the *** were privy to the scheme of assassination, but faintly, after hearing what I had to say, and condemned the whole transaction. Indeed his own measures were quite opposed to it. The conduct of the Emperor of Germany also formed a striking contrast. When I had possession of his capital, he, through religious motives, positively and with sincerity prohibited any attempt of the kind, which might have been executed daily, as I often walked about without suspicion."

During this interview, I mentioned that Bernadotte had been strongly suspected of being lukewarm in the cause of the allies, if not of playing a double part; that he was called Charles Jean Charlatan, and supposed to be likely to join him if any reverse happened to the allies. Napoleon replied, "Probably they called him Charlatan, because he is a Gascon, a little inclined to boasting. As to joining me, if I had been successful, he would have done no more than all the rest. The Saxons, Wirtemburghers, Bavarians, and all those who abandoned me when I was unfortunate, would have joined me again if I had been successful. After Dresden, the Emperor of Austria went upon his knees to me,* called me *his dear son*, and begged for the sake of his very *dear, dear daughter*, to whom I was married, not to ruin him altogether, but to be reconciled to him. Had it not been for the desertion of the Saxons with their artillery, I should have gained a victory at Leipsic, and the allies would have been far differently situated."

16*th*.—Napoleon in his bed-room, complained

* This is a rigid translation of the words used by Napoleon, and were not intended to be understood, as must be evident, in their literal sense, but merely as a forcible manner of making me comprehend the earnestness with which the Emperor of Austria made the application. Napoleon frequently used the same expression in similar instances.

of headach, and had his feet immersed in a pail of hot water. At first he was rather melancholy, but subsequently became tolerably lively and communicative. He spoke about Egypt, and asked many questions ; amongst others, whether a three-decker could enter the harbour of Alexandria without having been lightened ? I replied, that I thought it might, or if not, that it might be very easily lightened.* Napoleon observed, that he had sent an officer named Julien, from Cairo, with peremptory orders to Brueys to enter the harbour of Alexandria, but that unfortunately he was killed by the Arabs on the way. "I called," continued he, "a fort which I built at Rosetta after him." He asked me if I knew that fort, to which I replied in the affirmative. "It was surprising," continued he, "how Brueys could have thought of engaging at anchor without having first fortified the island with twenty or thirty pieces of cannon, and having brought out a Venetian sixty-four, and some frigates which he had in the port of Alexandria. In a conversation which I had with Brueys some weeks before, on board of the Orient, he himself demonstrated to me that a fleet ought never to engage at anchor, at least that a fleet which did so, must always be

* When at Alexandria, I saw the Tigre and Canopus enter the harbour. They were 80-gun ships of the largest class, and drew as much water as a three-decker.

beaten on account of the facility which the attacking ships would have of taking up their position; and that an order (whether from Brueys, or not, I did not understand) actually existed prohibiting it. Notwithstanding which, Brueys himself adopted it afterwards. "Brueys," continued he, "always believed, that if Nelson attacked him, it would be made on his right, thinking his left inexpugnable on account of the island, and had prepared matters accordingly. I endeavoured to convince him that a ship or two of his left might be taken by a superior force, and an opening afforded thereby for the enemy's fleet to enter."

I observed, that if Brueys had anchored head and stern, he might have gone in much closer to the shore, as he would not have been obliged to make an allowance for the ships to swing, and consequently no space would have been left for Nelson to pass between the French fleet and the land. Napoleon appeared to coincide in this opinion, and said that he would ask the opinion of the admiral on the subject. He added, that prior to the departure of Julien, orders had been sent to Brueys, that he should not quit the coast of Egypt until after he had ascertained the physical impossibility of the fleet's being able to enter the harbour of Alexandria. If possible, he was ordered to carry it into execution; if not, to proceed to Corfu with his fleet. "Now, Brueys," conti-

nued he, "not having ascertained the fact, as on the contrary, Barré asserted that it was practicable, of which I was also myself convinced, did not think himself authorized to go away, and at the same time was afraid to enter the harbour even if possible, thinking it hazardous without having been first assured that we were in full possession of the country. He was ignorant of my success at Cairo until twenty-four hours before he was attacked by Nelson. In this manner he remained in balance, and neglected to secure himself. Moreover, he never expected that Nelson would have attacked him with an inferior force. If he had brought out his frigates, and well fortified the island, Nelson would either never have attacked him, or would have been beaten if he had. It was with great difficulty that I made Brueys depart from Toulon. After sailing, he wanted to send four ships to attack Nelson, who was lying with three dismasted vessels at ***, but I would not allow it, as the success of the enterprize was of too much importance to allow the capture of two or three ships to be put into competition with it. Brueys afterwards wished to separate the fleet, which I would not permit. Brueys was a man of unquestionable talent; but he wanted that decisive resolution that enables a man to seize an opportunity presented by the moment; which I conceive to be the most essential quality in a general, or admiral.

Probably from want of experience, he had not that confidence in his own ability and the propriety of his plans, which rarely any thing else can impart. Unless nature forms a man of so peculiar a stamp as to be enabled to see and decide instantaneously, nothing but experience can give it. I, myself, commanded an army at twenty-two years of age, but nature made me different from most others. If Nelson had met Brueys' fleet in going to Egypt, I know not what might have happened, as I had placed three hundred and fifty, or four hundred veterans in each line-of-battle ship, who were trained to the guns twice a-day, and had given orders that each ship should engage one of yours. Your vessels were small, and I believe not well-manned, and I gave this order to prevent your obtaining any advantages by your superior skill in manœuvring."

Here some discussion took place upon the comparative merit of the English and French seamen. I urged, that English sailors fought with more confidence; that if any accidents happened to the ships in action, they would remedy them much sooner, and would fight longer than the French seamen. Napoleon said, he agreed in every thing but the last. "*Signor Dottore*," said he, "*il marinaro Francese è bravo quanto l'Inglese.* The French soldiers had a great contempt for the English troops at the beginning of the war, caused,

perhaps, by the failure of the expeditions under the Duke of York, the great want of alertness, &c. in the English advanced posts, and the misfortunes which befel your armies. In this they were fools, as the English were well known to be a brave nation. It was probably by a similar error that Regnier was beaten by General Stuart; as the French imagined that you would run away and be driven into the sea. Regnier was a man of talent, but more fit to give counsel to an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, than to command one of five or six. Your troops, on that day, were nearly all English, and Regnier's were chiefly Poles. It is difficult to conceive how little the French soldiers thought of yours, until they were taught the contrary. Of your seamen, they always spoke in terms of respect, although they would only allow that they were more expert and quick, and not more brave than their own."

"When," continued Nopoleon, "I was at Tilsit, with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, *I was the most ignorant of the three in military affairs.* These two sovereigns, especially the King of Prussia, were completely *au fait*, as to the number of buttons there ought to be in front of a jacket, how many behind, and the manner in which the skirts ought to be cut. Not a tailor in the army knew better than King Frederick, how many measures of cloth it took to make a jacket.

In fact," continued he, laughing, "I was nobody in comparison with them. They continually tormented me with questions about matters belonging to tailors, of which I was entirely ignorant, although, in order not to affront them, I answered just as gravely as if the fate of an army depended upon the cut of a jacket. When I went to see the King of Prussia, instead of a library, I found he had a large room, like an arsenal, furnished with shelves and pegs, in which were placed fifty or sixty jackets of various modes. Every day he changed his fashion, and put on a different one. He was a tall, dry looking fellow, and would give a good idea of Don Quixote. He attached more importance to the cut of a dragoon or a hussar uniform, than was necessary for the salvation of a kingdom. At Jena, his army performed the finest and most shewy manœuvres possible, but I soon put a stop to their *coglionerie*, and taught them, that to fight, and to execute dazzling manœuvres and wear splendid uniforms, were very different affairs. If," added he, "the French army had been commanded by a tailor, the King of Prussia would certainly have gained the day, from his superior knowledge in that art; but as victories depend more upon the skill of the general commanding the troops, than upon that of the tailor who makes their jackets, he consequently failed."

The emperor then observed, that we allowed too much baggage, and too many women to accompany our armies. "Women, when they are bad," said he, "are worse than men, and more ready to commit crimes. The soft sex, when degraded, falls lower than the other. Women are always much better, or much worse than men. Witness the *tricoteuses de Paris*, during the revolution. When I commanded at the Col de Tende, a most mountainous and difficult country, to enter which the army was obliged to pass over a narrow bridge, I had given directions that no women should be allowed to accompany it, as the service was a most difficult one, and required the troops to be continually on the alert. To inforce this order, I placed two captains on the bridge, with instructions, on pain of death, not to permit a woman to pass. I went to the bridge myself, to see that my orders were complied with, where I found a crowd of women assembled. As soon as they perceived me, they began to revile me, bawling out, 'Oh, then, *petit caporal*, it is you who have given orders not to let us pass.' I was then called *petit caporal* by the army. Some miles further on, I was astonished to see a considerable number of women with the troops. I immediately ordered the two captains to be put in arrest, and brought before me, intending to have them tried immediately. They protested their

innocence, and asserted, that no woman had crossed the bridge. I caused some of those dames to be brought, when, to my astonishment, by their own confession, I found that they had thrown the provisions that had been provided for the support of the army out of some of the casks, concealed themselves in them, and passed over unperceived."

Napoleon observed, that he did not esteem the English cavalry to be by any means equal to the infantry. The men, by some fault, were not able to stop the horses, and were liable to be cut to pieces, if, in the act of charging, it became necessary to halt and retreat. That the horses were accustomed to be fed too luxuriously, kept too warm, and from what he had learned, greatly neglected by the riders.

I offered some explanations about the quantity of baggage allowed by Lord Wellington; which I said did not exceed a small portmanteau for each officer; that only five women to a hundred men were allowed to embark for foreign service; and that new regulations had been adopted to prevent the horses of the cavalry from being kept too warm, or too highly pampered. Napoleon replied, that he had been informed by French officers, that the baggage of one English officer in France, or in Belgium, was greater than that of ten French.

18*th.*—Major Fehrzen came to Longwood. Being asked why he did not call upon the Bertrands occasionally, he replied, that the governor had signified his desire, that no communication, beyond that of a common salutation, should take place between the officers of the 53rd regiment and the persons detained in St. Helena. He admitted that the dark and mysterious conduct pursued towards the French was of a nature likely to excite suspicion, but assured them, that in the 53rd regiment there were no assassins to be found.

22*nd.*—Napoleon in his bath, and suffering from headach. Had some conversation about Montchenu, who, he said, would perfectly agree with the idea which the English had formerly held of the French, viz. that they were a nation of dancing-masters; in which opinion they must have been strengthened during the revolution, by seeing arrive amongst them a set of vain triflers, who had been expelled their own country for their arrogance and tyranny. "This idea," added Napoleon, "was impressed so strongly upon the minds of the English, that when I sent Duroc as ambassador to Petersburg, Lord St. Helens, the English envoy there, being curious to see what he was like, took an opportunity of observing him closely on his entrance into that capital; and on being afterwards asked his opinion of him, replied, '*Ma foi, au moins il n'a pas l'air danseur*'; expressing there-

by that Duroc was the only Frenchman he had seen who had not the appearance of a dancing-master; which I can readily believe, as probably until that time he had seen no other Frenchmen than *imbecilles* like Montchenu, with whom England was over run. *Vraiment c'est trop fort, d'envoyer une telle bête ici,* to a settlement of a rival nation, in order to render his own an object of contempt, and confirm the English in their old prejudices. Does not Montchenu," said he, "answer the idea you formerly entertained of the French nation?"

After leaving the bath, Napoleon spoke about Russia, and said, that the European nations would yet find that *he* had adopted the best possible policy at the time he had intended to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, which would be the only effectual means of stopping the increasing power of Russia. It was putting a barrier, a dyke to that formidable empire, which it was likely would yet overwhelm Europe. "I do not think," said he, "that I shall live to see it, but you may. You are in the flower of your age, and may expect to live thirty-five years longer. I think that you will see that the Russians will either invade and take India, or enter Europe with four hundred thousand Cossacs and other inhabitants of the deserts, and two hundred thousand real Russians. When Paul was so violent against you, he sent to me for

a plan to invade India. I sent him one, with instructions in detail." (Here Napoleon shewed me on a map the routes, and the different points from whence the army was to have proceeded.) "From a port in the Caspian Sea he was to have marched on to India. Russia," continued he, "must either fall or aggrandize herself, and it is natural to suppose that the latter will take place. By invading other countries, Russia has three points to gain,—an increase of civilization and polish, by rubbing against other powers,* the acquisition of money, and the rendering friends to herself the inhabitants of the deserts, with whom some years back she was at war. The Cossacs, Calmucks, and other barbarians, who have accompanied the Russians into France, and other parts of Europe, having once acquired a taste for the luxuries of the south, will carry back to their deserts the remembrance of places where they had such fine women, fine living, and not only will not themselves be able to endure their own barbarous and sterile regions, but will communicate to their neighbours a desire to conquer these delicious countries. In all human probability, Alexander will be obliged either to take India from you, in order to gain riches and provide employment for them, and thereby prevent a revolution in Russia; or he will make an irruption

* The literal English of his words.

into Europe, at the head of some hundred thousand of those barbarians on horseback, and two hundred thousand infantry, and carry every thing before him. What I say to you is confirmed by the history of all ages, during which it has been invariably observed, that whenever those barbarians had once got a taste of the south of Europe, they always returned to attempt new conquests and ravages, and have finally succeeded in making themselves masters of the country. It is natural to man to desire to better his condition; and those *canaille*, when they contrast their own deserts with the fine provinces they have left, will always have an itching after the latter, well knowing also, that no nation will retaliate, or attempt to take their deserts from them. Those *canaille*," continued he, "possess all the requisites for conquest. They are brave, active, patient of fatigue and bad living, poor, and desirous of enriching themselves. I think, however, that all depends upon Poland. If Alexander succeeds in incorporating Poland with Russia, that is to say, in perfectly reconciling the Poles to the Russian government, and not merely subduing the country, he has gained the greatest step towards subduing India. My opinion is, that he will attempt either the one or the other of the projects I have mentioned, and I think the last to be the most probable."

I observed that the distance was great, and that

the Russians had not the money necessary for such a grand undertaking. "The distance is nothing," replied the emperor; "supplies can be easily carried upon camels, and the Cossacs will always insure a sufficiency of them. Money they will find when they arrive there. The hope of conquest would immediately unite armies of Cossacs and Calmucks without expense. Hold out to them the plunder of some rich cities as a lure, and thousands would flock to their banners. Europe," continued he, "and England in particular, ought to have prevented the union of Poland with Russia."

"A great object for England," added Napoleon, "ought to be to keep Belgium always separate from France; as France having Belgium, might be said, in case of a war with England, to have possession of Hamburgh, &c. It would, however, have been better for England that Austria had it, than that it should be possessed by Holland, because Austria is stronger; and when France arises from her present state of nothingness, Holland being too weak to stand alone, will always be at her feet."

"If I had succeeded in my expedition to Russia," added he, "I would have obliged Alexander to accede to the continental system against England, and thereby have compelled the latter to make peace. I would also have formed Poland into a separate and independent kingdom." I

asked what kind of a peace he would have given to us. "A very good one," replied Napoleon. "I would only have insisted upon your discontinuing your vexations at sea." I asked if he would have left us Malta; to which he replied in the affirmative, adding, that he was tired of war, and was as well adapted for the former as the latter; that he would have employed himself in the improving and adorning of France, in the education of his son, and in writing his history. "At least,' said he, "the allied powers cannot take from me hereafter the great public works which I have executed, the roads which I made over the Alps, and the seas which I have united. They cannot place their feet to improve where mine have not been before. They cannot take from me the code of laws which I formed, and which will go down to the latest posterity. Thank God, of these they cannot deprive me."

I said that I had been seeking for the number of ships which had been seized by the English prior to the proclamation issued by him for the detention of the English in France, and could only discover that two chasse marées had been taken in Quiberon Bay. "Two chasse marées!" said Napoleon, "why there was property to the amount of seventy millions, and I suppose above two hundred ships detained, before I issued the proclamation. But it is what England has al-

ways done. In the war of 1773, you did the same, and you gave as a reason, that you had always done so. The great cause of dispute between you and us was, that I would not allow you to do what you liked at sea; or at least, if so, that I would act as it pleased me by land. In short, I did not wish to receive laws from you, but rather to give them. Perhaps in this I pushed matters too far. Man is liable to err. When you blockaded France, I blockaded England; and it was not a paper blockade, as I obliged you to send your merchandize round by the Baltic, and occupy a little island in the North Sea, in order to smuggle. You said that you would shut me out from the seas, and I said that I would shut you out from the land. You succeeded; but had it not been for accidents, you would not. Your country is nothing the better for it, through the imbecility of your ministers, who have aggrandized Russia instead of their native country."

I asked Napoleon again, as I was anxious to put the matter beyond a doubt, whether, if Talleyrand had delivered the Duke d'Enghein's letter in time to him, he would have pardoned the writer? He replied, "It is probable that I might; for in it he made an offer of his services; besides, he was the best of the family. He behaved very bravely and with much dignity before the court-martial, and denied nothing. It is true that I, as

well as the nation, was very desirous of making an example of one of the family; that was against him; but still I think that I would have pardoned him."

I asked if he would have pardoned Pichegru? "Pichegru," said he, "had fallen into great contempt, and was not likely to do me much mischief. In remembrance of the conquest of Holland, it is possible that I might, on condition of banishment to America."

"If," said he, "Lord Castlereagh were to offer to place me again upon the throne of France on the same conditions that Louis fills it, I would prefer remaining where I am. There is no man more to be pitied than Louis. He is forced upon the nation as king, and instead of being allowed to ingratiate himself with the people, the allies oblige him to have recourse to measures which must increase their hatred instead of conciliating their affections. Royalty is degraded by the steps they have made him adopt. *On la rend si sale et si méprisable,* that it reflects upon the throne of England itself. In place of making him respectable, *on l'a couvert d'ordure.*"

"The French nation," continued he, "would never willingly consent to receive the Bourbons as kings, because the allies wish it. They would desire me, because the allies do not; but putting me out of the question, the French are desirous to

see the throne filled by one chosen by themselves, and for whom no enemies or foreign powers had interfered. Ask yourselves, you Englishmen, what your sentiments would be in a similar case? The wish of your ministers to re-establish despotic power and superstition in France, cannot be agreeable to the English. A free people, unless indeed a desire to humble and to injure prevails, cannot wish to see another nation enslaved. Ill treated as I have been, and deprived of every thing dear to me," added he, "I prefer my sojourn on this execrable rock, to the being seated on the throne of France like Louis, as I know that posterity will do me justice. Another year or two will probably finish my career in this world, but what I have done will never perish. Twelve hundred years hence my name will be mentioned with respect, while those of my oppressors will be unknown, or only known by being loaded with infamy and opprobrium."

"I am inclined," continued Napoleon, "to doubt very much what has been said of Cromwell. It has been asserted that he always wore armour, and continually changed his abode, through fear of assassination. Now both these assertions have been made of me, and both I know to be false, as were most likely those imputing the same to him."

"The conduct of your government in attempting

to put down liberty, and enslave the English, surprises me," continued Napoleon. "For Russia, Prussia, and Austria to do so, I wonder not, as they do not merit the name of liberal, or of free nations. In them, the will of the sovereign was always law, the slaves must obey; but that England should do so, surprises me; unless, as I said to you on a former occasion, political motives, jealousy, and a wish to humble and lessen those who have enriched themselves by trade, prevail with your prince, and amongst your oligarchy."

23*rd*.*—A message sent for me to attend the governor at Plantation House. Found him in the library with Sir Thomas Reade. His excellency said, "that the day before yesterday some newspapers of a later date than any of his own, had been received by Mr. Cole the postmaster, some of which were lent to me in direct violation of the act of parliament, which positively prohibited communication, verbal or written, with General Bonaparte, or any of his family, or those about him, without his (the governor's) knowledge. That he therefore wished to know from myself, whether I had lent those papers, or any others to General Bonaparte?" I replied that I had lent those and many others at various times

* I am not positive that this conversation did not occur on the 22nd, as in some pages of my journal it is so dated.

to Napoleon, as I had been constantly in the habit of lending papers to him, since I had been on the island. That Sir George Cockburn had in more instances than one, given me newspapers to take to Longwood before having perused them himself. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, that it was a violation of the act of parliament. I replied, that I was not included in the act of parliament, as I had made an express stipulation that I should not be considered or treated as one of the French, and would immediately resign my situation, if I were required to hold it upon such terms. His excellency said, that "he desired me to understand, that for the future I was not to lend General Bonaparte any newspaper, or be the bearer of any information—news or newspapers—to him, without having previously obtained his sanction." I observed, that I felt it difficult how to act, for if, after the arrival of a ship, Napoleon asked me if there were any news? I could not possibly pretend ignorance. His excellency said, that "as soon as a ship arrived, both Captain Poppleton and myself ought to be shut up in Longwood, until the whole of the information or news brought was made known to him, and *then* I could obtain from him whatever news was proper to be communicated to General Bonaparte." I replied, that I would not remain an hour in my situation, subject to such a restriction.

His excellency observed, that "some months ago information of the greatest importance had been communicated by me to General Bonaparte, before he, (the governor,) had himself known it, viz. that of the dissolution of the chamber of deputies in France; that I had myself told him, that I had informed General Bonaparte of it, and concluded by asking, if I had communicated this intelligence verbally, or by means of a newspaper, and if the paper had not been lent to me by Sir Pulteney Malcolm?"

I replied, that at such a distance of time I could not recollect whether the communication made by me had been verbal or by means of a newspaper; that most probably it had been both, and that I did not recollect from whom I had received the newspaper. His excellency said, that "a person possessed as I was of a memory so extraordinarily good, could not pretend want of recollection," and repeated the question. I answered, that trifles did not remain long impressed upon my memory. The governor observed it was singular I could not recollect that it had been lent by the admiral, and in a sneering way asked, "if it was not a Scotch paper?" I answered that I never had seen a Scotch paper at Longwood. That Sir Pulteney Malcolm often had selected two or three papers of the oldest dates for me, and sent the recent ones to him (Sir Hudson). His

excellency then demanded, "if the papers lent by the admiral had been for myself, or if Sir Pulteney knew that they would be submitted to General Bonaparte for perusal." I replied, "for myself, and I do not know whether he is aware of the use I put them to or not." Sir Hudson said, that "it was very extraordinary I could not tell if the admiral knew of it. That by the signature of his Majesty's ministers, nobody but himself had any right to communicate in any manner whatever with General Bonaparte." I observed that Sir George Cockburn had never considered it necessary to keep back newspapers from Napoleon; that the only instructions he had given to me on the subject were, that it would be better not to show him any thing personally very offensive. Much further conversation took place, during which the governor often recurred to the *Scotch* paper.

24*th*.—Found Napoleon in his bed-room, afflicted with headach. Recommended him to use cold applications to his forehead and temples, which he immediately put into practice with considerable benefit.

In the course of conversation afterwards, he observed that a great discordancy existed amongst the libels which had been published at his expense. Some asserting that his lust had carried him to the length of having an incestuous correspondence with his sisters, &c. while others maintained

impuissance equally forcibly. "This last report," continued he, "was so prevalent, that when a marriage between me and a sister of the Emperor Alexander was in agitation, the empress her mother, said to Alexander, that she would not consent to sacrifice her daughter, and throw her into the arms of one who *ne peut rien faire;* that if her daughter were married to me they would be obliged to act as Gustavus had done with his queen, which she could not reconcile with religion. Do you know," added he, "that history about Gustavus?" I replied in the negative. "Why, *Gustave était impuissant,* and not having an heir to the throne, *il fit coucher un de ses chambellans avec la reine,* from which sprang that madman who resigned the crown a few years ago. In one of his fits of madness, that *imbecille* since confessed that the Swedes had acted with justice in deposing him, as he had no right to the crown. 'My dear mother,' said Alexander, 'is it possible that you can believe these stories? I assure you that I should not wish you better fortune than to be sufficiently young to be married to him, and you would not long want an heir.' Kourakin," said he, "told me this anecdote afterwards, which created great mirth at Paris."

Napoleon then spoke about Madame de Stäel, "Madame de Stäel," said he, "was a woman of considerable talent and great ambition; but so

extremely intriguing and restless, as to give rise to the observation, that she would throw her friends into the sea, that at the moment of drowning she might have an oportunity of saving them. I was obliged to banish her from court. At Geneva, she became very intimate with my brother Joseph, whom she gained by her conversation and writings. When I returned from Elba, she sent her son to be presented to me, on purpose to ask payment of two millions which her father Neckar had lent out of his private property to Louis XVI. and to offer her services, provided I complied with this request. As I knew what he wanted, and thought that I could not grant it without ill-treating others who were in a similar predicament, I did not wish to see him, and gave directions that he should not be introduced. However, Joseph would not be denied, and brought him in in spite of this order, the attendants at the door not liking to refuse my brother, especially as he said that he would be answerable for the consequences. I received him very politely, heard his business, and replied, that I was very sorry it was not in my power to comply with his request, as it was contrary to the laws, and would do an injustice to many others. Madame de Stäel was not however contented with this. She wrote a long letter to Fouché, in which she stated her claims, and that she wanted the money to portion her

daughter in marriage to the Duc de Broglie, promising, that if I complied with her request, I might command her and hers; that she *would be black and white for me.* Fouché communicated this, and advised me strongly to comply, urging, that in so critical a time, she might be of considerable service. I answered, that I would make no bargains."

"Shortly after my return from the conquest of Italy," continued he, "I was accosted by Madame de Stäel in a large company, although at that time I avoided going out much in public. She followed me every where, and stuck so close that I could not shake her off. At last she asked me, 'who at this moment is *la première femme du monde?*' intending to pay a compliment to me, and expecting that I would return it. I looked at her, and coldly replied, 'she who has borne the greatest number of children,' turned round, and left her greatly confused and abashed." He concluded by observing, "that he could not call her a *wicked* woman, but that she was a restless *intrigante,* possessed of considerable talent and influence."

He then conversed upon the bad state of England, and said that he had made a calculation, and found that it would require fifty years of an uninterrupted peace to enable England to pay off the

national debt, a circumstance which had never occurred, and never would.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House, with whom I had a conversation chiefly upon subjects connected with the admiral. Informed him that maccheroni formed an item of magnitude in the expenditure of Longwood, as for the two pounds of that article, which they consumed daily, they were obliged to pay twenty-four shillings to Mr. Solomon. His excellency observed that there was plenty of it in the government store.*

Cipriani in town making the customary purchases of provisions.

26*th.*—Napoleon indisposed with catarrh, inflammation and tumefaction of the right cheek and gums, with headach, caused probably by exposure yesterday to the cold wind in the garden.

27*th.*—Napoleon better. Right cheek however, is still tumefied. Had some conversation with him about the ambassador. "If," said he, "a million of francs had been given to the first, mandarin, every thing would have been settled, and it would not have been a reproach to the nation; as that embassy was not one which regarded the honour of the country. It was, and ought to be considered more as an affair of merchandize

* When some was sent up a few days after, it was found to have been rendered unfit for use from long keeping.

than as one immediately affecting the nation. It was in fact an embassy to China from the tea-merchants in England, and therefore advantages might with great honour be purchased. Besides, when you send ambassadors to those barbarians, you must humour them and comply with their customs. They do not seek you. They never have sent ambassadors in return for yours, nor asked you to send any. Now great commercial advantages may be lost to England, and perhaps a war with China be the consequence. If I were an Englishman, I should esteem the man who advised a war with China to be the greatest enemy to my country in existence. You would in the end be beaten, and perhaps a revolution in India would follow."

"In the course of a few years," added he, "Russia will have Constantinople, the greatest part of Turkey, and all Greece. This I hold to be as certain as if it had already taken place. Almost all the cajoling and flattering which Alexander practised towards me was to gain my consent to effect this object. I would not consent, foreseeing that the equilibrium of Europe would be destroyed. In the natural course of things, in a few years Turkey must fall to Russia. The greatest part of her population are Greeks, who you may say are Russians. The powers it would injure, and who could oppose it, are England,

France, Prussia, and Austria. Now as to Austria, it will be very easy for Russia to engage her assistance by giving her Servia, and other provinces bordering upon the Austrian dominions, reaching near to Constantinople. The only hypothesis that France and England may ever be allied with sincerity will be in order to prevent this. But even this alliance would not avail. France, England, and Prussia united cannot prevent it. Russia and Austria can at any time effect it. Once mistress of Constantinople, Russia gets all the commerce of the Mediterranean, becomes a great naval power, and God knows what may happen. She quarrels with you, marches off to India an army of seventy-thousand good soldiers, which to Russia is nothing, and a hundred thousand *canaille*, Cossacs and others, and England loses India. Above all the other powers, Russia is the most to be feared, especially by you. Her soldiers are braver than the Austrians, and she has the means of raising as many as she pleases. In bravery, the French and English soldiers are the only ones to be compared to them. All this I foresaw. I see into futurity farther than others, and I wanted to establish a barrier against those barbarians by re-establishing the kingdom of Poland, and putting Poniatowski at the head of it as king; but your *imbecilles* of ministers would not consent. A hundred years hence, I shall be praised

(encensé), and Europe, especially England, will lament that I did not succeed. When they see the finest countries in Europe overrun and a prey to those northern barbarians, they will say, 'Napoleon was right.' The Russians are beginning already with you; I see that they have prohibited the introduction of your merchandize. England is falling. Even Prussia prohibits your goods. What a change for England! Under the great Chatham, you forbade the most powerful sovereign in Europe, the Emperor of Germany, to navigate the Escaut, or to establish an extensive commerce at Ostend; this was barbarous and unjust, but still you had the power to prevent it because it was against the interests of England. *Now* Prussia shuts her ports against you. What a falling off! In my opinion the only thing which can save England will be abstaining from meddling in continental affairs, and by withdrawing her army from the continent. Then you may insist upon whatever is necessary to your interests, without fear of reprisals being made upon your army. You are superior in maritime force to all the world united; and while you confine yourself to that arm, you will always be powerful and be dreaded. You have the great advantage of declaring war when you like, and of carrying it on at a distance from your home. By means of your fleets you can menace an attack upon the coasts

of those powers who disagree with you, and interrupt their commerce without their being able materially to retaliate. By your present mode of proceeding, you forfeit all those advantages. Your most powerful arm is given up, and you send an army to the continent, where you are inferior to Bavaria in that species of force. You put me in mind of Francis the First, who had a formidable and beautiful artillery at the battle of Pavia. But he placed his cavalry before it, and thus masked the battery which, could it have fired, would have insured him the victory. He was beaten, lost every thing, and made prisoner. So it is with you. You forsake your ships, which may be compared to Francis's batteries, and throw forty thousand men on the continent, which Prussia, or any other power who chooses to prohibit your manufactures, will fall upon and cut to pieces, if you menace or make reprisals.

"So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country," continued the emperor was never known before. You give up every thing, and gain nothing. All the other powers gained acquisitions of country and millions of souls, but you give up colonies. For example, you give up the isle of Bourbon to the French. A more impolitic act you could not have committed. You ought to endeavour to make the French forget the way to India, and all

Indian policy, instead of placing them half way there. Why did you give up Java? Why Surinam, or Martinique, or the other French colonies? To avoid doing so you had nothing more to say than that you would retain them for the five years the allied powers were to remain in France. Why not demand Hamburg for Hanover. Then you would have an *entrepôt* for your manufactures. In treaties, an ambassador ought to take advantage of every thing for the benefit of his own country."

Napoleon then said, that if I were asked any questions by the ambassador about a reception at Longwood, I should say, that he (Napoleon) was not on good terms with the governor, and could not think of receiving him with that person. That If he were desirous of being introduced, he would receive him presented by Count Bertrand or by the admiral. "I have no doubt," added he, "that this governor will tell him that I am very much dissatisfied with him for doing his duty, and that I am sulky. That having myself been so long used to command, I have not philosophy enough to bear restraint. That I have been treated very well, and have made a very bad return for it. If the ambassador asks you, you may say that I have my own way of receiving persons who wish to be introduced to me. That I do not wish to affront him, far from it, but that I cannot see the governor."

28*th.*—A servant, named William Hall, dismissed from Longwood. After leaving it, he underwent a long interrogation at Plantation House by the governor relative to what he had seen and heard during his residence at Longwood.

The Ocean, Experiment, and another ship, arrived from England yesterday.

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe, who told me with some embarrassment, that "his conduct had undergone a parliamentary investigation, and that I should see in the newspapers an account of a motion relative to General Bonaparte, that had been made by Lord Holland in the House of Lords, but that *he* had not as yet received any official account of it from Lord Bathurst. That the reports of his lordship's reply, as given in the newspapers, might be incorrect or unfaithful, which I had better say, if General Bonaparte asked me any questions."

30*th.*—Napoleon sent for me to his bed-room to explain several passages in the Times newspaper, particularly in the speech imputed to Lord Bathurst in reply to Lord Holland's motion for the production of papers relative to him. Having read those parts, which stated that every change which had taken place in the situation of the complainant had been for his own benefit; that the reason for lessening his limits had been his tampering with soldiers or inhabitants; that he had

only received one letter; that the communication with officers and inhabitants was unrestricted and free; that people had gone to Longwood in disguise, &c. &c. "*Je suis bien aise*," said Napoleon, "*de voir que le ministre Anglais a justifié sa conduite atroce envers moi au parlement, à sa nation et à l'Europe avec des mensonges; triste ressource, qui ne dure pas long temps.*. Il regno di bugie non durerà per sempre,"* continued he. I felt greatly ashamed, and ready to sink into the earth, and stammered out the excuse that had been suggested to me by Sir Hudson Lowe. "It is even worse," said he, "in the Morning Chronicle. In the Times, it appeared as if *prepared* for publication in a ministerial office; but in the Chronicle, it looks as if coming from his own mouth. I have ordered Bertrand," added he, "to make a faithful translation of it, and to consult you about any phrase or delicacy of language; of the sense of which he may be doubtful. Lord Bathurst," continued he, "has shewn great indelicacy in having shewn or told to Montchenu in London, the contents of a letter written by Gourgaud to his mother, which the old blockhead repeated to all the world here. He asserts that I only received one letter, that from my brother Joseph, which is false. He ought to act like a confessor, to hear every thing, and

* The reign of lies will not last for ever.

divulge nothing; but it is of a piece with the rest of his outrageous conduct. He wants to debase and to lower me. There are some of his pleasantries that I do not well comprehend. I shall, however, soon be able to give him a proper answer. If the governor questions you, tell him what I have said."

Napoleon then observed it was strange that a sovereign, who by the Grace of God, was born lord and master of so many millions, could not receive a sealed letter. "How," said he, "can complaints be made to the sovereign of a corrupt or vile minister if such be the rule. In time of war, if a minister betrays and sells his country, how can it be known to the king, if the complaint must go through the hands of the persons complained of? At whose option it will be either to varnish and colour it over as best suits his views, or suppress it altogether."

"Santini," continued he, "has published a *brochure* full of trash. There are some truths in it, but every thing is exaggerated. There was always enough to exist upon, but not enough for a good table."

31*st*.—Gave Napoleon a translation I had made by his desire, of a letter which appeared in the Courier newspaper. After reading it, he expressed his opinion that it had been written by

the governor himself, and that the seeming incorrectness of one part was only to mask the real author.

He then spoke at length about the state of England, observed, that it was necessary not to yield too much to the people, or to allow them to think that it was conceded through fear. That perhaps the suspension of the habeas corpus act might, for a short time, be a proper step, as well as an army kept up to intimidate the *canaille*. "But," said he, "I consider these to be only topical applications, which if used without general remedies, that should act upon the constitutional disease, might prove repellent and dangerous, by driving the complaint to nobler parts. England may be likened unto a patient requiring to have his system changed by a course of mercury. The only radical remedy is that which will affect the constitution, that is to say, relieve the misery which exists. This can only be effected by procuring a vent for your manufactures, and by reduction of expenditure, ministers setting the example themselves, by giving up the sinecures, &c. This would contribute essentially to calm the public agitation. Had the ministers come forward like men, at the opening of the session of parliament, and thrown up their sinecures, this, with the example set by the Prince Regent, would have quieted all tumults and complaints. The people, in expecta-

tion of experiencing something radically beneficial from so good a beginning, would have united, and time would have been gained to adopt measures to relieve the general distress. An exclusive commercial treaty for twenty years with the Brazils and Spanish South America might still be demanded with success. Or assist the colonies in rendering themselves independent, and you will have all their commerce. A war with Spain, if she refused to agree to your demands, would divert the attention of the public, employ soldiers and sailors, and a great portion of manufacturers. —All your miseries I maintain to be owing to the imbecility and ignorance of Lord Castlereagh, and his inattention to the real prosperity of his own country. Had Lords Grenville or Wellesley been ambassadors, I am convinced that the interests of England would have been consulted. What would those Englishmen, who lived one hundred years ago, say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your glorious successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be informed, that in the treaty of peace not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated! that, on the contrary, you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence. When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia,

and every other power, obtained an increase of territory, why not England? who was the main organ of all the success. Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburg, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as *entrepôts* for your manufactures, with conditions, either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hated by the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your trade. For, although it is a great point for you, that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage to you that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactories, and consequently would have become a depôt for yours, from whence a prodigious influx would be kept up in the continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been made a part of Holland; this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of her own subjects to those of a stranger, and all Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independent of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. People always consider the danger that is most imminent. They will reason thus: 'If we declare against France, we lose, directly, Belgium and our manu-

factures; if against England, what can she do? Blockade our ports, and effect disembarkations. We shall still have the commerce of the continent, and shall have time enough to prepare ourselves. We must, therefore, declare for France.' It would have been much better that you should have given it to Austria, or why not have made it an independent country, and placed an English prince as sovereign? Now let us see the state you are actually in. You are nearly as effectually shut out from the continent, as when I reigned and promulgated the continental system. I ask you what peace dictated by me, supposing that I had been victorious, could have been worse in its effects for England, than the one made by Lord Castlereagh, when she was triumphant. The hatred which your ministers bear to me, has precipitated them into an abyss. You recollect I told you some time ago, that I thought it bad policy to leave the English troops in France, and make Lord Wellington commander-in-chief. You now see the effect of it. Prussia denies entrance to your merchandize. What can you do? You can neither attempt to intimidate, nor proceed to extremities, as Prussia could fall upon Lord Wellington and his forty thousand men. While you retain your troops on the continent, you will never be independent. Had you, after the grand blow was given, when I was disposed of, withdrawn your

troops from the continent, you would have been independent; you would not have drawn down the hatred and jealousy of the continental powers, especially at seeing Lord Wellington commander-in-chief, and they never would have dared to shut their ports against you. You could then have sent your ships, blockaded their ports, and have declared, 'if you do not permit my merchandize to enter, no other shall either go in or come out.' They would soon have listened to reason.—*Now*, your hands are tied; your meddling in continental affairs, and trying to make yourselves a great military power, instead of attending to the sea and commerce, will yet be your ruin as a nation. You were greatly offended with me for having called you a *nation of shopkeepers*. Had I meant by this that you were a nation of cowards, you would have had reason to be displeased; even though it were ridiculous and contrary to historical facts; but no such thing was ever intended. I meant that you were a nation of merchants, and that all your great riches, and your grand resources arose from commerce, which is true. What else constitutes the riches of England? It is not extent of territory, or a numerous population. It is not mines of gold, silver, or diamonds. Moreover no man of sense ought to be ashamed of being called a shopkeeper. But your prince and your ministers appear to wish to change al-

together *l'esprit* of the English, and to render you another nation; to make you ashamed of your shops and your trade which have made you what you are, and to sigh after nobility, titles, and crosses; in fact to assimilate you with the French. What other object can there be in all those cordons, crosses, and honours, which are so profusely showered. You are all nobility now, instead of the plain old Englishmen. You are ashamed of yourselves, and want to be a nation of nobility and *gentlemen*.* Nothing is to be seen or heard of now in England, but 'Sir John,' and 'my lady.' All those things did very well with me in France, because they were conformable to the spirit of the nation; but believe me it is contrary both to the spirit and the interest of England. Stick to your ships, your commerce, and counting-houses, and leave cordons, crosses, and cavalry uniforms to the continent, and you will prosper. Lord Castlereagh himself was ashamed of your being called a nation of merchants, and frequently said in France, that it was a mistaken idea to suppose that England depended upon commerce, or was indebted to it for her riches; and added that it was not by any means necessary to her. How I laughed when I heard of this false pride. He betrayed his country at the peace. I do not mean

* This he said in English, as well as the words marked with commas, which follow.

to say," continued he, laying his hand over his heart, "that he did it from here, but he betrayed it by neglecting its interests. He was in fact the *commis* of the allied sovereigns. Perhaps he wanted to convince them that you were not a nation of merchants, by shewing clearly that you would not make any advantageous bargain for yourselves by magnanimously giving up every thing, that nations might cry, 'Oh! how nobly England has behaved!' Had he attended to the interests of his own country, had he stipulated for commercial treaties, for the independence of some maritime states and towns, for certain advantages to be secured to England, to indemnify her for the waste of blood, and the enormous sacrifices she had made, why then they might have said, 'What a mercenary people, they are truly a nation of merchants; see what bargains they want to make; and Lord Castlereagh would not have been so well received in the *drawing-rooms!*"

"Talent he may have displayed in some instances," continued the emperor, "and great pertinacity in accomplishing my downfal; but as to knowledge of, or attention to, the interests of his own country, he has manifested neither the one nor the other. Probably for a thousand years, such another opportunity of aggrandizing England will not occur. In the position of affairs, nothing could have been refused to you. But

now after such romantic and unparalleled successes; after having been favoured by God and by accidents, in the manner you have been; after effecting impossibilities, I may say—effecting what the most sanguine mind could never have entertained the most distant idea of, what has England gained?—the cordons of the allied sovereigns for Lord Castlereagh!"

"When," continued Napoleon,* "a nation has been favoured so much as yours has been, and that misery exists in that nation, it must be owing to the imbecility of the ministers. The transition from war to peace cannot explain it. It is of too long a continuance. Had I been the English minister, or had the minister been possessed of common sense, and not blinded by vanity, or one who would not have allowed himself to be duped by the attentions of kings and emperors; you would have been rich, the seas covered with your ships, and your manufacturers would have been wealthy and flourishing. Lord Castlereagh will be an object of reprehension for the nation and for posterity."

I told Napoleon that in one of the Couriers sent him by the governor, I had observed a speech attributed to Sir Francis Burdett, accusing him of having established eight *bastiles* in France.

* This conversation was communicated by me in 1817, to official persons.

Napoleon replied, "In some respects it is true. I established a few prisons, but they were for certain persons who were under sentence of death; as I did not like to have the capital punishment executed, and could not send them to a Botany Bay, as you were masters of the sea and would have released them, I was obliged to keep them in prisons."

"There were," continued he, "some Vendean chiefs, Chouans, and others, who had been arrested for rebellion and other crimes, to whom the choice was given, either to be tried, or to remain in prison as long as the government might think it necessary for the safety of the state. Those gaols were inspected twice a year by a committee composed of a councillor of state, and two judges; who each time offered the prisoners the choice of continuing in prison as they were, or of being brought to trial; but they always preferred the former. They were allowed three francs a day for their subsistence. 'No abuses," continued he, "were known to be committed in the prisons; and in fact, instead of being a crime as imputed to me in that paper, it was a mercy. But," added he, "where is the country without gaols; are there not some in England?"

June 2nd.—An orderly dragoon brought a letter, directing me to proceed immediately to Plantation House. Found his excellency in the library, who asked what were Gen. Bonaparte's remarks

upon the discussions in parliament. I repeated Napoleon's expressions (as I had been desired to do). When I mentioned the remarks he had made upon the assertion imputed to Lord Bathurst, that every change which had taken place had been for the benefit of the complainant, also his observations on the indelicacy of disclosing the contents of letters, Sir Hudson Lowe took up a number of the Times newspaper, and with a countenance in which embarrassment was visible, observed, "that Lord Bathurst was right in having asserted, that whatever alterations had been made, had been for the better, because his lordship must have alluded to the different manner in which letters were now sent to Longwood; for *instead of passing through the hands of inferior officers* as before, they were now only seen and read by himself (the governor)."

Some conversation then took place relative to the quantity of provisions allowed to Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe maintained that the quantities had been fixed by Count Montholon, and that he (Sir Hudson) had never heard any complaints made of a deficiency. I explained to his excellency, that Count Montholon had not fixed the quantities, and also called to his recollection that the scantiness of the allowance had been frequently reported to him by the orderly officer, by the purveyor, by myself, and also by the maître d'hôtel. Sir Hudson Lowe persisted that the

quantities had been specified by Count Montholon, and sent for Major Gorrequer to prove the correctness of his assertion. Major Gorrequer however, did not support his excellency; as he declared that the quantity of the wine only had been fixed by the count, and that of the remaining articles by a scale framed by orders of his excellency himself. Notwithstanding a little confusion produced by this, Sir Hudson Lowe persisted in asserting that he was ignorant of the insufficiency of the allowance of provisions; upon which I thought it necessary to enumerate the days on which representations to that effect had been made to him by myself, by Mr. Balcombe, and by the maître d'hôtel; and also observed, that the assistance rendered by Sir Thomas Reade twice a week in procuring divers articles of eatables for Longwood, for which payment had been frequently made in his presence by Cipriani, could not have left Sir Thomas in ignorance respecting the wants of the French. The governor sneeringly observed, "it appeared that I should be the best witness *those* people could call."

4*th*.—An increase of twenty-eight pounds daily in the meat furnished by government to Longwood, ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe.

Independent of the usual guard, an officer has been stationed at Hut's Gate since the arrival of the ships from England, with orders to inspect

minutely every one approaching Longwood, and to allow "*no suspicious persons*" to pass.

5th.—Count and Countess Montholon went to town shopping, and to pay a visit to Admiral and Lady Malcolm. The officer who accompanied them was ordered by the governor to "follow them into the admiral's, and to pay attention to their conversation."

6th.—Saw Napoleon, who was in very good spirits. Told me that Count Montholon had been informed yesterday that a person who had seen the Grand Lama had just arrived in the island; he therefore desired, that as soon as I went to town, I should endeavour to get acquainted with him, and inquire what ceremonies had been made use of; whether adoration was practised, and inform myself of every possible particular. "I am." said he, "very curious to get some information about this Grand Lama. I have never read any accounts about him that I could rely upon, and sometimes have doubted of his existence."

Saw Sir Hudson Lowe in town, with whom I had some conversation relative to Napoleon's observations on Lord Bathurst's speech. His excellency gave me a message to be delivered to him in reply. Mentioned to him that Napoleon had also remarked, when speaking of Lord B., "*Quasi tutti li ministri son bugiardi, Talleyrand n'è il caporale, poi viene Castlereagh, poi Metternich,*

Hardenberg,* &c." Informed him also that Napoleon had desired me to endeavour to make myself acquainted with a gentleman lately arrived, who, it was reported, had seen the Grand Lama. Sir Hudson *appeared* not to know that such a person was in the island.

Shortly afterwards I met Capt. Balston, of the Hon. Company's sea service, who reminded me of our former acquaintance. By him I was informed that a gentleman had arrived from China, with a letter of introduction to me from Mr. Urmston, of Macao, with whom I had been on terms of intimacy. On seeing the gentleman afterwards. I found that his name was Manning, and that he was the person of whom I was in search. He wore a long black beard, and had travelled through the kingdom of Thibet as far as the frontiers of China. I told him that the emperor had expressed great curiosity about the Grand Lama, and that if he came up to Longwood, there was every probability that he would see him. Mr. Manning related that he had been a prisoner in France, and had been released by Napoleon, and furnished with a passport, as soon as the emperor had learned that he was a person travelling for information, which might ultimately benefit society; that as a mark of his gratitude for this favour, he had sent some little presents to the governor for him, with a re-

* Almost all ministers are liars. Talleyrand is their corporal, next come Castlereagh, Metternich, Hardenberg.

quest that they might be forwarded, and that he would ask a pass for the purpose of endeavouring to see him.

A report current in town, that a marble bust of young Napoleon was brought out in the Baring, and that Sir Thomas Reade had recommended the captain of the vessel to throw it overboard and say nothing about it. This was asserted as a positive fact to Cipriani and to me by Capt. **, who said that the captain of the Baring had confessed that insinuations to that effect had been made to him.

7th.—Mr. Manning, accompanied by Captain Balston, came up to Count Bertrand's. The former told me that he had been directed by the governor, for what reason he could not divine, not to communicate to the Count that he had sent a few presents to him for Napoleon. After they had been about an hour at Count Bertrand's, Napoleon, came in accompanied by General Montholon. He accosted Captain Balston first, and observed, "Oh, I have seen you here before." He then asked Mr. Manning some questions. Manning related that he had been in France in 1805, (I think), and was one of the persons who had been detained; that he had written a letter to him (Napoleon), stating that he was travelling for the benefit of the world at large, which had procured his release. "What protection had you?" asked Napoleon. "Had you a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to me?" Manning replied that he had no

protection whatever, nor letter from Sir Joseph Banks, nor had he any friends to interest themselves in his behalf; that he had merely written a letter to him stating his situation. "Was it your simple letter which obtained your liberty?" asked Napoleon. "It was my simple letter," replied Manning, "that induced you to grant it to me, for which I am very grateful, and beg to thank you." Napoleon asked him where he had lived, &c., and looked at the map of the countries in the atlas of Las Cases, asking a variety of questions about the route he had taken; whether he had seen the Grand Lama; the manners, customs, &c. of the countries he had passed through.

Manning gave a clear and concise reply to every question, said that he had seen the Lama, whom he described to be an intelligent boy of seven years old, and had performed the same ceremonies in his presence as were done by others who were admitted to it. Napoleon said, "how did you escape being taken up as a spy?" "I hope," replied Manning, "that there is nothing in my countenance which would indicate my being a spy;" at which Napoleon laughed, and said, "How came it to pass, that you being *profane*, according to their ideas, could gain admission to the presence of the Lama?" Mr. Manning answered that he honoured and paid respect to all religions, and thereby gained admission. Napo-

leon desired to know if he had passed for an Englishman, and observed that the shape of his nose would indicate his being an European? The other replied that he had passed for a native of Calcutta, but he believed it was known that he was an Englishmen; that there were some races of men there who had a similar formation of nose. Napoleon then observed with a smile, that, "*Messieurs les voyageurs* frequently told *contes*, and that the existence of the Grand Lama had been denied by several." Manning answered, "*Je ne suis pas du nombre de ces voyageurs là*; that truth was not falsehood," at which Napoleon laughed, and asked many other questions. Manning related, that the chief part of the revenues of the Grand Lama arose from presents made to him by the princes and others who believed in him; that temporally, however, he was subject to the Chinese; that he never married, neither did his priests; that the body into which, according to their belief, the spirit passed, was discovered by signs known only to the priests. Napoleon then asked several questions about the Chinese language, the late embassy, if the Russians had ever penetrated in that direction, and whether he intended to publish an account of his travels; after which he asked Balston some questions about his ship, wished them a good morning, and departed.

Gave Napoleon a copy of Santini's pamphlet

in French, which he read, observing as he went through it, according as the passages seemed to deserve it, "true," "partly true," "false," "stuff," &c.

He observed that they had spelled his name with an *u (Buonaparte)*, and told me that when he first commanded the army of Italy, he had used the *u* in order to please the Italians; that, however, either the one or the other was equally proper; that after his return from Egypt he had dropped it; that in fact the chiefs of the family and those who had been highest, had spelled their names with the *u*, adding, "that a mighty affair had been made of so trifling a matter." He concluded by remarking, that "Santini would have done better to have confined himself strictly to the truth, which would have had a much stronger effect on the public mind than the exaggerations he had promulgated, which indeed appeared to have been framed by some person in England, as Santini was incapable of writing a pamphlet himself."

8th.—Mr. Cole (of the firm of Balcombe and Co., the purveyors,) came up to Longwood by order of Major Gorrequer, to acquaint General Montholon that the liveries of the servants must be changed from green to blue, and the quantity of gold lace upon the coats diminished.

For some time back complaints have been made

by the maître d'hôtel of the badness of the mutton, of the fowls, the indifferent quality and want of variety of the vegetables, &c. Mr. Cole informed me that it was not their fault, as, by order of Sir Hudson Lowe, the purveyor was obliged to take the sheep from the company's stock-yard. That this day permission had been received to purchase from the farmers, restricting them however to a certain price; that the vegetables furnished were received from the garden of the governor.

9*th*.—An official complaint made in writing by Captain Poppleton to Major Gorrequer of the badness of the above-mentioned articles; also that Mr. Cole said that the vegetables were furnished from Plantation House garden.

10*th*.—Napoleon in his bed-room. Told him that I had received a Portsmouth paper, in which were contained extracts from a work published in London under his name. He looked over it, and observed that he had not written a line of it, though some parts resembled his manner. He added that there was a Scotchman, whose name he did not recollect, who had written several articles so much in his style, that when in France he had caused some of his works to be translated into French.

I informed him that Colonel Macirone, aid-de-camp to Murat, had published some anecdotes of his late master. "What does he say of me?"

said Napoleon. I replied, that I had not seen the book, but had been informed by Sir Thomas Reade that he spoke ill of him. "Oh," said he, laughing, "that is nothing; I am well accustomed to it. But what does he say?" I answered, it was asserted that Murat had imputed the loss of the battle of Waterloo to the cavalry not having been properly employed, and had said, that if he (Murat) had commanded them, the French would have gained the victory. "It is very probable," replied Napoleon, "I could not be every where; and Murat was the best cavalry officer in the world. He would have given more impetuosity to the charge. There wanted but very little, I assure you, to gain the day for me. *Enfoncer deux ou trois bataillons*, and in all probability Murat would have effected that. There were not I believe two such officers in the world as Murat for the cavalry, and Drouot for the artillery. Murat was a most singular character. Four and twenty years ago when he was a captain, I made him my aid-de-camp, and subsequently raised him to be what he was. He loved, I may rather say, adored me. In my presence he was as it were struck with awe, and ready to fall at my feet. I acted wrong in having separated him from me, as without me, he was nothing. With me, he was my right arm. Order Murat to attack and destroy four or five thousand men in such a direction, it

was done in a moment; but leave him to himself he was an *imbecille* without judgment. I cannot conceive how so brave a man could be so *lâche*. He was no where brave unless before the enemy. *There* he was probably the bravest man in the world. His boiling courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, *couvert de pennes jusqu'au clocher*, and glittering with gold. How he escaped is a miracle, being as he was, always a distinguished mark, and fired at by every body. Even the Cossacs admired him on account of his extraordinary bravery. Every day Murat was engaged in single combat with some of them, and never returned without his sabre dropping with the blood of those whom he had slain. He was a paladine, in fact a Don Quixote in the field; but take him into the cabinet, he was a poltroon without judgment or decision. Murat and Ney were the bravest men I ever witnessed. Murat, however, was a much nobler character than Ney. Murat was generous and open; Ney partook of the *canaille*. Strange to say, however, Murat, although he loved me, did me more mischief than any other person in the world. When I left Elba, I sent a messenger to acquaint him with what I had done. Immediately he must attack the Austrians. The messenger went upon his knees to prevent him; but in vain. He thought me already master of France, Belgium, and Holland, and that he must

make his peace, and not adhere to *demi-mesures.* Like a madman, he attacked the Austrians with his *canaille,* and ruined me. For at that time there was a negociation going on between Austria and me, stipulating that the former should remain neuter, which would have been finally concluded, and I should have reigned undisturbed. But as soon as Murat attacked the Austrians, the emperor immediately conceived that he was acting by my directions, and indeed it will be difficult to make posterity believe to the contrary. Metternich said, 'Oh, the Emperor Napoleon is the same as ever. A man of iron. The trip to Elba has not changed him. Nothing will ever alter him: all or nothing for him. Austria joined the coalition, and I was lost. Murat was unconscious that my conduct was regulated by circumstances and adapted to them. He was like a man gazing at the scenes shifting at the opera, without ever thinking of the machinery behind, by which the whole is moved. He never however thought that his secession in the first instance would have been so injurious to me, or he would not have joined the allies. He concluded that I should be obliged to give up Italy and some other countries, but never contemplated my total ruin.

Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Went to Count Bertrand's, where he remained for some time. In the evening Napoleon sent for me, and

said that Sir Hudson Lowe had been to Bertrand to inform him that Lady Holland had sent out some presents for Madame Bertrand's children, two books for himself, and some other articles, with a letter; that although it was contrary to the regulations, which prescribed that every thing should come through the secretary of state's office, he would take it upon himself to send them. That Mr. Manning had also left some trifling presents for him (Napoleon), which he wished to know if he would accept. That there was also another circumstance still more embarrassing, viz. that a sculptor at Leghorn had made a bad bust of young Napoleon, and which he had forwarded to St. Helena by the Baring, in charge of a man now very ill with a fever, with a letter, stating that the artist had been already satisfied, but that if he (Napoleon) wished to pay any more, one hundred guineas was the price, which he conceived to be a large sum of money for a badly executed bust. That he wished to be informed if Napoleon would desire to have it. "Bertrand," continued Napoleon "replied, that doubtless the emperor would wish to see the statue of his son. He regretted it had not been forwarded at an earlier period. That it would be better to send it that very evening than detain it until to-morrow, and that the emperor would be happy to receive Mr. Manning's presents. Bertrand says, that he looked

disturbed, and appeared to attribute great merit to himself for having offered to send up those things, because they had not passed through the hands of the secretary of state, and surprised that Bertrand was not abounding in thanks to him for his great goodness. I do not know what he meant by saying that a hundred guineas was too much for the statue, or if he intended it as an insult, or as a reflection upon us. Surely no sum could be too much for a *father* to pay under similar circumstances, But this man has no feeling."

Napoleon then asked me if I knew any thing about the statue? I replied, that I had heard of it some days before. "Why did you not tell me?" asked the emperor. I felt a little confused, and answered, that I expected the governor would have sent it up. Napoleon said, "I have known of it for several days. I intended, if it had not been given, to have made such a complaint as would have caused every Englishman's hair to stand on end with horror (*alzare i capelli*). I would have told a tale which would have made the mothers of England execrate him as a monster in human shape. I have been informed that he has been deliberating about it, and also that his prime minister Reade ordered it to be broken. I suppose that he has been consulting with that little major, who has pointed out to him that it would brand his name with ignominy for ever, or

that his wife has read him a lecture at night about the atrocity of such a proceeding. He has done enough however to dishonour his name by retaining it so long* and by even allowing a doubt to exist of its being sent up."

The emperor afterwards spoke of his own family. "My excellent mother," said he, "is a woman of courage, and of great talent, more of a masculine than a feminine nature, proud, and high minded.† She is capable of selling every thing even to her *chemise* for me. I allowed her a million a year, besides a palace, and giving her many presents. To the manner in which she formed me at an early age, I principally owe my subsequent elevation. My opinion is, that the future good or bad conduct of a child entirely depends upon the mother. She is very rich. Most of my family considered that I might die, that accidents might happen, and consequently

* The bust had been in the island for fourteen days, during several of which it was at Plantation House.

† Madame Mère, when I had the honour of seeing her at Rome in 1819, was still the remains of a fine woman. Her manners were dignified and commanding, and her deportment such as one would expect to find in a queen, or in the mother of Napoleon. Her thoughts were divided between her God and her son. She saw but little company, and I believe that the Duke of Hamilton and myself were the only Britons, who had dined at her table. Her establishment was splendid, though private and unostentatious.

took care to secure something. They have preserved a great part of their property.

"Josephine died worth about eighteen millions of francs. She was the greatest patroness of the fine arts that had been known in France for a series of years. She had frequently little disputes with Denon, and even with myself, as she wanted to procure fine statues and pictures for her own gallery, instead of the museum. Now, I always acted to please the people; and whenever I obtained a fine statue, or a valuable picture, I sent it there for the benefit of the nation. Josephine was grace personified *(la grazia in persona)*. Every thing she did was with a peculiar grace and delicacy. I never saw her act inelegantly during the whole time we lived together. She had grace even *en se couchant*. Her toilet was a perfect arsenal, and she effectually defended herself against the assaults of time."

"When the pope was in France," added Napoleon, "I allotted him a most superb palace, elegantly furnished, at Fontainbleau, and one hundred thousand crowns a month for his expenses. —Fifteen carriages were kept for himself and the cardinals, though he never went out. He was a good man, but a fanatic. He was greatly annoyed by the libels which had been published, containing assertions of my having ill treated him,

and contradicted them publicly, stating, that except politically, he had been very well treated. At one time," continued the emperor, "I had it in contemplation to take away all his temporal power, to make him my almoner, and Paris the capital of the Christian world."

11*th.*—This day was sent up a beautiful white marble bust of young Napoleon, about the natural size, and very well executed, with an inscription, Napoléon François Charles Joseph, &c., and decorated with the grand cross of the legion of honour. The presents from Lady Holland and Mr. Manning accompanied it. Napoleon did not eat any thing until eight o'clock in the evening.

Some time after the bust arrived, Napoleon sent for me. It was placed on the mantel-piece in the drawing-room. "Look at that," said Napoleon, "look at that image. Barbarous and atrocious must the man be who would break such an image as that. I esteem the man capable of executing, or of ordering it, to be worse than him who administers poison to another. For the latter has some object to gain, but the former is instigated by nothing but the blackest atrocity, *(l'atrocità la più nera)* and is capable of committing any crime. That countenance would melt the heart of the most ferocious wild beast. The man who gave orders to break that image, would

plunge a knife into the heart of the original, if it were in his power."* He gazed on the statue for several minutes with great satisfaction and delight; his face covered with smiles, and strongly expressive of paternal love, and of the pride which he felt in being the father of so lovely a boy. I watched his countenance narrowly, which I had an excellent opportunity of doing while he was contemplating attentively the beautiful, though inanimate features sculptured on the marble. No person, who had witnessed this scene, could deny that Napoleon was animated by the tender affections of a father.

Napoleon afterwards vented his feelings about the alleged order for the destruction of the bust. When I endeavoured to reason upon the uncertainty of the fact, and that it assuredly had not been given by the governor, he interrupted me by saying, "that it was in vain to attempt to deny a known fact. The statue to me," continued he, "was worth a million, although this governor contemptuously said that a hundred pounds was a great price for it.

Mr. Balcombe came up to Count Bertrand's about some money concerns, and had an interview afterwards with Napoleon, who walked with Count Bertrand and him to the end of the wood.

* This conversation was communicated by me to official persons shortly after it occurred.

12*th*.—Saw Napoleon in his bath, in which he remained for four hours and a half. Gave him "M. Macirone's Interesting Facts respecting Joachim Murat." With very little assistance from me, he read it through, making observations occasionally. "He will not be pitied," said he, "because he was a traitor. He never mentioned to me that he was determined to defend his kingdom; neither had I ever told him that my intentions were to unite the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, take them from him, and make him constable of the empire. I certainly made an instrument of him, to answer grand projects that I had in view for Italy, and intended as I told you before, to have dispossessed Murat of the crown of Naples; but the time was not come; and besides, I would have given him a suitable indemnification. His letter to Macirone was ridiculous, and his enterprize that of a madman. What reason had he to complain of the Emperor of Austria, who had behaved generously, and offered him an asylum, wherever he pleased, in his dominions, subject to no other restriction than that of not quitting it without permission; which was very necessary. In the actual state of things, what more, in God's name, could he desire. I, myself, never should have expected more in England. It was a generous act on the part of the Emperor of Austria, and a return of good for evil, as Murat had

endeavoured to deprive him of Italy; had published proclamations exciting insurrection amongst the Italians; attacked the emperor's troops like a blockhead without reason; and like a madman engaged without judgment in an expedition without a plan, and so badly arranged, that he never had been able to unite even his own guard. In his proclamations to the Italians, he never mentioned my name, although he knew that they adored me."

"*Ma bisogna dire la verità*," continued he, "Murat had not acted in that double manner in his correspondence with me, of which he has been accused. The papers shewn to prove it were falsified. At that time, Murat had no understanding with me. Lord Exmouth appears to have acted fairly and honourably, by candidly informing him, that he would receive him on no other terms than as a prisoner of war. I do not believe that he offered a thousand louis for the arrestation of Murat. ***, who is described to be so good and honourable a character, is neither the one nor the other. He certainly is a person greatly attached to me, but he is a man of the police; you know," added he, laughing, "what kind of honour those gentry have. *Belle armée*, indeed," repeated he, using an expression of contempt, alluding to Murat's expression about the Neapolitan army. "You know what the Neapolitans are.—Murat

undertook an expedition *da coglione al fondo*, to invade Naples with two hundred Corsicans at the time that it was occupied by twenty thousand Austrians, and terminated his life like a madman. He will be lamented by none, although at the same time he was far from being guilty of that double treachery imputed to him."

He then repeated the opinion he had formerly given, had the cavalry been commanded by Murat at Waterloo, but added, that the army considered him as a traitor.

13*th*.—Saw Napoleon in the billiard-room. He was in very good spirits. Spoke about the possibility of his having remained in France after the battle of Waterloo, in spite of the efforts of the allied powers. "My own opinion was," said he, "that I could not have done so without having shed the blood of hundreds by the guillotine. I must have plunged my hands up to this in blood;" stretching out one arm and applying the finger of the other to his arm-pits. "Had the legislative body displayed courage, I might have succeeded, but they were frightened and divided amongst each other; La Fayette was one of the chief causes of the success of the enemies of France. To have given me a chance, I must have had recourse to the most sanguinary measures. The conduct of the allies, in declaring that they waged war against me alone, had a great effect. Had it

been possible to have rendered me inseparable from the nation, no efforts of the allied powers would have succeeded; but as it was, by isolating me, and declaring that if I were once removed, all obstacles to a peace would cease; people became divided in their sentiments, and I determined to abdicate, and remove, as far as I was concerned, every difficulty. Had the French nation guessed at the intentions of the allies, or that they would have acted as they have done since, they would have rallied round me. But they were overreached like the lambs in the fable, when the wolves declared they only waged war against the dogs; but the dogs once removed, they fell upon and devoured the lambs."

"There is a great difference of opinion," continued the emperor, "as to what I ought to have done. Many were of opinion that I ought to have fought to the last. Others said, that fortune had abandoned me, that Waterloo had closed my career of arms for ever. My own opinion is, that I ought to have died at Waterloo; perhaps a little earlier. Had I died at Moscow, I should probably have had the reputation of the greatest conqueror ever known. But the smiles of fortune were at an end. I experienced little but reverses afterwards; hitherto I had been unconquered. I ought to have died at Waterloo, *j'aurais du mourir, à Waterloo.* But the misfortune is, that when a

man seeks the most for death, he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind, every where, but no bullet for me."

A letter written to Sir Hudson Lowe by Count Bertrand, stating that he had not yet seen the captain of the vessel who had brought the bust, and expressing a wish that he might be permitted to come to Longwood.

Napoleon walked in the evening for some time with Count Montholon.

18*th.*—A reply was returned by the governor to Count Bertrand's note, stating that the bust had not been brought out by the captain of the Baring. A request was however again made by the Count, that he should be permitted to visit Longwood, and on this day Captain Lamb, (a half-pay lieutenant of the navy,) came to see Count Bertrand. On his return I asked him to favour me with some information about the bust. He stated, that it had been passed and sent on board from the custom-house, in charge of the gunner of his ship, an Italian, who formerly had been for many years in the British navy. That the day after his arrival at St. Helena, he had mentioned the circumstance at a gentleman's house, and had demanded to be informed of the best mode of transmitting it to Bonaparte, when he was directed to apply to Sir Thomas Reade, who had made numerous inquiries on the subject; amongst others, whe-

ther he had mentioned the circumstance to any person in the island, to which he answered that he had related it; he had spoken of it at a dinner party. He was then asked how he could think of bringing out such an article, it being contrary to the instructions; and was finally desired by Sir Thomas Reade to say nothing about the matter, and also to request of those to whom he had mentioned it, to be equally silent. I observed that he must be aware of the report which was current in the island, relative to a recommendation said to have been made to him to throw it overboard, or break it into pieces, a contradiction of which I was anxious to hear from his own mouth. Captain Lamb replied, that he had heard the report, which was very general, but not true, and professed that he did not know what it could have arisen from.

On this gentleman's return to town he alighted at Sir Thomas Reade's, and after a stay of a few minutes proceeded to Plantation House, on one of the governor's horses.

19*th*.—The Podargus brought the intelligence that the Conqueror, with the new admiral (Plampin,) had arrived at the Cape. Letters received for Count Bertrand, General Gourgaud, and Marchand.

The admiral and Lady Malcolm, with Major Boys of the marines, and Captain Jones, royal

navy, paid a visit to Napoleon. Colonel Fagan, formerly judge advocate in India, had also an interview with him afterwards. The colonel, who spoke French like a native, said that Napoleon asked him many questions in his profession which puzzled him, and that he was extremely shrewd in his remarks.

Saw Napoleon in the evening. He informed me that he had seen Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, also Colonel Fagan. "The admiral," said he, "endeavoured to support the governor, and said that I might depend upon it he had sent my observations on the restrictions to England. Indeed he advocated his conduct so much, that I told him he was like the rest of the English, *trop êgoïste*, that not being myself an Englishman, their laws did not protect me, and I had no justice to expect from them. *E troppo Inglese.** I told him that in Lord ———'s speech there were three calumnies and ten lies, and that I intended to answer it. He tried to excuse him in the same manner the governor did, by stating that the report of the speech in the newspapers might not be correct, or faithful, and was not to be depended upon. He is mistaken, however. In France, even during the time of the revolutionary fury, the speeches were faithfully reported. I gave *Milédi* one of my fine porcelain cups with a figure of

* He is too much of an Englishman.

Cleopatra's needle upon it, as a mark of the esteem which I entertain for her, and the sense I have of her attentions. She insisted upon taking it down herself. I cannot," added he, "conceive how the admiral can think of attempting to excuse a man so unlike himself, and whose conduct I know he cannot approve of in his heart.

Napoleon then said that he had asked Colonel Fagan several questions about the military penal code. "Of this subject," added he, "I am master, as I framed many of the laws myself. I am a doctor of laws, and while the code Napoleon was forming, I had repeated disputations and discussions with the compilers of it, who were astonished at the knowledge which I possessed on the subject. I also originated many of the best of its laws."

20*th*.—An order received by Captain Poppleton from Sir Hudson Lowe, to reply by signal, *yes* or *no*, whether Lady Malcolm, Major Boys, and Captain Jones had been in with General Bonaparte at the same time with the admiral.

Learned that the governor appeared to be very uneasy that some observations made by Napoleon on Lord Bathurst's speech should have been repeated by a captain in the navy at Solomon's shop; which circumstance had been reported to him by Sir Thomas Reade immediately after it occurred.

An official report again made to his excellency by the orderly officer, of the quality of the bread supplied to Longwood, which was so bad, that for a considerable time Napoleon had been obliged to make use of biscuit.

24*th.*—Napoleon's cheek swelled and inflamed, chiefly caused by a carious tooth.

Some uneasiness manifested at Plantation House at the declaration made by two captains in the navy of their intentions towards Sir Thomas Reade, whom they accused of some practices of espionage towards them, which had not been warranted either by their situation or conduct.

27*th.*—Lord Amherst arrived.

28*th.*—Lord Amherst and suite, accompanied by the governor, paid a visit to Count and Countess Bertrand.

Napoleon observed, that the civilities of the governor were those of a gaoler. "When he came to Bertrand's with the ambassador," said he, "he merely introduced him as Lord Amherst, and then, without sitting down or conversing for a moment like a gentleman, turned about and took his leave, like a gaoler or a turnkey who points out his prisoners to visitors, then turns the key, and leaves them together. Having come up with Lord Amherst, he ought to have remained for a quarter of an hour and then left them."

July 3*rd.*—Admiral Plampin, who arrived two

or three days ago in the Conqueror, came to Longwood with Captain Davie (his flag-captain), and his secretary, Mr. Elliot. They were introduced to Napoleon by Sir Pulteney Malcolm.

Saw Napoleon afterwards, who remarked the singular difference of appearance between Sir Pulteney Malcolm and his successor. "Few men," said he, "have so prepossessing an exterior and manner as Malcolm; but the other reminds me of one of those drunken little Dutch *schippers* that I have seen in Holland, sitting at a table with a pipe in his mouth, a cheese, and a bottle of geneva before him."

On my return from town, dined with the emperor *tête-à-tête* in his writing-room. He was in very good humour. Spoke about Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm; asked if I had seen the new admiral; made some remarks on the late attacks made on the validity of his title to the crown. "By the doctrines put forth by your government writers," said he, "upon the subject of legitimacy, every throne in Europe would be shaken from its foundation. If I was not a legitimate sovereign, William the Third was an usurper of the throne of England, as he was brought in chiefly by the aid of foreign bayonets. George the First was placed on the throne by a faction, composed of a few nobles; I was called to that of France by the votes of nearly four millions of Frenchmen. In fact,

the calling of me an usurper is an absurdity which your ministers will in the end be obliged to abandon. If my title to the crown of France was not legitimate, what is that of George the Third?"

The dinner was served on a little round table. The emperor sat on the sofa, and I on a chair opposite. I was very hungry, and did great justice to what was presented to me. Napoleon said that he should like to see me drunk, and ordered Marchand to bring a bottle of champaign, of which he took one glass himself and made me finish the rest, calling out in English several times, "*Doctor, drink, drink.*"

4*th.*—Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm sailed for England in the Newcastle frigate.

Having mislaid some sheets of my journal, I have been under the necessity of chiefly trusting to my recollection for the following details. The manner in which Captain Lamb had related the history of the bust, had instead of dissipating the suspicions at Longwood, rather convinced them that some such proposal or insinuation had been made. This was confirmed by the visit at Longwood of two of the captains of the lately arrived store-ships, both of whom saw Napoleon in the garden. One, whose name it is not *now* necessary to mention, assured Napoleon himself, and other residents of Longwood, that he had heard Captain Lamb say, that some insinuations had been made to him purporting that the bust should be

thrown overboard, the gunner who brought it confined to his ship, and nothing more said of the matter. Previous to this, I succeeded in persuading Napoleon that the charge against Sir Thomas Reade was unfounded, and even obtained his permission to communicate his sentiments on the subject to that officer. The affair was buzzed about the island, and gained considerable credit.

It was reported that the bust in question had been executed at Leghorn by orders of the empress Marie Louise, and that she had sent it to her husband by the gunner, as a silent though convincing proof that her affections were unchanged. Napoleon, who was extremely partial to the empress, was inclined to believe this supposition, which in itself was very probable, and made him very anxious to ascertain the truth. To accomplish this object, he directed Count Bertrand to apply for permission to be granted to the gunner to come to Longwood. After some delays and assertions that the man was sick, during which time he was examined on oath at Plantation House and minutely searched, it was signified to Bertrand that leave was granted to him to go to Longwood. A few minutes after his arrival at Count Bertrand's and while speaking to the Countess, Captain Poppleton was sent into the room by the governor, with orders not to allow him to speak to any of the French, unless in his presence. This proceed-

ing, combined with the disingenuous manner in which it was executed, was considered as an insult, and the gunner was immediately directed to withdraw.

Two or three days after Lord Amherst's arrival, I had the honour of dining in company with him at Plantation House. As I have lost the notes which I made on that occasion, I shall merely state, to the best of my recollection, the purport of what I had the honour of explaining to his lordship, viz. "that I conceived myself bound to inform him, that if he went to Longwood with a view of seeing Napoleon, accompanied by the governor or by any of his staff, he would certainly meet with a refusal; which, although far from the intention of Napoleon, might by others be construed into an insult. That considered in any way, it was a circumstance desirable to be avoided. That if his lordship came up with only his own staff, I had little doubt but that he would be received, provided Napoleon should be sufficiently recovered from a swelling in his cheek, with which he was then afflicted."

His lordship was pleased to thank me for the suggestion.

At the end of June, or beginning of July, Count Bertrand waited upon Lord Amherst, and informed him that Napoleon had been unwell for several days, and was at that moment suffering

under a toothach. He added, however, that if the emperor should be in a state to see visitors before his lordship's departure, he would receive him. Accordingly, on the 2nd or 3rd his lordship proceeded to Longwood, accompanied by his suite, and by Captain Murray Maxwell, of his majesty's late ship the Alceste. About half-past three, the ambassador was introduced to Napoleon, with whom he remained alone for nearly two hours. Previous to leaving him, his lordship presented the members of his suite and Captain Maxwell, to each of whom Napoleon addressed some observations. Mr. Ellis, the secretary, conversed with him about a quarter of an hour. He observed to Captain Maxwell, that he had taken a frigate of his off the island of Lissa, in the Adriatic, in 1811, which would amply compensate for the loss of the Alceste. To Mr. Griffiths, the chaplain, he also addressed several questions, and in a smiling way recommended him to his lordship's patronage.

9th.—Some packages and cases containing a superb set of chessmen and table, two magnificent carved ivory work-baskets, and a set of ivory counters and box, all of Chinese manufacture, sent to Count Bertrand for Napoleon. They were accompanied by a letter, stating that they had been made by order of the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, for the purpose of being presented to the distinguished personage whose initials they bore, as a mark of

the gratitude entertained by the donor for the extraordinary humanity displayed by him, which was the means of saving the life of a beloved brother.* A letter from Sir Hudson Lowe also came with them, stating, that when he had promised Count Bertrand a day or two before that they should be sent, he was little aware that on opening them, he should have discovered something so objectionable, and which, according to the letter of his instructions, ought to prevent their being sent.

It appeared that on the presents was engraved the letter *N*, surmounted by a crown, which his excellency esteemed to be highly objectionable and dangerous. Captain Heaviside, who had brought them from China, on having obtained permission to visit Longwood soon after his arrival, was ordered by the governor to maintain a strict silence on the subject to all the French.

In the evening, Napoleon looked at those articles, which he greatly admired, and signified

* The day before the battle of Waterloo, Captain Elphinstone had been severely wounded, and made prisoner. His situation attracted the attention of Napoleon, who immediately ordered his surgeon to dress his wounds; and perceiving that he was faint from loss of blood, sent him a silver goblet full of wine from his own canteen. On the arrival of the Bellerophon in England, Lord Keith sent his grateful thanks to Napoleon for having saved his nephew's life.

his intention to send the work-baskets to the Empress Marie Louise, the box of counters to his mother, the chessmen and superb table to his son.

11*th*.—Saw Napoleon in his writing-room. Had some conversation touching Ferdinand of Spain and the Baron Kolli. "Kolli," said he, "was discovered by the police, by his always drinking a bottle of the best wine, which so ill corresponded with his dress and apparent poverty, that it excited a suspicion amongst some of the spies, and he was arrested, searched, and his papers taken from him. Amongst them was a letter from ***, inviting him to escape and promising every support. A police agent was then dressed up, instructed to represent Kolli, and sent with the papers taken from him to Ferdinand; who however would not attempt to effect his escape, although he had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him. While at Bayonne, I offered him permission to return to Spain, informing him however at the same time, that immediately on his arrival in his own country, I should declare war against him. Ferdinand refused to return, unless under my protection. No force or compulsion was employed to induce him to sign his abdication; neither was he confined at the time, but had his friends, and as many of the nobles as he thought proper about him. Had he been treated

like me in this island," continued he, "the case would have been different; although if your Prince Regent were now to offer me a reception in England, provided I would resign the throne of France, acknowledge myself a prisoner of war, and sign a treaty as such, I would refuse it, and prefer remaining here, although I have already abdicated; and therefore the first would be of no consequence. To sign a treaty, acknowledging that the injustice of the English parliament in detaining me as a prisoner of war in time of peace was lawful, I would never do. A treaty not to quit such part of England as might be allotted to me, nor to meddle with politics, and be subject to certain restrictions, I would gladly consent to; and moreover would desire to be naturalized as a British subject. The two grand objects of my policy were, first, to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, as a barrier against the Russians, that I might save Europe from those barbarians of the north; and next, to expel the Bourbons from Spain, and establish a constitution which would have rendered the nation free, have driven away the inquisition, superstition, the friars, feodal rights and immunities; a constitution which would have rendered the first offices in the kingdom attainable to any person entitled to hold them by his abilities, without any distinction of birth being necessary. With the *imbecilles* who reigned, Spain was nearly

useless to me. Besides, I discovered that they had made a secret treaty to betray France. With an active government, the great resources which Spain possesses would have been made use of against England with such vigour, that you would have been forced to make a peace according to liberal maritime rights. Also I did not like to have a family of enemies so near to me, especially after I had discovered this secret treaty. I was anxious to dispossess the Bourbons: they were so with me. It mattered little, whether my brother or another family were placed on the throne, provided the Bourbons were removed; in thirty or forty years, the ties of relationship would signify nothing, when the interests of a kingdom were under discussion.

"Fox," said he, "was sincere and honest in his intentions; had he lived, there would have been a peace, and England would now be contented and happy. Fox knew the true interests of your country. He was received with a sort of triumph in every city in France through which he passed. Fêtes, and every honour the inhabitants could confer, were spontaneously offered, wherever he was known. It must have been a most gratifying sensation to him to be received in such a manner by a country which had been so long hostile to his own, particularly when he saw that they were the genuine sentiments

of the people. Pitt, probably, would have been murdered. I liked Fox, and loved to converse with him. A circumstance occurred, which, although accidental, must have been very flattering to him. As I paid him every attention, I gave orders that he should have free admission everywhere. One day he went with his family to see St. Cloud, in which there was a private cabinet of mine, that had not been opened for some time, and was never shewn to strangers. By some accident Fox and his wife opened the door, and entered. There he saw the statues of a number of great men, chiefly patriots, such as Sydney, Hampden, Washington, Cicero, &c. Lord Chatham, and amongst the rest, his own, which was first recognized by his wife, who said, 'my dear, this is yours.' This little incident, although trifling and accidental, gained him great honour, and spread directly through Paris. The fact was, that a considerable time before, I had determined upon forming a collection of statues of the greatest men, and the most distinguished for their virtues, of all nations. I did not admire them the less because they were enemies, and had actually procured busts of some of the greatest enemies of France, amongst others, that of Nelson. I was afterwards diverted from this intention by occurrences which did not allow me time to attend to the collecting of statues."

"It would," continued Napoleon, "have been a very easy matter to have made the French and English good friends and love one another. The French always esteemed the English for their national qualities, and where esteem exists, love will soon follow, if proper measures be pursued; they are very nearly akin. I myself have done much mischief to England, and had it in contemplation to do much more, if you continued the war; but I never ceased to esteem you. I had then a much better opinion of you than I now have. I thought that there was much more liberty, much more independence of spirit, and much more generosity in England than there is, or I never would have ventured upon the step I have taken."

I asked him his opinion of Lord Whitworth. "*Un homme habile, un intrigant,*" said he, "as far as I could observe him. A man of address, *un bel homme.* Your ministers had no reason to complain of him, for he answered their purposes well. The account which was published by your ministers of his interview with me was *plein de faussetés.* No violence of manner or impropriety of language was used by me. The ambassadors could not conceal their surprise when they read such a mass of misrepresentation, and publicly pronounced it to be false. His wife, the Duchess of Dorset, was greatly disliked by the

English at Paris. They said publicly that she was *sotte* with pride. There was much disagreement between her and many English ladies about presentation at court. She refused to introduce any who had not previously been presented at St. James's. Now there were many of your countrywomen who either could not or would not be presented there, but were anxious to be presented to me, which was refused by her and her husband. This excited great ill-will towards them. Your charge d'affaires also, Mr. Merry, was disliked by the English for the same reason. Some of them threatened to horsewhip him publicly, and he made application to me to protect him against his own countrymen."

Napoleon then recounted the noble manner in which Fox had made known to him the proposal that had been made to assassinate him, which generous act he did not fail to compare with the treatment he now received, and with the attempts made upon his life by wretches paid by * * * * in 1803, and landed in France in British men of war. He also mentioned that his assassination had been recommended in the English ministerial papers of the time as a meritorious action. He subsequently related some anecdotes of General Wurmser, "When I commanded at the siege of Mantua," said he, "a short time before the surrender of that fortress, a German was taken endeavouring

to effect an entrance into the town. The soldiers, suspecting him to be a spy, searched, but found nothing upon him. They then threatened him in French, which he did not understand. At last a Frenchman, who spoke a little German, was brought, who threatened him with death in bad German, if he did not immediately tell all he knew. He accompanied his menaces with violent gestures, drew out his sword, pointed it at his belly, and said that he would rip him up. The poor German, frightened, and not understanding perfectly the broken jargon spoken by the French soldier, concluded, when he saw him point at his belly, that his secret was discovered, and cried out that there was no occasion to rip him up, for if they waited a few hours, they would have it by the course of nature. This led to further inquiries, when he confessed that he was the bearer of despatches to Wurmser, which he had swallowed when he perceived himself in danger of being taken. He was immediately brought to my head-quarters and some physicians sent for. It was proposed to give him some purgative, but they said it would be better to wait the operation of nature. Accordingly he was locked up in a room, and two officers of the staff appointed to take charge of him, one of whom constantly remained with him. In a few hours, the wished-for article was found. It was rolled up in wax, and

was not much bigger than a hazel nut. When unrolled, it proved to be a despatch from the Emperor Francis to Wurmser, written with his own hand, enjoining him to be of good heart, to hold out a few days longer, and that he would be relieved by a large force which was coming in such a direction under the command of Alvinzi. Upon this I immediately broke up with the greatest part of my troops, marched in the route indicated, met Alvinzi at the passage of the Po, totally defeated him, and returned again to the siege. Wurmser then sent out General *** with proposals to treat for the evacuation of the fortress. He stated, that though the army had provisions for four months, he was willing to surrender upon honourable terms. I signified to him that I was so well pleased with the noble manner in which Wurmser had defended the fortress, and entertained so high an opinion of him, that, although I knew he had not provisions for three days more, I was willing to grant him an honourable capitulation; in fact that I would concede to Wurmser every thing he desired. He was greatly astonished at the good information I possessed of the deplorable state of the troops, and still more with the good terms I offered, acquainted as I was with his distress. Wurmser was won by it, and ever afterwards entertained a great esteem and regard for me. After we had agreed upon the principal

conditions, I sent an officer into the town, who found that there was only one day's provisions remaining for the garrison. Previous to this, Wurmser used to call me *un garçon*. He was very old, brave as a lion, but so extremely deaf, that he could not hear the balls whistling around him. He wanted me to enter Mantua after we had agreed upon the capitulation; but I considered that I was better where I was. Besides, I was obliged to march against the Pope's troops, who had made a treaty with me and afterwards broke it. Wurmser saved my life afterwards. When I got to Rimini, a messenger overtook me with a letter from him, containing an account of a plan to poison me, and where it was to be put in execution. It was to have been attempted at Rimini, and was framed by some of the *canaglie* of priests. It would in all probability have succeeded, had it not been for this information. Wurmser, like Fox, acted a noble part.

Napoleon then informed me of the precautions which he made his army take when before Mantua, in order to preserve their health in that sickly country. One of which was, burning large fires all night, and obliging the troops to keep by them. He spoke about the measures which he had caused to be taken at Jaffa. "After the assault," said he, "it was impossible to restore any kind of discipline until night. The infuriated

soldiers rushed into the streets in search of women. You know what kind of people the Turks are. A few of them kept up a fire in the streets. The soldiers, who desired nothing more, whenever a shot was discharged, cried out that they were fired upon from certain houses, which they immediately broke open, and violated all the women they found. This, together with their having plundered pelisses and other articles of Turkish dress, many of which were infected, produced the plague amongst them. The following day I gave orders that every soldier should bring his plunder into the square, where all articles of apparel were burnt. But the disease had been already disseminated. I caused the sick to be immediately sent to the hospitals, where those infected with the plague were separated from the rest. For a short time, I succeeded in persuading the troops that it was only a fever with buboes, and not the plague; and in order to convince them of it, I went publicly to the bedside of a soldier who was infected, and handled him. This had a great effect in encouraging them, and even some of the surgeons, who had abandoned them, became ashamed, and returned to their duties. In consequence of the advice of the medical officers, I ordered that all the buboes which did not appear likely to suppurate should be opened. Previous to giving this order I had the experiment made upon

a certain number, and allowed an equal number of others to be treated in the usual manner, by which it was found that a much greater proportion of the former recovered."

17*th*.—Saw Sir Hudson Lowe in town, who was in a very surly humour, and with whom I had a long conversation, part of it not of a very agreeable nature. He said, that it did not appear "that I had made use of arguments of a nature sufficiently forcible to undeceive General Bonaparte; and that he would write to Lord Bathurst, that all the time General Bonaparte was so much in the *dark* respecting *his* character, no Englishmen excepting Admiral Malcolm and myself had access to him."

I informed his excellency that Sir Pulteney Malcolm had done every thing in his power to conciliate and to reconcile matters, and had endeavoured by all means to justify his (Sir Hudson's) conduct; so much so indeed, that Napoleon had expressed his discontent at it; as to myself, I had often exerted myself to the utmost of my ability to the same effect. I also suggested to his excellency, that if Captain Lamb were to make an affidavit of the falsity of the charge relative to the supposed proposal to break the bust, it would effectually silence all calumniators. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, "I judge from effects, sir. You do not appear to have testified sufficient indignation at

what General Bonaparte said and did. *You ought to have told him, that he was guilty of a dirty action!"*

His excellency then said that Napoleon had caused Bertrand to write him the most impertinent letter,* which he had ever received, in reply to one written by him relative to the chess-men, and another equally so for the purpose of being given to the gunner of the Baring. That he was authorized to turn General Bertrand off the island for his impertinence. He then desired me to "express to General Bonaparte, that he had sent for me in order to inquire who was the author of a report so false as that the gunner who had brought out the bust, had been prevented from going on shore and disposing of his goods, and had in consequence sustained losses, and suffered bad treatment. Also, that he was greatly astonished at the tenor of the last letter he had received, more so indeed than at that of any that had been sent to him since he arrived on the island."

18*th*.—Saw Napoleon, to whom I communicated the message I had been ordered to deliver by Sir Hudson Lowe. He replied, that the gunner had declared before Madame Bertrand, that he had been prevented from going on shore for several days, and consequently had been obliged to sell his little venture to Solomon, or some other

* Appendix, No. VIII. and that to the Gunner, No. IX.

shop-keeper for half price,* and had thereby sustained a great loss. "I have been informed, and I believe it," continued the emperor, "that this bad treatment was caused by his having brought out the bust of my son. The governor has expressed astonishment at the tenor of the letters sent to him. I want nothing from his caprice. He says, that according to the *réglemens établis en vigueur*, he was not authorized to send up those presents. Where are those regulations? I have never seen them. If they are new restrictions let them be made known. But I never have heard, that because there was a crown upon toys, they were to be prohibited. I protest against all restrictions which are not made known to me previous to their being put into execution. By Lord Bathurst's speech, he has no right to make any new restriction. Could he not have said that he protested against the crown, and we should have laughed at it. But, no. He must give a *coup d'épingle*, refer to unknown restrictions, and throw in insinuations that it is to his goodness I am indebted for them. To a dungeon, to chains upon his legs and arms, *l'uomo s'accostuma, ma al capriccio d'altrui è impossibile*, (a man may accustom himself, but to another's caprice, it is impossible,) I do not desire any favour from him. Perhaps he requires that I should write him a letter of

* This was an unquestionable fact, and notorious on the island.

thanks daily for the air which I breathe. *Un uomo che m'ammazza ogni giorno*; and then desires that I should thank him for it. He reminds me of a German *bourreau*, who, while bastinadoing with all his might an unfortunate sufferer, cried after each blow, '*Pardon, Monsieur, pour la grande liberté que je prends.*'" (Pardon, Sir, for the great liberty which I take.)

I asked what answer I should return. "Tell him," said Napoleon, "*che io non son obbligato di render nessun conto al mio boja.*"

After walking about for a moment, he said, with energy, "*Vous me faites des insinuations, c'étoit la manière d'agir de tous les petits tyrans d'Italie. Cet homme paroit n'avoir d'autre but que de me tuer à coup d'épingles, soit au morale, soit au physique. Un bourreau me tueroit d'un seul coup. Sa conduite est torteuse et environnée de mystère. Le crime seul marche dans les ténèbres. Un jour son prince et sa nation seront instruits et sa méchante conduite sera connue, et s'il échappe à la justice de la loi qu'il viole, il n'échappera pas à la justice de l'opinion de tous les hommes éclairés et sensibles. Il est un mandataire infidèle, il trompe son gouvernement, comme le montrent les vingt mensonges et les calomnies qui sont dans le discours de Lord ***. Sa conduite pour le buste de mon fils, qui est prouvée, est horrible et digne de tout ce qu'il a fait depuis un an.*"

This answer he desired me to deliver, which, he observed, would convince him of the real opinion he entertained of his character.

After this, he said that he had informed Lord Amherst of the conduct pursued towards him. "The ambassador," said he, "declared that such were not the intentions of the bill; that the object of it was not to render worse, but to ameliorate my situation as a prisoner, and that he would not fail to make known the representations I had made to him, to the Prince Regent, to Lord Liverpool, and to Lord Bathurst. He asked permission to report what I said to the governor, I replied, certainly. I told him, that I had observed the governor taking him round the new road he had made, but that I supposed he had not communicated to him, that I could neither quit it, nor go into any houses; and that a prohibition had formerly existed, which debarred me from speaking to such persons as I might meet. At this he was *beaucoup frappé*, (greatly struck). He proposed that I should see the governor; I replied, 'Neither your prince, nor both of your Houses of Parliament, can oblige me to see *mon geolier et mon bourreau. Ce n'est pas l'habit qui fait le geolier, ces la manière et les mœurs.*' I told him that he had pushed matters to such an extremity, that in order to leave nothing in his power, I had confined myself to my room, expecting that he would

surround the house with sentinels. I left nothing for him to effect, except violating my privacy, which he could not have done without walking over my corpse.* That I would not commit suicide, but would exult in being assassinated by an Englishman. Instead of drawing back, (*reculer*), it would be a consolation to me in my last moments."

The emperor concluded, by telling me that he had no objection that the governor should be acquainted with every sentiment which he had expressed to me.

18*th*†—Went to town in pursuance of Sir Hudson Lowe's directions, to whom I repeated the message which I had been ordered to deliver. His excellency commenced his reply by denying that he had ordered me to say, "that he, the governor, was surprised at the tenor of the two last notes he had received, and that he had called out to me, on leaving the room, to repeat the former only;" he then said, darting a furious look at me, "General Bonaparte's expressions convince me,

* The emperor was so firmly impressed with the idea that an attempt would be made to forcibly intrude on his privacy, that from a short time after the departure of Sir George Cockburn, he always kept four or five pair of loaded pistols, and some swords in his apartments, with which he was determined to dispatch the first who entered against his will.

† In some of the pages of my journal, this conversation is dated on the 19th.

sir, more and more, that means have not been taken to justify my character to him. Tell him," continued he, not in the most moderate tone of voice, " that to shew I am not afraid to send any thing home, I shall send what he has stated to ministers."

He then demanded me to communicate any thing else I was charged with. When I came to that part in which Napoleon (describing what he had related to Lord Amherst), had said, " but I suppose he did not tell you that I was not permitted to leave the road ;" his excellency, whose appearance I shall not attempt to describe, started up, and with a degree of violence which considerably impeded his utterance, exclaimed, " 'Tis false! 'Tis false! I did tell him." When he had recovered a little his powers of speech, he reproached me, in a violent manner, with not having contradicted the assertion, also with having manifested little warmth in his defence. After he had expended some portion of his wrath, I observed that I had attempted his defence to the best of my abilities, but that I did not think he ought to be much surprised at Napoleon's not being upon good terms with him, when he considered what material alterations had taken place in his situation since his arrival, all of which tended to render it more unpleasant. A long discussion now followed, during which I recounted to his excellency

some of his own restrictions; amongst others, that one in which he prohibited Napoleon from speaking; at which he again became very angry, and insisted that it was not a prohibition, *it was only a request;* that it was not his fault, if General Bonaparte did not choose to ride out. I took the liberty, then, of asking the following question. "Place yourself, sir, in Napoleon's situation, would you have availed yourself of the permission to ride out, coupled with the restrictions imposed upon him?" His excellency refused to reply to this question, which he pronounced to be an insult to him, as governor and representative of his majesty. He then desired me to give my opinion respecting Lord Bathurst's speech. I pointed out, that many of his lordships positions were at variance with the truth. After hearing my opinion, his excellency expressed much anger at "my presuming to speak so freely of a speech made by one of his majesty's secretaries of state; that I appeared to be an advocate for the French, and that nobody else in the island held similar opinions, or would dare to express them, &c." He concluded by telling me, that "I was not permitted for the future to hold any conversation with General Bonaparte, unless upon professional subjects, and ordering me to come to town every Monday and Thursday, in order to report to him General Bonaparte's health and his habits."

21*st*.—Had another conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe, of a nature nearly similar to that of yesterday. A long and very disagreeable discussion took place, with which I shall not fatigue the reader, further than by stating, that I requested of him to remove me from my situation.

24*th*.—Went to town, according to Sir Hudson Lowe's orders. His excellency made me undergo an interrogation before Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, during which he again expressed much anger, because my sentiments did not accord with his own.

Finding that Sir Hudson Lowe made me in a manner responsible for all Napoleon's actions and expressions, and took every opportunity of venting upon me all the ill-humour he could not personally discharge upon his prisoner, and perceiving that all hopes of accommodation between the parties had vanished when Admiral Malcolm departed, and that all my efforts to ameliorate the situation of the captive were fruitless, I determined to confine myself as much as possible to my medical duties, and to avoid all unnecessary communication with a man, who could avail himself of his irresponsible situation, to insult an inferior officer.

August 2*nd*.—Went to report Napoleon's health as usual.

Saw Napoleon on my return, who observed

that he had seen in the papers some extracts from a work written by the Duke of Rovigo, detailing several circumstances relative to Pichegru, Wright &c. He lamented the death of Réal,* and remarked that "Savary and Réal were the persons, especially Réal, (at that time the Duke of Rovigo was not in a situation to enable him to know personally the circumstances relative to those two), who from their employments knew the names of the gaolers, turnkeys, gendarmes, and others, and could say, 'such a man was present, let him be examined. Perhaps he is now in the service of the king.' In the exalted situation which I occupied, I could know nothing of those minute details. Savary," added he, "relates a circumstance which is perfectly true, and appears to have preserved some order that I wrote on the occasion, as well as recollected some of my expressions. I did not like to have it publicly mentioned, as it deeply implicated so near a relation to my son. I did not wish to have it known, that one so nearly allied by blood to him, could be capable of proposing so atrocious an act as that made by Caroline to me. It was to make a second Sicilian Vespers; to massacre all the English army, and the English in Sicily, which she offered to effect,

* Réal was *conseiller d'état* and charged by the emperor to discover the nature of the plot at the time alluded to, and his death had been reported in the last papers that arrived at St. Helena; which was afterwards contradicted.

provided I would support and afford her assistance after the deed was done. I threw the agent who was the bearer of the proposal into prison, where he remained until the revolution which sent me to Elba. He must have been found amongst others in the prisons that were allotted for state criminals.* It was my intention, whenever I made a peace with England, to have sent him over to your ministers for examination."

10*th*.—Had some conversation with Napoleon upon a report contained in one of the papers relating to his removal to Malta, to which he did not give any credit, observing that he should create less alarm in England than in Malta. He remarked upon the impolicy of the governor, in having by his treatment rendered him, (Napoleon,) an object of sympathy to Europe. "The greatest indignation," continued he, "will be excited by it. Nothing could have happened to lessen the English so much in the estimation of other nations. It will confirm them in the opinions of your government, which the emigrants who returned from England have disseminated. They returned filled

* It is a singular circumstance that the wretch who was thrown into prison for having been the bearer of a confidential letter and message from Queen Caroline, containing a proposal to massacre the whole of the English army in Sicily, should have been subsequently released by the successes of that very army whose destruction he had contemplated and proposed. This plot had no connexion with a sham conspiracy got up during the command of Sir John Stuart in Sicily, alluded to in another part of this work.

with hatred against your ministers, whom they accused of having acted in the most parsimonious manner, and descending to the most minute and unworthy details. That they certainly furnished them with money, but so barely as merely to keep them from starvation. That they should have been truly wretched, had it not been for the generosity which they experienced from some private individuals, many of whom they allowed to possess great liberality."

"The Emperors of Austria Russia, and the King of Prussia," added he, "have all three told me that I was much mistaken in believing that they had received such large subsidies from England. They alleged that they had never actually obtained more than one half of the sums which they were nominally supposed to have received, through the deductions made for freightage, poundage, and numbers of other charges, and that frequently a large portion was paid in merchandize. Those sovereigns complained greatly of the conduct of your ministers, and I am inclined to believe with some reason. Here, through a mistaken and scandalous parsimony, they have counteracted their own views, which were, that as little as possible should be said of *me*, that I should be forgotten. But their ill treatment, and that of this man, has made all Europe speak of me. He formerly thought that nothing which passed here would be known in Europe. He might as well

have attempted to obscure the light of the sun with his hat. There are still millions in the world who are interested for me. Had your ministers acted wisely, they would have given a *carte blanche* for this house. This would have been making the best of a bad business, silenced all complaints and attempts made for me, and in the end, with such men as Cockburn or Malcolm, would not have cost more than 15 or 16,000*l.* a year. But this * * * * *c'est un homme qui a les manières ignobles, l'esprit astucieux et le cœur méchant. Cockburn au moins avait la marche droite et sincère. C'était un homme, un Anglais ; mais, mon Dieu ! cet homme-ci, la nature l'a fait pour un mauvais bourreau.* That under-secretary doubtless said to Lord B., '*J'ai trouvé votre homme.*' I have little doubt but * * * intentions at first were by a series of ill-treatment to force away every Frenchman from about me, and to induce me to commit suicide, or to have me altogether at his disposal. The force of public opinion has made them change a little afterwards."

"If the Emperors of Austria and Russia," continued Napoleon, "were to make me offers of whatever money I pleased, I would not accept of it. *J'ai eu la sottise* to put myself in John Bull's hands, and I must swallow whatever pill may be prepared for me."

In reply to an observation of incredulity ex-

pressed by me as to the correctness of his supposition of the probable intentions of those who sent him to St. Helena, he observed, "Doctor, a man must be worse than a blockhead who does not perceive that I was sent here to be ********, either by the natural effects of ill treatment, combined with the badness of the climate, or by the probability of my being induced to commit suicide, as I have said, or by ***.

"Were I in England," added Napoleon, "I would receive but few visitors, and never speak upon political subjects: here I do, because I am *here* and am ill treated. To live quietly, to enjoy occasionally the company of some *savans*, take a ride now and then, reading, and finishing my history, and educating my son, would form my occupations. Here the want of books greatly retards the advance of my works."

He informed me that the governor had sent answers to the letters which had been written about the Chinese articles and to the gunner; but that he had ordered Bertrand not to bring them to him until he asked for them.

Saw his reply to Lord Bathurst's speech, commencing in the following manner: "*Le bill du parlement anglais, n'est ni une loi, ni un jugement;*" and proceeding to compare it with the proscriptions of Sylla and Marius, "*aussi juste, aussi nécessaire, mais plus barbare;*" that Sylla and Marius

issued their decrees "*avec la pointe encore sanglante de leurs épées;*" but that of the English parliament was issued in time of peace, and sanctioned by the sceptre of a great nation.

11*th.*—Told Sir Hudson Lowe again (having mentioned it to him before about a fortnight ago, that Napoleon wished to have the garden freed from an alkalescent and fetid weed, (spurge), with which it was overrun at present, and desired that it should be converted into grass, or sown with oats or barley, as it was useless at present. That he wished to have something green to look at out of his window, and to see something growing about him. That if it were not done within a fortnight, the season would be over. His excellency replied, that he would go to Longwood in a day or two.

14*th.*—Went yesterday to Plantation House, in consequence of an order from the governor that I should go there on Tuesdays and Saturdays, instead of Mondays and Thursdays to town. The governor, after having asked some question, said, that I had on a former occasion mentioned that General Bonaparte told me he had made use of observations concerning him to Lord Amherst, which he desired I would repeat. Although I foresaw the consequences, I did not think myself authorised to refuse, as I had been permitted to communicate them to him; and having previously warned him that what he insisted upon might

cause an access of irritation, I therefore repeated what Napoleon had observed, viz. "Neither your prince nor both your houses of parliament can oblige me to see *mon geolier et mon bourreau. Ce n'est pas l'habit qui fait le geolier, c'est la manière et les mœurs.*"

Sir Hudson Lowe walked about for a few moments, looking very angrily, and asked me to give him General Bonaparte's reasons for making use of such expressions. I replied that this was out of my power. He then began, as I had foreseen, to vent upon me all the ill humour which he entertained towards the author of the epithets; brought up the old affair of the Scotch newspaper, and concluded by saying, "You are not authorized, sir, by me, to communicate with General Bonaparte on any other than medical subjects; and if you hold any others with him, it is at your own peril, unless you make such communications known to me, and thereby free yourself from the responsibility. Your business is not to act from your own judgment or discretion, but to ask what you may be permitted to do."

Napoleon has been up at four o'clock for several mornings writing, without calling any of his generals to assist him. He took a walk of two hours, and appeared to be in good spirits. Saw him on his return in the billiard-room. Had some conversation about Egypt, and some of the

characters who had accompanied him there. He mentioned one Poussilgue, who had served under him during the campaigns of Italy. "Poussilgue," said he, "had been employed by me upon diplomatic and other services from Milan to Genoa, during which time he acquired my confidence. He was then sent to Malta to feel the way before I attacked it. The information he obtained was very useful, and rendered great service. He accompanied me to Egypt, where I appointed him to an office high in the commissariat, and loaded him with favours. When I quitted Egypt, Poussilgue, who was left behind, for some unaccountable reasons conceived a great hatred for me, and wrote letters *pleines d'horreurs* of me to the directory. I was then appointed first consul, which was unknown to Poussilgue, and was the person who opened his letters. Although astonished and indignant at his conduct, I took no notice of them. When I was made emperor, Poussilgue's brother, who was a distinguished surgeon, and well known to me, came to supplicate employment for him, and begged of me to grant his prayer, admitting that, at the same time, his brother had behaved to me badly and most ungratefully. 'Who is your brother?' I replied, 'I know him not. Poussilgue betrayed General Bonaparte, but the emperor knows him not. I will grant him no favour myself, but if the minister of finance chuses to

name him, I will sign the nomination.' His brother went to the minister, told him what I had said, a recommendation for a very lucrative situation was made out, which I signed, and he enjoyed it for several years."

He afterwards spoke about the Mamalukes, and said, that in the combats between the French cavalry and them, whenever the numbers of the parties engaged exceeded a hundred men, the superiority of discipline procured the victory to the French, but under that number, or individually, the Mamalukes prevailed.

15*th.*—Napoleon's birth-day. He was dressed in a brown coat. All the generals and ladies dined with him at two o'clock; also all the children, excepting the two infants of Counts Bertrand and Montholon, who were brought in and shewn for a short time. To each of the children he gave a present, and amused himself for some time playing with them.

17*th.*—Saw Napoleon at two o'clock. He was in extremely good humour, and very pleasant, cracking jokes upon various subjects, and rallying me about a young lady in the island.

Told me, that when he was at Boulogne two English sailors arrived there, who made their escape from Verdun, and had passed through the country undiscovered. "They had remained there for some time. Having no money, they

were at a loss how to effect their escape, and there was such a vigilant watch kept upon the boats, that they despaired of being able to seize upon one. They made a sort of vessel of little ribs of wood, which they formed with their knives, living as well as they could upon roots and fruits. This bark of theirs they covered with calico, which they stretched over the ribs. When finished, it was not more than about three feet and a half in length, and of a proportionate breath, and so light, that one of them carried it on his shoulders. In this machine they determined to attempt their passage to England. Seeing an English frigate approach very near to the shore, they launched their bark, and attempted to join her; but before they had proceeded very far they were discovered by the *douaniers*, seized and brought back. The story transpired in consequence of the astonishment excited at seeing two men venture out to sea in such a fragile conveyance. I heard of it, and ordered them with their little ship to be brought before me. I was, myself, struck with astonishment at the idea of men trusting their lives to such an article; and asked them if it was possible they could have intended to have gone to sea in that? They replied, that to convince me of it, they were ready that moment to attempt it again in the same vessel. Admiring the boldness of the attempt, and the bluntness of the reply, I

ordered that they should be set at liberty, some Napoleon's given to them, and a conveyance to the English squadron provided for them. Previous to this, they were going to be tried as spies, as several persons had seen them lurking about the camp for some days."

"When I made my triumphal entry into Berlin," said Napoleon, "the mother of the Prince of Orange, the sister of the king, was left behind sick in the upper apartments of the palace, and very badly off, having been abandoned without money, and neglected by almost every body. A day or two after my arrival there, some of her attendants came to ask for assistance, as they had not wherewithal to procure even fuel for her use. The king, indeed, had neglected her most shamefully. The moment it was made known to me, I ordered a hundred thousand francs to be instantly sent, and went to see her myself afterwards. I caused her to be furnished with every thing befitting her rank, and we had frequent interviews together. She was much obliged to me, and a kind of friendship commenced between us. I liked her conversation. When her son, the Prince of Orange was aid-de-camp to Wellington, he went over from Spain or Portugal to London, at the time that the intended marriage between the Princess Charlotte and him was in contemplation. From London he wrote several letters to his mother, giving a de-

scription of the whole of the royal family, beginning with the queen, and going through every branch, nominatively, filled with *horreurs and sottises*, particularly of the **** against whom he appeared to be particularly indignant. He did not even spare *** whom he painted as ambitious, and desirous of command, and that he should be a mere cipher and a stallion if **** to which he declared he never would submit. There were many fine and heroic sentiments expressed in them, which although in a romantic style, did the writer honour, but he tore the whole **** to pieces. Those letters he sent by an agent to Hamburgh, for the purpose of being forwarded to his mother. This agent was arrested, his papers seized, and despatched to Paris, where they were examined and laid before me. I read them in a cursory manner, and laughed very heartily at their contents. Afterwards, in order to retaliate a little for all the abuse heaped upon me, I ordered them to be sent to the Moniteur and published. Meanwhile, however, the agent acquainted the prince's mother with his arrest and the seizure of his papers, with the contents of which he was partly acquainted. Before the publication was completed, I received a letter from her, conjuring me not to make them public, stating to me what injury it would do to her son and her family, and calling to my recollection the time I had been at

Berlin. I was touched with her letter, and countermanded the publishing of the letters, which would have made a great noise in Europe, and have been extremely disagreeable to the persons described in them."

Napoleon then spoke of the late Queen of Prussia in very high terms, said that he had an esteem for her, and that if the king had brought her at first to Tilsit, it would in all probability have procured him better terms. "She was elegant, ingenuous, and extremely well informed," continued Napoleon. "She bitterly lamented the war. 'Ah,' said she to me, '*la mémoire du grand Frédéric nous à fait égarer. Nous nous crûmes pareils à lui, et nous ne le sommes pas.*'"

I observed to the emperor that his enemies had accused him of having treated her very barbarously. "What," said he, "do they say that I poisoned her too?" I replied no; but that they asserted that he had been the means of her death in consequence of the misfortunes which he had caused to befal her country. "Why," replied Napoleon, "that grief for the fallen situation of her husband and her country, and for the losses they had sustained, and the humiliated state they were reduced to, may have accelerated her death, is very probable. But that was not my fault. Why did her husband declare war against me? However, instead of treating her barbarously, nobody could

have paid her more attention or respect, or have esteemed her more, for which I received her thanks. He then made some judicious remarks upon the Princess of Salms, and was not insensible to the charms of her person: nor did he fail to pay a tribute to her wit, placing her, however, on many accounts far below her sister.

Napoleon then made some observations about Malta, an abode with which he declared he would be satisfied for some years, professing at the same time his disbelief of such being the intentions of government. He added that the best thing our government could do, would be to make a kind of treaty with him, by which he would bind himself not to quit Malta for a certain number of years without the permission of the Prince Regent, with a condition that at the expiration of the time he should be received in England. This would save the nation six or eight millions of francs yearly. "It would," added he, "have been much more honourable for England (and indeed for the coalesced powers) and more humane, to have caused me to be shot on board of the Bellerophon, in the rage of the moment, than to have condemned me to be exiled to such a rock as this. They might have excused themselves by saying, 'It is necessary for the tranquillity of Europe to put this man out of the way.' This would have at once freed them from all alarm, and saved millions

to their treasury, besides being much more humane. When the discussions about the sentence on Louis the Sixteenth took place, Condorcet declared that his conscience would not allow him to vote for death, but in place of that he voted that the unfortunate Louis should be condemned to the galleys for life. This proposal met with universal disapprobation, even from the most violent of the jacobins, and great odium was thrown upon Condorcet for having voted for that, which in the opinion of all, was worse than death. Now exile here, particularly under the man they have chosen, is infinitely worse than condemnation to the galleys. For there you have the sun of Europe, and if you have money, can enjoy comparatively a tolerable existence. I recollect at Toulon" (I think he said) "a colonel, who had been condemned to the galleys for life. He was certainly confined, but he never was obliged to work, and had every thing allowed him, at his own expense, which could render his situation supportable. The keeper, unless he was like this governor, would never degrade a man who had held such a situation by obliging him to labour. Besides, for money a man can always get somebody to work for him. I therefore maintain, that it would have been more honourable, more consistent with policy, and, above all, more humane, to have caused me to be quietly *fusillé* on board of the Bellerophon. It would have been preferred

by myself. I really think that Lord *** imagined, that by a series of ill-treatment and humiliation, they would induce me to commit suicide, and for that purpose found *son homme*. The very idea of this, if I ever had any thoughts of doing so, would effectually prevent my putting it into execution."

22*nd*.—Saw Napoleon at twelve o'clock. He has continued to rise at four o'clock in the morning, and to employ his time in reading and writing. Pointed out to me that he had been obliged to cause his coat to be turned, as there was no green cloth on the island, except of what the French call *couleur de merde d'oie*. Spoke about his detention in so horrible an abode, "*Il y avait quelque chose de sauvage*. The *** did not know how to separate the man from the situation. As first consul, as emperor, being at war with England, I did her as much harm as I could; but as plain Napoleon Bonaparte now, when all the world is at peace, what right have they to detain me as a prisoner. It is a great nation going to war with one man."

"I have," continued he, "reflected upon my conduct towards the English, and have nothing to reproach myself with, except not having done enough against them as an enemy. I ought to have put their prisoners in *pontons*, not to punish the poor prisoners, as it was not their fault, but to

force your oligarchy to remove the French from those in which they had immured them."

He then observed that the eyes of the English would soon be opened with respect to his character. "They will see," said he, "the folly and injustice of keeping me in this island; an island so bad, that I can compare it to nothing else than the face of the wretch they have sent out as governor. This and the enormous expense will cause my removal."

I observed, that I was afraid the present disturbed state of England would operate most powerfully against his being permitted to go to England. "Bah," replied he, "your ministers are not silly enough to believe that I would lose my character so far as to put myself at the head of a *canaille*, even if the latter were willing to place a foreigner at their head, which is very unlikely. Even in France I refused to do it. I have too great a regard for the reputation I shall leave to posterity to act the adventurer. No, no, it is hatred, and the fear they have of the information I could give. They are afraid I should say *it was not true*,* in reply to the histories of many political events which they have explained in their own way."

"What do you think," said he, "of all things in the world would give me the greatest pleasure?" I was on the point of replying, removal from St.

* These words were spoken in English.

Helena, when he said, "To be able to go about *incognito* in London and other parts of England, to the *restaurateurs*, with a friend, to dine in public at the expense of half-a-guinea or a guinea, and listen to the conversation of the company; to go through them all, changing almost daily, and in this manner, with my own ears, to hear the people express their sentiments, in their unguarded moments, freely and without restraint; to hear their real opinion of myself, and of the surprising occurrences of the last twenty years." I observed, that he would hear much evil and much good of himself. "Oh, as to the evil," replied he, "I care not about that. I am well used to it. Besides, I know that the public opinion will be changed. The nation will be just as much disgusted at the libels published against me, as they formerly were greedy in reading and believing them. This," added he, "and the education of my son, would form my greatest pleasure. It was my intention to have done this, had I reached America. The happiest days of my life were from sixteen to twenty, during the *semestres*, when I used to go about, as I have told you I should wish to do, from one *restaurateur* to another, living moderately, and having a lodging, for which I paid three louis a month. They were the happiest days of my life. I was always so much occupied, that I may say I never was truly happy upon the throne. Not

that I have to reproach myself with doing evil whilst seated there; on the contrary, I restored fifty thousand families to their country, and the improvements I made in France will speak for themselves. I made war certainly; of this there is no doubt: but in almost every instance I was either forced to it, or I had some great political object in view."

"Had I died at Moscow," continued he, "I should have left behind me a reputation as a conqueror, without a parallel in history. A ball ought to have put an end to me there: whereas, when a man like me dies in misfortune, his reputation is lessened. *Then* I had never received a check No doubt afterwards at Lutzen and Bautzen, with an army of recruits and without cavalry, I re-established my reputation, and the campaign of 1814, with such an inferior force, did not lessen it.

I observed that the generality of the world was surprised that he had not made a peace at Chatillon, when circumstances were apparently desperate for him. Napoleon replied, "I could not consent to render the empire less than what it was when I mounted the throne; I had sworn to preserve it. Moreover, the allied powers each day brought forth some condition more inadmissible than on the preceding one. You may think it strange, but I assure you that I would not sign it

now. Had I remained on the throne after the return from Elba, I would have kept it, because I found it made, but I would not have made it myself originally. My great fault was in not having made peace at Dresden. My error was in having made that armistice. Had I pushed on at that time, my father-in-law would not have been against me."

Napoleon then said, that notwithstanding the occupation of Paris by the allies, he should still have succeeded had it not been for the treachery of Marmont, and have driven them out of France. His plan was arranged. He was to have entered Paris in the dead of night. The whole of the *canaille* of the city were at the same time to attack the allies from the houses, who fighting against troops acquainted with the localities, would have been cut to pieces, and obliged to abandon the city with immense loss. The *canaille* were all ready. (I think he also said that he would have cut off the allies from their park of artillery). Once driven from Paris, the mass of the nation would have risen against them. "I mentioned this plan," added he, "to Baron Koller, who admitted the danger of it. Marmont will be an object of horror to posterity. As long as France exists, the name of Marmont will not be mentioned without shuddering. He feels it," added Napoleon, "and is at this moment probably the most

miserable man in existence. He cannot forgive himself, and he will terminate his life like Judas."

I took the liberty of asking what he considered to be the happiest time of his life, since his elevation to the throne. "The march from Cannes to Paris," was his reply.

"When Castlereagh was at Chatillon with the ambassadors of the allied powers, after some successes of mine, and when I had in a manner invested the town, he was greatly alarmed lest I might seize and make him a prisoner; not being accredited as an ambassador, nor invested with any diplomatic character to France, I might have taken him as an enemy. He went to Caulaincourt, to whom he mentioned that he 'laboured under considerable apprehensions that I should cause violent hands to be laid upon him,' as he acknowledged I had a right to do. It was impossible for him to get away without falling in with my troops. Caulaincourt replied, that as far as his own opinion went, he would say that I would not meddle with him, but that he could not answer for what I might do. Immediately after, Caulaincourt wrote to me what Castlereagh had said and his own answer. I signified to him in reply, that he was to tell Lord Castlereagh to make his mind easy, and stay where he was; that I would consider him as an ambassador. At Chatillon," continued he, "when speaking about the

liberty enjoyed in England, Castlereagh observed, in a contemptuous manner, that it was not the thing most to be esteemed in your country, that it was an *usage* which they were obliged to put up with; but had become an abuse, and would not answer for other countries."

I ventured to express my surprise to Napoleon that the empress Marie Louise had not made some exertion in his behalf. "I believe," replied the emperor, "that Marie Louise is just as much a state prisoner as I am myself, except that more attention is paid to decorum in the restraints imposed upon her. I have always had occasion to praise the conduct of my good Louise, and I believe that it is totally out of her power to assist me; moreover, she is young and timorous. It was, perhaps, a misfortune to me that I had not married a sister of the emperor Alexander, as proposed to me by Alexander himself at Erfurth. But there were inconveniences in that union, arising from her religion. I did not like to allow a Russian priest to be the confessor of my wife, as I considered that he would have been a spy in the Thuilleries for Alexander. It has been said, that my union with Marie Louise was made a stipulation in the treaty of peace with Austria, which is not true. I should have spurned the idea. It was first proposed by the emperor Francis himself, and to Metternich, by Narbonne."

"Of all the ambassadors I ever employed," added Napoleon, "Narbonne* was the ablest. He had *beaucoup d'esprit*, and his moral character was unexceptionable. While he was at Vienna, France was never duped by Metternich as she had been before. He penetrated Metternich's projects in a few days. Had such a man as Narbonne been sent to Alexander in 1812, it is probable that peace would have been made. Russia demanded Dantzic, and an indemnification for the Duke of Oldenburg. Romanzoff persuaded Alexander that I would make any sacrifices to avoid war, and that the favourable moment for him to make demands had arrived. After the first success I had gained, Alexander sent a message to me, that if I would quit his territory and retreat to the Niemen, he would treat with me. However, I did not believe that he was of good faith, and judged it to be a *ruse*, otherwise we might have treated in person at Wilna, and settled every thing."

23*rd*.—Yesterday Mr. Smithers, midshipman of the Conqueror, came up to Longwood with a pass from Sir Hudson Lowe to go to Count Ber-

* I was informed by Cipriani, that Narbonne was the natural son of Louis the Fifteenth, and the fruit of an incestuous intercourse which that *legitimate* maintained with his own daughter Adelaide; and that documents were in existence, and even persons living, who could incontestably prove it. In justice, however, I must say, that Napoleon, to whom I communicated the assertion, told me that he disbelieved the fact of the incest, but not the rest.

trand's. After having passed the guard-room at the entrance, he was called back by the officer, and told that his pass was for the 21st, and consequently he could not be permitted to enter, as the date of the passport had expired the day before.*

At no greater distance of time than last Tuesday, Sir Hudson Lowe manifested great ill-humour towards me, for having presumed to assert that he sometimes had given passes in which the day was specified, and related to him a very strong instance in that of Mr. Urmston. His excellency also officially denied the fact to Count Bertrand.

Previous to Mr. Smithers being permitted to come up, he was subjected to a long interrogation upon the nature of his business there; how he knew the Bertrands, that he *surely* must have some letters to them from Captain Hamilton of the navy, and many other indications of suspicion and distrust of an officer high in rank.

General Gourgaud informed me this day, that at the close of the battle of Waterloo, when the charge made by the French had failed, and the English charged in their turn, a part of the cavalry of the latter, with some *tirailleurs* intermingled with them, approached to within a hundred or a hundred and fifty toises of the spot where the emperor

* The orderly officer, when this was reported to him, took it upon himself to order the officer of the guard to allow Mr. Smithers to enter.

was standing with only Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and himself. Close to them was a small French battalion drawn up in a square. Napoleon ordered Gourgaud to fire some shots from two or three field-pieces which belonged to the battalion, to drive away the cavalry, which were approaching nearer. This was put into execution, and one of those shots carried away the Marquis of Anglesea's leg. Napoleon then placed himself with the column and wanted to charge, exclaiming, "*Il faut mourir ici, il faut mourir sur le champ de bataille.*" At this time the English *tirailleurs* were firing at them, and they expected every moment to be charged. Labédoyère was galloping about like a madman, with his arms extended before him, seeking to be killed. Napoleon was prevented from throwing himself amongst the enemy by Soult, who laid hold of the bridle, exclaiming, that he would not be killed but taken prisoner, and with the aid of the others, finally succeeded in compelling him to leave the field at the time there was none other than the above-mentioned small column to oppose the Prussians, who were advancing. Napoleon was so fatigued, that on the road to Jemappe and Philipville, he would have frequently fallen from his horse, had he not been supported by Gourgaud and two others, who were the only persons with him for some time. He was silent for a long time. When on the road to Paris,

it was decided, at one moment, that the emperor should, instantly on his arrival, go booted and spurred to the senate, which would have had a great effect, but this resolution was not acted upon.

24*th*.—Went to Plantation House, where, as customary, I had to suffer a long interrogation and much ill-humour. Amongst other matters, his excellency, after asking how I came to know that Cipriani had had a conversation with him relative to the deficiences at Longwood, said, "that I had no business to have any conversation with the maître d'hôtel of Longwood concerning the provisions allowed; that in every thing not strictly medical, I was to ask *him* what I was to be permitted to do? that I was not to use my own discretion or judgment with respect to any conversation with General Bonaparte, not medical, or reply to his questions, unless I made such communications known to him, as he (the governor) was the only judge of their propriety."

I replied, that if he expected me to communicate to him the conversations I held with Napoleon, he was mistaken. That, with the exception of what I had frequently stated to him before, I should be silent. That according to the doctrine he laid down, I must communicate to him all that passed; by his own words I had no right to employ my own judgment or discretion, and consequently must tell him every thing, as retain-

ing any part of a conversation would be an exercising of my judgment.

He shuffled for a while in reply to this, and brought the old threadbare subject of the Scotch newspaper again on the carpet.

Had some conversation with Napoleon about Lord Castlereagh. "Never yet," said he, "has there been so much political imbecility displayed by man as there has been by Lord Castlereagh. A king is forced upon the throne contrary to the wishes and to the opinion of the people, and then, as a mode of ingratiating himself with that people, and of conciliating them, he is compelled to make them pay contributions ruinous to the country. They have made the Bourbons *les bourreaux de leur peuple,* of the Vendeans and others who have bled for them, and by whose means they gained the battle of Waterloo, for had it not been for that business in La Vendée, I should have had thirty thousand men more at Waterloo. Then again those Bourbons have made a concordat with the pope, which would not have answered in the tenth or fifteenth century. They have agreed to establish by degrees all the laws of the church. What does this mean but the suppression of Protestantism and of all other religions except the Roman Catholic? You know that the Roman doctrine is, that out of the pale of the church, no one can be saved. It is in fact re-establishing all the old bigotry and superstition,

and even the inquisition, as that was one of the laws of the church. The Protestants must see that the intention of this concordat is to deprive them of the liberty of worship, and to tolerate no religion but the Roman Catholic. The proprietors of national domains that once belonged to the church must tremble, as it leads to the restitution of them. The Protestants will be worse than before the revolution, at which time if one of them wanted to marry, he was obliged to say that he was a Catholic. Although their churches were then in a manner tolerated, yet if they frequently opened them, they were visited and tormented by the police. That *papaccio*, that *pretaccio*, has been imbecile enough to give his consent to a measure that will ultimately cause the assassination of the priests. At one time I had myself the greatest difficulty in preventing the people from accomplishing it. Oh, those Bourbons! Well may the French say, *ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié.* They rest upon a sleeping lion. I see France in a flame. I see rivers of blood flowing. You will behold a general massacre of the Bourbons take place, the old noblesse, the priests, and many an innocent Englishman and friend to liberty will pay the forfeit of his life to expiate the wicked policy of Lord Castlereagh. The imagination always exceeds the reality, and the great latitude given in the concordat to the king and to the priests to revive all the ancient superstition and

intolerance, will set France in a flame, and produce another revolution of '*bonnets rouges*,' and *à bas les calottes*."

25*th*.—Napoleon in high spirits. Saw him in the drawing-room, dressed in a grey double-breasted coat. He was very facetious in his remarks about the governors of Benguilla, the Cape de Verd islands, &c.

Had some conversation with him relative to Spain. I asked if it were true that the Queen had said to Ferdinand in his presence, that he was *her* son, but not the son of the king, thus proclaiming her own infamy? Napoleon assured me, that she had never made use of such expressions before him. That she had told him he was not worthy of being the son of the king. I observed that it had been asserted that he had offered to give Ferdinand one of his relations in marriage, and make him King of Naples; to marry another of his relations to Don Carlos, and to grant him a sovereignty. Napoleon replied, "All those assertions are false. Ferdinand himself repeatedly asked me to give him one of my relations in marriage, but I never asked him." I said, that in a publication of great circulation it was broadly asserted, that he had given Ferdinand the choice between abdication and death; that in consequence of this, and the threats of King Charles, against himself and his followers, he had abdicated. "That is also false," replied Napoleon.

"There was no threat made use of, or compulsion. If indeed Ferdinand had been treated as I am here, or put to the torture, or deprived of food, it might be said that he was forced to it. Your *** would willingly have put me to death, but finding that the nation would not consent, they sent me here, in order that I might die a death slow enough to appear natural, or in the hope that I might commit suicide.* The fact is, that had it not been for their broils and quarrels amongst themselves, I should never have thought of dispossessing them." I said that some of the publications against him asserted that he had been the contriver of the whole himself, that he might take advantage of it afterwards. "A man like me," replied the emperor, "is always either *un dio* or *un*

* The reader will perceive by the following extract that Napoleon had long condemned the act of self-murder.

St. Cloud.—Extrait du livre d'ordre des Grenadiers à Cheval de la Garde Consulaire.

" Ordre du 22 Floréal, An. X.

" Le grenadier Grobbin s'est suicidé pour des raisons d'amour; il était d'ailleurs bon sujet; c'est le second évènement de cette nature qui arrive au corps depuis un mois.

" Le Premier Consul ordonne qu'il soit mis à l'ordre du jour de la garde, qu'un soldat doit savoir vaincre la douleur et la mélancolie des passions; qu'il y a autant de vrai courage à souffrir avec constance les peines de l'âme, qu'à rester fixe sous la mitraille d'une batterie. S'abandonner au chagrin sans résister, se tuer pour s'y soustraire, c'est abandonner le champ de bataille avant d'avoir vaincu.

(Signé) " BONAPARTE, Premier Consul."

diavolo (a god or a devil). It is as true as is the assertion that I brought over Pichegru and Georges to Paris purposely to ruin Moreau. When I saw those *imbecilles* quarrelling and trying to dethrone each other, I thought that I might as well take advantage of it, and dispossess an inimical family; but I was not the contriver of their disputes. Had I known at first that the transaction would have given me so much trouble, or that it would even have cost the lives of two hundred men, I never would have attempted it; but being once embarked, it was necessary to go forward."

He spoke about the battle of Esling (or Eylau), and observed, that it admitted a great deal to be said on both sides. He had remained on the field of battle, but had retired in the night, and it might be thought that he had sustained a reverse. Lutzen* and Bautzen, he observed, he had most decidedly gained. "When only seventeen," said Napoleon, "I composed a little history of Corsica, which I submitted to the Abbé Raynal, who praised, and wished that I would publish it; adding, that it would do me much credit, and render great service to the cause then in agitation. I am," continued Napoleon, "very glad that I did not, as it was written in the spirit of the day, at a time when the rage for republicanism existed, and contained

* General Gourgaud informed me, that at Lutzen, the emperor had only two regiments of cavalry.

the strongest doctrines that could be promulgated in support of it. It was full of republicanism, and breathed freedom in every line, too much so indeed: I have since lost it. When at Lyon, in 1786, I gained a gold medal from the college on the following theme: 'What are the sentiments most advisable to be recommended, in order to render men happy.' When I was seated on the throne, a number of years afterwards, I mentioned this to Talleyrand, who sent off a courier to Lyon to procure the treatise, which he easily obtained, by knowing the theme, as the author's name was unknown. One day afterwards, when we were alone, Talleyrand took it out of his pocket, and thinking to please and pay his court to me, put it into my hands, and asked if I knew it. I immediately recognised the writing, and threw it into the fire, where it was consumed, in spite of Talleyrand's endeavours to save it. He was greatly mortified, as he had not taken the precaution of causing a copy to be made previous to shewing it to me. I was very much pleased, as the style of the work was similar to that on Corsica, abounding in republican ideas, and exalted sentiments of liberty, suggested by the warmth of a fervid imagination, at a moment when youth, and the rage of the times had inflamed my mind. The sentiments in it were too exalted ever to be put into practice."

I asked his opinion about Robespierre. "Robespierre," replied Napoleon, "was by no means

the worst character who figured in the revolution. He opposed trying the queen. He was not an Atheist; on the contrary, he had publicly maintained the existence of a Supreme Being, in opposition to many of his colleagues. Neither was he of opinion that it was necessary to exterminate all priests and nobles, like many others. Marat, for example, maintained, that to insure the liberties of France, it was necessary that six hundred thousand heads should fall. Robespierre wanted to proclaim the king, *hors de la loi*, and not to go through the ridiculous mockery of trying him. Robespierre was a fanatic, a monster, but he was incorruptible, and incapable of robbing, or of causing the deaths of others, either from personal enmity, or a desire of enriching himself. He was an enthusiast, but one who really believed that he was acting right, and died not worth a sous. In some respects, Robespierre may be said to have been an honest man. All the crimes committed by Hebert, Chaumette, Collot d'Herbois, and others, were imputed to him. Marat," continued he, "Billaud de Varennes, Fouché, Hebert, and several others, were infinitely worse than Robespierre. It was truly astonishing," added Napoleon, "to see those fanatics, who, bathed up to the elbows in blood, would not for the world have taken a piece of money, or a watch, belonging to the victims they were butchering. There was not an

instance, in which they had not brought the property of their victims to the *comité* of public safety. Wading in blood at every step, they believed they were doing right, and scrupled to commit the smallest act bordering upon dishonesty. Such was the power of fanaticism, that they conceived they were acting uprightly, at a time when a man's life was no more regarded by them than that of a fly. At the very time that Marat and Robespierre were committing those massacres, if Pitt had offered them two hundred millions, they would have refused it with indignation. They even tried and guillotined some of their own number, (such as Fabre d'Eglantine), who were guilty of plundering. Not so Talleyrand, Danton, Barras, Fouché: they were *figurants*, and would have espoused any side for money. Talleyrand, *c'est le plus vil des agioteurs, homme corrompu, sans opinion, mais homme d'esprit.* A *figurant* ready to sell himself, and every thing to the best bidder. Barras was such another. When I commanded the army of Italy, Barras made the Venetian ambassador pay to him two hundred thousand dollars, (I think he said), for writing a letter, begging of me to be favourable to the republic of Venice, with which I———" (here he made use of a most significant gesture,) "I never paid any attention to such letters. From my first career, I always commanded myself. Talleyrand, in like manner, sold

every thing. Fouché in a less degree; his traffic was in an inferior line."

I asked how it had been possible that Barrère had escaped during the different ebullitions of the revolution? "Barrère?—*parceque c'est un homme sans caractère.* A man who changed and adapted himself to every side. He has the reputation of being a man of talent, but I did not find him so. I employed him to write, but he did not display ability. He used many flowers of rhetoric, but no solid argument. Nothing but *coglionerie* wrapped up in high sounding language."

"Of all the sanguinary monsters," added the emperor, "who reigned in the revolution, Billaud de Varennes was the worst. Carnot *c'est le plus honnête des hommes.* He left France without a sous."

"Madame Campan," continued Napoleon, "had a very indifferent opinion of Marie Antoinette. She told me that a person, well known for his attachment to the queen, came to see her at Versailles, on the 5th or 6th of October, where he remained all night. The palace was stormed by the populace. Marie Antoniette fled, undressed, from her own chamber to that of the king for shelter, and the lover descended from the window. On going to seek the queen in her bed-room, Madame Campan found that she was absent, but discovered a pair of breeches, which the favourite had left behind in his haste, and which were immediately recognized."

"After the events in Brumaire," said he, "I had a long conversation with Sieyes, during which I entered considerably into the state of France, and divers political matters. Sieyes went immediately after to sup with some stern republicans, his most intimate friends. After the servants had left the room, he took off his cap, and throwing it upon the ground. '*Messieurs* said he, "*il n'y a plus de republique, elle est déjà morte.* I have conversed to-day with a man who is not only a great general, but of himself capable of every thing, and who knows every thing. He wants no councillors, no assistance; politics, laws, the art of governing, are as familiar to him as the manner of commanding an army. He is young and determined. The republic is finished.' 'But,' cried the republicans, 'if he becomes a tyrant, *il faut de poignard de Brutus, &c.*' '*Hélas, mes amis, alors nous tomberons dans les mains des Bourbons, ce qui est pire.*"

"Fouché," added he, "never was my confidant. Never did he approach me without bending to the ground. For *him*, I never had esteem. As a man who had been a terrorist, and a chief of jacobins, I employed him as an instrument to discover, and get rid of the jacobins, Septembrizers, and others of his old friends. By means of him I was enabled to send into banishment to the isle of France two hundred of his old associates, Septembrizers, who disturbed the tranquillity of France. He betrayed and sacrificed his old *cama-*

rades and participators in crime. He never was in a situation to demand my confidence, or even to speak to me without being questioned, nor had he the talents requisite for it. Not so Talleyrand. Talleyrand really possessed my confidence for a long time, and was frequently acquainted with my projects a year or two before I put them into execution. Talleyrand is a man of great talent, although wicked, unprincipled, and so covetous of money as not to care by what means he obtains it. His rapacity was so great, that I was obliged, after having in vain warned him several times, to dismiss him from his employments. Sieyes also possessed my confidence, and was a man of great talent, but, unlike Talleyrand, Sieyes was an upright man. He loves money, but he will not obtain it otherwise than by legitimate means; unlike the other, who will grasp at it in any form."*

26*th*.—The following observations upon our embassy to China were delivered by Napoleon.

"It appears, that your ambassador, Lord Macartney, was obliged in 1793 to submit to the *ko-tou*, without doing which he would not have been received. Your ministers, who must have foreseen this, and in fact, who did foresee difficulty in etiquette, had in sending out Lord

* The following strong, although expressive opinion of Talleyrand, has been delivered by a celebrated lady: *C'est de la merde dans un bas de soie.*"

Amherst, authorized him to comply with it; and it appears, that his private opinion was, that he ought to perform it, and that in refusing, he suffered himself to be guided by bad advisers.

"It is an error, but still one which is very generally believed, that an ambassador represents the sovereign. An ambassador, however, does not represent his sovereign, as in fact none of the stipulations of affairs which he signs are valid until after a ratification; and as to his rank in etiquette, there never has been an example of sovereigns having treated them as equals, never having returned their visits; never having given way for them, nor treated them as they would have treated a foreign sovereign, The false idea that ambassadors represented the sovereign is a tradition of the feodal customs. According to which, at the rendering of homage, when a great vassal was prevented from tendering it in person, he caused himself to be represented by an ambassador. In this case the ambassador really received the honours due to his master. The character of an ambassador is of the same nature as that of a minster plenipotentiary or an envoy, with this difference, that an ambassador is in the first degree; a minister, the second; and an envoy, the third: and in negociations, these three have the same rights; whatever they stipulate or sign must be submitted for the ratification of their prince; but

in etiquette there is a great difference; the ambassador in precedency ought to be treated like the first lord in the country, like princes or dukes, and ministers of state. The minister plenipotentiary like nobles of the second rank in precedency at court, and envoys like those of the third. As to charge d'affairs, they are not accredited with the sovereign, but with the minister.

"The English and Russian ambassadors had a right to the same distinctions, and ought to have followed the same etiquette as was practised by the princes and the chief mandarins. Now, these last performed the *ko-tou*, and therefore the ambassadors ought to have done the same; and the emperor of China had a right to require it. It has been said, that a French captain named Rock, who had been in China during the reign of Louis XIV., had refused to perform the *ko-tou*. But it must be considered, that this officer was *not* an ambassador, nor a minister plenipotentiary, nor an envoy, and he was at liberty to act as he pleased, equally as the Chinese government was at liberty to consider him as being of more or less importance. But a man charged with a diplomatic mission ought to have performed the *ko-tou*; and could not refuse it without being wanting in respect to the emperor, in the same manner as this last could not refuse to receive him, without shewing disrespect to his character of ambassador."

"Lord Macartney, and it appears Lord Amherst, thought of divers expedients, which had been also tried by the Russian minister. They proposed that a mandarin of equal rank to the ambassador should perform the *ko-tou* before the picture of the king of England, or that by a public declaration the Chinese monarch should promise, that if he sent an ambassador to England, he should perform the *ko-tou*. The Chinese rejected these proposals, and with good reason. If a Chinese ambassador were received in London, he would have no right to perform the *ko-tou*; but he ought to follow the same etiquette in the presence of the King of England as that observed by the princes, the ministers of state, and the knights of the garter, when they are admitted before the throne, which would be the English *ko-tou*. These proposals were therefore unreasonable, as the principle we have advanced naturally evinces. A third suggestion was made, which was, not to perform the *ko-tou*, but to follow exactly the etiquette of England, which is, to place one knee upon the ground close to the throne, in presenting the credentials. It certainly is an extraordinary presumption for you to attempt to regulate the etiquette of the palace of Pekin by that of St. James's; the simple principle which has been laid down, that in negociations as well as in

etiquette, the ambassador does not represent the sovereign, and has only a right to experience the same treatment as the highest grandee of the place, clears up the whole of the question, and removes every difficulty."

"Only one reasonable objection presents itself to the mind, to wit, that the *ko-tou* is a religious act, that such religious act has something idolatrous in it, and is consequently contrary to the principles of Christianity. The mandarins perfectly comprehended the force of this objection, and repelled the idea, by declaring in an official manner, that the *ko-tou* was not a religious act, but simply a law of etiquette, which ought to have removed every scruple. Russia and England should instruct their ambassadors to submit to the *ko-tou*, upon the sole condition that the Chinese ambassador should submit in London and Petersburg to such forms of etiquette as are practised by the princes and grandees."

"Your embassy cost you some hundred thousand pounds, which have been thrown away, and in place of being the means of approximation, will be a foundation for separation and of ill blood between the Chinese and you, and all this by a ridiculous misunderstanding. In paying respect to the customs of a country, you make those of your own more sacred; and every homage which is rendered to a great foreign sovereign in the

forms which are in use in his own country, is becoming and honourable. Besides, had not your ministers an example of it in what has always taken place with the Porte, which has constantly obliged *all* ambassadors to submit to the etiquette in use there? The ambassador is not admitted to the feet of the sublime sultan, unless he is clothed in a caftan, and is obliged to perform such ceremonies as the civilization of the Porte, and its greater or lesser degree of power, have prescribed and changed; but which still preserve traces of their original character. Is there any great difference between prostrating one's self, in order to perform the *ko-tou*, and kissing the dust at the feet of the sultan? You say that you might awe them by means of a maritime armament, and thus force the mandarins to submit to the European etiquette, This idea is madness. You would be very badly advised indeed, if you were to call to arms a nation of two hundred millions of inhabitants, and compel them in their own defence to build ships against yours. Every sensible man in your country therefore can consider the refusal to perform the *ko-tou* no otherwise than as unjustifiable, and unfortunate in its consequences."

September 1*st*.—Yesterday the Maria transport arrived from the Cape, with mails. A letter from young Las Cases was sent to Madame Bertrand, stating that they had at length obtained permission

to quit the Cape, and were on the point of embarking on board of a brig for England, but were ignorant if permission to land would be granted them; that his father was very unwell, and expressed his fears that he would fall a victim to his complaints before he arrived, as there was no medical person in the brig. He added, that no letter had been received from Longwood since his father and himself had arrived at the Cape. A letter also arrived to Count Bertrand from Messrs. Baring, Brothers, and Co., of London informing him, that two years ago the sum of 12,000*l.* had been deposited in their hands for his use.

Napoleon has been in good spirits for several days, and has taken rather more exercise than formerly. On the 30th, he went to the sentry-box on the left of the house, where he remained for some time looking at the progress which had been made in a new road, greatly to the surprise of the sentinel, who stood gazing at him at the distance of a few yards.

In one of the Cape newspapers which I received there was an article, stating that his sister Caroline had married a certain General Macdonald. Upon this Napoleon remarked, that after the recent assassination of her husband, he did not think it possible that his sister would marry; especially in so public a manner, unless she were mad, or had been forced to it with a pistol at her throat; espe-

cially," said he, "when I consider that my sister is a woman arrived at an age when her passions are no longer *brulantes;* that she has four children, and is possessed of a strong, masculine understanding, and talents superior to the generality of her sex. However," continued Napoleon, "there is no accounting for the actions of a woman."

He then made some remarks upon a diatribe, which had been published about him in the Courier, and observed, that now scurrility and obloquy would rather serve than hurt him. That those attempts to *flétrir son caractère* would now be unavailing, in consequence of the free communication of the English with France. "The vast number of English," said he, "who have had access to the continent, will long ago have discovered and published that I am not that monster I have been described in the English and French libels. They have found out their mistake, and will blush at the idea of having been so grossly deceived. I would desire no better vindication of my character than their opinion. The time for libels against me is past. A moderate criticism upon my actions, well managed, well written, and not too highly exaggerated, would be infinitely more injurious to me than all the furious diatribes in the Quarterly review style."

Some extracts of a pamphlet said to have been published by the Duke of Rovigo upon the death

of Captain Wright, now attracted his observation. "If," said he, "Wright was put to death, it must have been by my authority. The Duke de Rovigo mistakes, in throwing out insinuations against Fouché. If he was put to death in prison, I ordered it. Fouché, if even so inclined, never would have dared to do it. He knew me too well. But the fact is, that Wright killed himself, and I do not believe that he was even personally ill-treated in prison. That Fouché may have threatened him, with a view of extracting discoveries is possible. Sydney Smith has acted in a manner unworthy of himself, and unworthy of a man of honour, in the epitaph which he wrote upon Wright. For in it, he throws out insinuations, or at least leaves room to suppose, that he was secretly despatched, although he does not dare to say it openly. After having made every search and inquiry in his power, after having exhausted all his means in endeavouring to prove that he was murdered, after having had an opportunity of examining the gaolers and turnkeys, and finding that nothing of the kind had happened, he ought, like a man of honour, to have openly declared, 'that there was no proof to admit of such an accusation,' instead of making insinuations, especially when his old enemy, against whom he had so often fought, was in the hands of his countrymen. Sydney Smith, above all men knew, from having

been so long in the Temple, that it was impossible to have assassinated a prisoner, without the knowledge of such a number of persons as would have rendered concealment impossible; and also must have been aware that nobody could have entered the prison unless by an order from the minister of police."

"Nevertheless," added he, "Sydney Smith displayed great honour in informing Kleber of the refusal of Lord Keith to consent to the convention of El-Arish. Had he delayed it for twenty-four hours longer, Kleber would have evacuated the forts to the Turks, and would have been obliged to surrender to the English. He treated the French prisoners of war very well. *Un intrigant.* He, however, committed gross faults, in not having confined himself to operations purely naval; except in the instance of Acre, where he acted perfectly right, in sending men and officers to assist the Turks. He neglected cutting off communications by sea, which he might have done had he attended more closely to his squadron. By this oversight he allowed me to escape. At Acre, he caused his ships to fire broadsides at my troops at such a distance as to be harmless; indeed, on the contrary, it rendered us essential service, as there was a scarcity of shot, and every soldier who picked up one of the English balls received five sous. However, notwithstanding,"

continued Napoleon, "that Sydney Smith has ill-treated me, I should still have a pleasure in seeing him. I should like to receive *ce gaillard là*. He has certain good qualities, and as an old enemy, I should like to see him."

"Have you ever heard," said he, "that Lord Wellington was the person who first proposed to send me to St. Helena?"* I replied, that I had heard so, but did not give the report any credit. "If it be true," said he, "it will reflect but little honour upon him in the eyes of posterity."

2nd.—Went to Plantation House according to Sir Hudson Lowe's direction. After acquainting him with Napoleon's state of health I proceeded to ask him, by General Bertrand's desire, information respecting the measures necessary to be taken towards obtaining a certificate of life for Countess

* It is said that the Duke of Wellington returned to England from India in a frigate commanded by Captain, (now Sir George) Cockburn, and remained at St. Helena for some days during which time he narrowly escaped death by drowning, having been upset in a boat in one of the squalls so prevalent at that anchorage; also that when Napoleon was at Elba, his grace suggested to the congress, that he should be removed from thence to St. Helena, urging the latter place to be the best adapted for his perpetual imprisonment, from his own local knowledge. I merely give this report as an *on dit*, though I know that it is believed by many. If true, however, perhaps the duke may esteem it to be one of his most brilliant achievements, and only surpassed by the manifestation of generosity and humanity he displayed in the fate of his old antagonist Ney.

Bertrand, and a power of attorney for the Count, and begged to know whether Mr. Brooke, (the secretary to the council,) was not the person who performed the duties of notary public. Sir Hudson Lowe replied roughly, "Let Count Bertrand ask Captain Blakeney." Soon afterwards, however, he said, that he would not let me return without an answer, and desired me to say that there was no public notary on the island; that Mr. Brooke was not vested with powers sufficient to allow him to take such a deposition; that to legalize acts, they must be signed by him as chief magistrate of the island. He then asked what motives could Count Bertrand have, in wishing to perform it before Mr. Brooke? Why not have asked me, as chief magistrate?" I replied, that one of Count Bertrand's motives was to spare to Madame Bertrand the inconvenience and trouble of going five miles distance from Longwood, in the bad weather which prevailed, especially as she was suckling an infant, and in an extremely delicate state of health. That Count Bertrand, in the supposition that Mr. Brooke performed the duties of notary public, had desired me to inquire, and if so, to ask permission for him to come to Longwood. "Those are not his motives, sir," said Sir Hudson Lowe, "he wants to get the Marquis Montchenu to Longwood, in order to have an opportunity of conversing with him, before Mr. Brooke, who does

not understand French. Do you not think, sir that that is their motive?" I replied, that it had never occurred to me that such was their intention or motive. "Then it does you but little credit, sir. You are very sharp at finding out and observing every thing to their advantage;" and added, that I was an instrument in their hands. I observed to his excellency, that if asking for information from himself, constituted me an instrument, I must plead guilty. That I was at a loss to conceive why they should have recourse to so much trouble, to have a conversation with Marquis Montchenu in Longwood, when they had frequently met and conversed, for a long time, with all the commissioners outside of it, as he must well know, without any British officers being present. His excellency said, very gruffly, that the less communication I had with them, (the French,) unless on professional subjects, the better. After repeating his insinuations, and sarcastically expressing his surprise that I should not have discovered their real motive, (which I could have told him, was solely the invincible repugnance every body at Longwood had to his presence) he asked if I had any thing to communicate from General Bonaparte? I replied in the negative. He then asked how many conversations with him I had had, and for how long? I replied, that I did not recollect how many, or how long. They might

have lasted for an hour, perhaps longer; and took my departure.

3rd.—Found the emperor in the drawing-room, reading aloud the Old Testament. In very good spirits. Told me that he had seen Mr. Cole at Madame Montholon's a few days since, and had taken him for a Jew. "I asked Madame Montholon," said he "what Jew is that? *Vraiement il a l'air d'Isaac. Il appartient à la famille d'Abraham.*"

Napoleon then made some observations upon the formalities which the governor obliged Bertrand to go through, in order to get the bills which Las Cases had left upon London cashed, and the examination which every little bill, account, and receipt, went through. "Even the bills and salaries of the servants," said he, "are minutely examined, and every trifling sum obliged to be accounted for. Useless vexations; as every man of sense must know, that it would not be by means of any small sum that I could get here, that I could escape; and that although I have no money here, I have it at the extremity of my fingers. But this man, *ha la rabbia di mischiarsi di tutto.** If he had his will, he would order me to breakfast at a certain hour, dine at another, go to bed at a time prescribed by him, and come, himself, to see it carried into execution. All will fall upon him-

* Has the rage to meddle in every thing.

self one day. He does not know that what passes here, will be recorded in history, *ed è cosi imbecille che non sa che li ministri non hanno mai torto,* (meaning, he is imbecile enough not to feel that ministers never acknowledge themselves to be in error). He sent a letter to Bertrand, in reply to the one written by him about the new restrictions, which convinces me more than any thing he has ever yet done, that he is *un imbecille che non ha senso commune.* If I had paid him for it, he could not have made a communication which would have pleased me more. There was nothing else wanting to verify and authenticate the tyranny under which I labour. *Il avoue des choses atroces.* He says that he has authority to rip up the cover of a book, or to examine any piece of furniture in such a manner as to render it unserviceable either for ornament or utility, to search for letters. Next to his restrictions, I hold this letter precious.* By his reasoning, he ought not to send up a loaf of bread, or a joint of meat, or a pair of shoes, as letters might be concealed in them, and frequently have been in the soles of the latter. What I said in ridicule of Lord Bathurst's speech, he writes in earnest to us. Nothing but the publication of that letter is wanting to convince the ministers that he is an imbecile. Ah, if I had had only to do with such as him, I should not be here. Ah! poor country, that is obliged to employ such as

* This letter will be found in the Appendix, No. X.

him. If I were at the head of the government, I should estimate his service to be worth an employment of 150*l.* a year.

He then made some observations upon a project mentioned in some papers to be contemplated, by ministers, to lend two millions for the use of the poor, which he pronounced to be absurd. "England to recover herself must renew her commerce; in a few words, she must no longer be a continental power. She must proceed in her proper sphere, as an insular power, possessing the command of the sea. You must not continue to be all *gentlemen*," said he, "as Lord Castlereagh wishes. You must return to your ships. You want old Lord Chatham for a prime minister. You require able men. My opinion is, that if something be not soon done, you will be obliged to act as I did in Holland—reduce the interest of the funds to two per cent. So well assured and convinced am I that there will be a bankruptcy, more or less serious, that I would not place money in the English funds. This distress of yours is one of the consequences of the holy alliance. All the continental powers will endeavour to bridle *(raffrenare)* you, and unite against you as they have done against me, when I was more powerful than all of them put together. The only way to prevent it is by placing yourselves in such a situation as to command respect, and to make them court you,

instead of you courting them; which can never be the case as long as you have an army on the continent. As long as your ministers say, John Bull is not sick, so long will things go wrong. As soon as they come forward and say, 'Certainly there is deep distress. There wants a radical change. We have had great successes, which we have abused, and of which we have not availed ourselves,' then there will be some hope. But the manner in which they now act, is like a physician telling me when I feel myself very ill and my legs swelling, that there is nothing the matter with me; or like one replying to John Bull, when he complains that he has nothing to eat. 'Oh, you have too good an appetite. You must not indulge it. Repletion is a bad thing.'

"Cipriani informs me," said he, "that the governor took great pains to make him comprehend that the Burgundy sent here some time back came from him. I ordered him never to bring me any more of it. I do not blush to drink the wine or eat the bread of John Bull, *mais je ne veux rien prendre des mains qui me sont devenues si odieuses* (but I will accept nothing from hands that are become so odious to me).

He observed that he had contracted a catarrh by having sat for a quarter of an hour yesterday on the steps in front of the billiard room, and had been sneezing and coughing all the even-

ing. Made some remarks on the *tempaccio*, and told me that since breakfast yesterday he had eaten nothing until the same meal this day.

He said that Count Montholon had met Madame Sturmer, and found that she was not so handsome as Betsy (Miss E. Balcombe); that she had *la tournure d'un grisette.*

He afterwards made some observations upon Talleyrand. "Talleyrand," said he, "maintained to me that assassination was sometimes justifiable, or at least that it ought to be winked at, and allowed to remain unpunished. He urged that such a practice was common to all revolutions or grand crises. That in revolutions, there were certain faults which the tribunals ought not to notice, and added, that if it had not been for *la lanterne* of the constituent assembly, the revolution would not have succeeded. That some evils ought to be tolerated, because they prevented others that were greater.

4*th*.—The weatner has been extremely wet for several days, and Napoleon ordered that a fire should be kept in the four rooms which he is accustomed to use himself. As he cannot bear the smell of coals, there was consequently a great defieiency of wood. Found Novarre breaking up a bedstead and some shelves to burn. Cipriani applied to Captain Blakeney to send a letter to the purveyors requesting that they

would send up three thousand weight of wood, to be paid for by themselves, as the governor would not allow more than three hundred weight daily, being about a third of what was wanting, in consequence of the great humidity of Longwood.

Saw Napoleon at breakfast in his bath. Expected to have found him discontented on account of the occurrences of the morning, but he was in a very good humour. He was eating some lentils, of which he asked the English name, and if I had ever seen any before. I replied that I had seen some in Egypt, but none in England. "That arch libeller, Pillet," said he, laughing, "asserts that you have none in England, and, in fact, that you have no good vegetables *(légumes)*." I replied that it was equally true with the rest of Pillet's falsehoods. That in no country in Europe were there better vegetables or a more plentiful supply. Napoleon laughed at the warmth with which I expressed myself, and said, "Oh, that atrocious libeller, Pillet. You English do not like to hear any thing bad of your own country, although you are so fond of abusing other nations. I fancy that if Pillet had gone to England after the publication of that book, he would have had his brains beaten out by you." I said that he would certainly have been treated with the contempt which he deserved. Napoleon then remarked, that the northern people required the bottle to develope their ideas; that the

English appeared in general to prefer the bottle to the ladies, as was exemplified by our allowing them to go away from table, and remaining for hours to drink and intoxicate ourselves. I replied, that although we did sit sometimes for hours after the ladies withdrew, it was more for the sake of conversation than for wine, of which last there was not so much drunk as formerly; that moreover it was optional to retire immediately after the ladies or to remain. He appeared to doubt this, and made me repeat it. After which he said, that were he in England, he would always leave with the ladies. It appears to me," said he, "that you do not pay regard enough to the ladies. If your object is to converse instead of to drink, why not allow them to be present. Surely conversation is never so lively or so witty as when ladies take a part in it. If I were an Englishwoman, I should feel very discontented at being turned out by the men to wait for two or three hours while they were guzzling their wine. Now in France society is nothing unless ladies are present. They are the life of conversation."

I endeavoured to make it appear that our conversation after dinner frequently turned upon politics and other matters, with which ladies seldom meddled; moreover, that in well-regulated societies, the gentlemen soon followed them. This did not, however, satisfy him. He maintained that it

was a custom which could not be justified, that women were necessary to civilize and to soften the other sex.

He spoke about Maréchal Jourdan, of whose military talents he had a poor opinion. I observed that I had been told by some English officers who had been present at the battle of Albuera, that if Maréchal Soult had advanced after the attack made by the lancers, he would have cut the English army to pieces. Napoleon acquiesced in this, and said that he had censured Soult for having neglected to do so. He then adverted to the English mode of besieging towns, and said that Lord Wellington, at sieges, was *le bourreau des hommes;* that the immense sacrifice of men at Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz was by no means compensated by the capture of those places. He observed that the storming of Bergen-op-Zoom was a most daring attempt, but that it ought not, or could not have succeeded, the number of the garrison being greater than that of the assailants. I observed that the failure was in part to be attributed to one of the generals not having taken the precaution to communicate the orders which had been given to him to any one else; so that when he was killed or mortally wounded, the troops did not know how to act. Napoleon replied, that even if no accident of the kind had occurred, the attempt ought not to have succeeded, unless

the party attacked became, as sometimes happened, panic struck. Graham he observed had been commissary with the army at the time of his first career of arms at Toulon. "A daring old man," said he, and asked if he were not the same who had commanded in the affair near Cadiz.

5th.—Had some conversation in the morning with Napoleon relative to the deficiency of fuel at Longwood, and with General Montholon on the same subject.

Went to Plantation House by order of Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I communicated the particulars of the deficiency of fuel, and the observations I had been desired to make upon the subject. Had a long discussion with his excellency, and explained that there were twenty-three fires in all at Longwood, which he thought much too numerous. He answered in his accustomed manner, "that they had no business with so many." I explained to him that Longwood was very damp, and that the French ladies and children required constant fires. He said that "Lady Lowe had no fire in *her* room." I observed that the French were natives of a more southern climate than ours, and consequently more susceptible of cold, and that there could be no comparison made between the comfort of such a building as Plantation House, and Longwood. His excellency said, that "he did not see any necessity for so many fires, and that he

had seen a fire burning in the Countess Bertrand's room in the middle of summer." I told him I had no observation to make upon that circumstance. I observed that it was necessary to regulate the quantity of wood by the seasons, as what was too much in summer was too little in winter, and explained to him that I had done every thing in my power to explain to the French, that he thought the allowance which he had ordered for Longwood was sufficient, as he had made it nearly double of what was consumed at Plantation House. I also told his excellency that Napoleon could not bear the smell of coals; and suggested, that instead of sending wood to the soldiers in camp, coals might be furnished, and the wood sent to Longwood; to which he replied, that "he did not like to humour any person's whims."

Saw Napoleon in his bath. After some conversation respecting the deficiency of fuel, he said that he had seen Admiral Plampin, who had brought him a book which he, (the admiral,) said had been sent out by Lord Bathurst, which, added Napoleon, "I suppose his lordship has sent in order to discover the author, as in the letter which the admiral said he saw, it was attributed to Benjamin Constant, or Madame de Stäel."

Napoleon then observed that he had spoken to the admiral about ships of war, and their interior economy. "The admiral says that a seventy-four

gun ship will take about eighty tons more water by means of the tanks. Had I known this in 1806 or 1808, I would have sent an army of thirty thousand men to invade India. I had made several calculations about the possibility of sending so large a body of men to India, but always found that they would have been short of water for a month. I asked what his plan was? "In Brest," said the emperor, "I had at one time as many as fifty-six sail of the line, and often forty-six. In forty of these line-of-battle ships, I intended to have dispersed thirty thousand soldiers, eight hundred in each, and only four hundred sailors. There were to have been a proportionate number of frigates, and other smaller vessels. Ten of the line-of-battle ships would have been old and of little value. They were also to take on board six or eight hundred dismounted cavalry, and a portion of artillery, with every thing necessary for an army to take the field, and be provisioned for four months. They were to make the best of their way to the isle of France, where they would have watered and provisioned afresh, landed their sick, and taken on board some other troops to replace them, with three thousand blacks to form colonial regiments. From thence they were to have proceeded to India, and to have disembarked in the nearest possible place, so as to have allowed the Mahrattas, with whom I had an understand-

ing, to join them. They were to form the cavalry of the army. A few of the French were also to be mounted, and all the horses they could procure purchased. After landing, they were to have burnt the ten old ships, and divided their crews amongst the rest, who would have been thus full manned. They would then proceed in different directions, and do you all possible mischief in your settlements. I had," continued he, "an understanding with the Mahrattas and others, in India, by the way of Bassorah, Bagdat, Mocha, Surat ; their communications were made to the consuls at Aleppo, through the ambassdor in Persia, &c. I had frequently earlier intelligence from India than you had in England. The king of Persia was favourably disposed towards us. All this plan, however, was frustrated by the calculations I had made, which shewed me that the ships must fall short of water by a month. Had I known of those tanks, I certainly would have made the attempt."

Napoleon then calculated the number of tons which would have been gained by the tanks, and found that the ships would have had more than sufficient water. "For a power which is inferior by sea," said he, "it is an invention of great importance, as it will prevent the necessity of their going into harbour to water."

I mentioned Toussant Louverture, and ob-

served, that amongst other calumnies, some of his enemies had asserted that he had caused him to be put to death privately in prison. "It does not deserve an answer," replied Napoleon. "What possible interest could I have in putting a Negro to death after he had arrived in France? Had he died in St. Domingo, then indeed something might have been suspected, but after he had safely arrived in France, what object could have been in view?"

"One of the greatest follies I ever was guilty of," continued the emperor, "was sending that army out to St. Domingo. I ought to have prevented the possibility of its being effected. I committed a great oversight and fault in not having declared St. Domingo free, acknowledged the black government, and before the peace of Amiens sent some French officers to assist them. Had I done this, it would have been more consonant to the principles under which I was acting. It would have done you incalculable mischief. You would have lost Jamaica, and your other colonies would have followed. Having once acknowledged them, I could not have sent an army out there during the peace. But after the peace, I was continually beset with applications from proprietors of estates in the colony, merchants, and others. Indeed, the nation had *la rage* to regain St. Domingo, and I was obliged to comply with

it; but had I previous to the peace, acknowledged the blacks, I could under that plea have refused to make any attempts to retake it, in doing which, I acted contrary to my own judgment."

6*th.*—Informed Count Montholon, by direction of Sir Hudson Lowe, that the latter had regulated the quantity of fuel necessary for Longwood by a comparison with that consumed at Plantation House; and thought, that by giving twice as much coal as was used there, and three hundred weight of wood, daily he had allowed a sufficiency. That, however, if any application had been made, he would have increased the quantity. I also shewed him a letter from Major Gorrequer, stating the quantity used at Plantation House. Count Montholon replied, that they were not bound to regulate the quantity of fuel they thought it necessary to burn at Longwood by that consumed by Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House, where there were only four or five fire-places, and there were twenty-three at Longwood. That, moreover, they were natives of a warmer and a drier climate than the English, and stood in need of more heat; that the dampness of Longwood rendered fires absolutely necessary for the preservation of their health. That both his own and the Countess's clothes were spoiled by the damp, in spite of the fires which were used. As to asking for more, he did not like to subject himself to slight-

ings or refusals. Napoleon for some days has eaten no dinner. Told me, that he intended to accustom himself to only one meal a day. Mentioned in the course of conversation, that he once had it in contemplation to have sent five thousand men to invade Surinam; and asked me, (as I had been there,) if I thought it would have succeeded? I replied, that I thought not. First, on account of the difficulty of approaching the coast, as large ships could not come nearer than seventeen or eighteen miles, and the channel for vessels, (not drawing more than eighteen feet water,) was only practicable at high water, was very difficult, intricate, and required the aid of a skilful pilot. Besides, that the country itself was full of marshes and very inaccessible. That there was a garrison of three regiments, besides the colonial militia. Fort Amsterdam was strong, and could for some time sustain a regular siege.

The weather has not been so bad this day as for some time past. Napoleon went out as far as Count Bertrand's. "*Veramente*," said he, yesterday, when speaking of the weather, "*non è paese Cristiano.*"

7th.—Napoleon complained of rheumatic pains and slight headach, which he attributed, and with reason, to the dampness of the climate and the house. "Every evening," said he, "when I leave my little sitting-room, where there is a fire, and

enter my sleeping-room,* where there is none, I experience a sensation as if I were going into a damp cellar. If it were not for the room that Cockburn built, which is light, airy, and built of dry wood, where I walk about and exercise, I should have been under ground before now. But that is I suppose what your oligarchy wants, and is of a piece with their treatment of the prisoners in the *pontons*, an act the most cruel as well as the most impolitic that was ever practised. Nothing that your ministers ever did, enraged the French and other nations against them so much as their system of *pontons*. If humanity were out of the question, good policy ought to have made them treat prisoners well. It is incredible what effect the good treatment of prisoners in France had upon other nations, especially the Russians and Germans. I often experienced it to my advantage, as thousands of them threw down their arms, who otherwise would have fought desperately, saying, "we will go into Bourgogne to drink good wine."

I observed, that latterly in the prison-ships in England there was less mortality than amongst those confined in the depôts on shore, which was a proof that they were not ill treated, because sickness and deaths always followed the ill treatment of prisoners. Napoleon replied, "the most bar-

* Napoleon had changed his bed-room some time before.

barous and unnatural measure ever adopted by one nation against another, was that of putting poor wretches who were not brought up to the sea on board of ships, there to remain ten or twelve years without stirring out or walking upon the grass, exposed to the stink of the mud at low water, and huddled up as they were. It was a crying injustice, and, one which, mark me, will yet be revenged upon the English nation. Of the prisoners in France, I, with their own consent, formed battalions of pioneers, who laboured on the fortresses and other public works, for which they were paid a certain sum daily. Amongst them, there were some English. Directly afterwards, a letter was sent by order of the English government, to know if it were true that Englishmen were made to work as pioneers, expressing great anger, and desiring that it might be immediately put a stop to. I ordered an answer to be returned, stating, that an offer had been made to all the prisoners in France, that a certain number of them would be permitted to volunteer to work as pioneers, for which they would receive so much pay daily. That it was not made to the English in particular. No force was employed, and that, amongst others, some English had volunteered to work, for which they were paid; that I begged the English government would do the same with any prisoners of mine who would

volunteer. However, they would not allow the Frenchmen to work; I suppose your oligarchy was afraid that they would disseminate their principles of equality amongst the people of England."

He then made some remarks upon the Manuscrit venu de Ste Hélène, and observed, that there was such an ignorance of chronological events displayed in it, such as putting the battle of Jena after Tilsit, and others of a similar nature, and so many mistakes as to time and place, that it would make a corporal in the old French army laugh. "Notwithstanding this," added he, "it was written by a man of *esprit*, though in several passages he appears not to have had *sens commun*. In some places, his assertion of the motives which actuated me is correct. What he says on the subject of my nobility is correct. What he says about my intentions and wishes to do away with every thing which had been established since Charlemagne, is also right. That the nobility I formed was that of the people is true, as I took the son of a peasant, and made him a duke or a marshal when I found that he had talents. That I wanted to introduce a system of general equality is true, and that every person should be eligible to every situation, provided he had talents to fill it, whatever his birth might be. That I wanted to do away with all the ancient prejudices of birth is also correct. That I laboured to establish a govern-

ment of the people, which although *dur*, was still that of the people, is also true. That I ought to have deposed for my own security, the house of Brandenburgh, when I had it in my power, and all the ancient orders of sovereigns; and that they almost always combined against and attacked me, is also right. Probably I ought to have done so, and I should have succeeded. It is true that I wished to establish a government of the people. It is a work which will much displease the oligarchy, because they do not wish that any person except one of themselves should be eligible for any important situation. With *their* will, birth, and not talents or capability, should regulate the choice. A worse, a more despotic or unforgiving government than an oligarchy never existed. Offend them once you are never pardoned, and no treatment can be too cruel for you when in their power. The pamphlet is written with that lightness peculiar to Frenchmen, and consequently contains many mistakes. The Edinburgh Review will find out directly that I am not the author of it. *La Revue d'Edinburg le coulera en bas.* They will take it to pieces as I have done. The editors of it will probably make similar remarks to those in the notes* I made yesterday, probably not so

* Those notes were given by Napoleon to me, and published in the appendix to the ninth volume of the Memoirs of Napoleon, dictated by himself.

strong, in consequence of not being so well acquainted with the secrets as I am. I see by the sketch* they have published of my life, that they take pains to ascertain the truth. Most of it is true; and it is difficult for me to imagine from whence they had their information on some parts of my early life, which were very little known to any except my own family."

"That work," continued he, "was not written by Madame de Stäel, or if it be, it was the work of a few hours, and was sent to the press without any correction. But there are in it *fautes trop grossières* for Madame de Stäel. The sentiments expressed in it are such as Madame de Stäel would *talk;* and though new in England, were for several years the subjects of discussion in France."

"The author," continued he, "has made a great mistake in saying, that after Jena, I never did any thing worthy of my former actions. The greatest military manœuvres I ever made, and those for which I give myself most credit, were performed at Eckmühl, and were infinitely superior to Marengo, or to any other of my actions. It is the work of some young *homme d'esprit*, who has hurried it to the press without having submitted it

* The sketch alluded to came from the classical pen of John Allen, Esq. Napoleon had read it with great attention in my presence, and made some pencil marks upon particular passages.

to the revision of any of his friends. It is however composed with good intentions towards me. If I had written a work of the kind, it would indeed be different. Every line of it would be a subject of discussion for nations."

"Freeing the work from its mistakes and errors," added he, "it would be valuable. The author says that there will be a revolution in Europe. That is not at all improbable. He says, that it was perhaps necessary to place a Bourbon on the throne in 1814; but that it would have been advisable to have left me after my return from Elba. Perhaps he is right in both." He added, that such a work, really written by him, would make a great noise. "It will be, or perhaps is written," added he, "but it will be for my son and for posterity."

"It only rested with me," said he, "to have deposed both the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. When I was at Schoenbrunn," (I think he said) "the Duke of Wurtsburgh frequently insinuated to me that the only means to secure the good faith of Austria would be to depose his brother Francis, and place the crown on his head. These offers were repeated to me afterwards through a minister, with an offer of his son as hostage, who should be placed as my aid-de-camp, with every other possible guarantee. I reflected upon it for some time; but the marriage with

Marie Louise put a stop to any further consideration on the subject. I was wrong in not having accepted of it. Nothing would have been easier to execute."

I asked, if he believed it to have been written by the Abbé de Pradt. "No," replied the emperor, "I do not think that he is the author. De Pradt," continued he, "may be said to be *une espèce de fille de joie, qui prête son corps* to all the world for payment. Once, when he was giving vent to his customary *bavardage* and extravagant projects in my presence, I contented myself with humming a part of the air:

> Où courez vous donc, monsieur l'Abbé,
> Vous allez vous casser le nez,

which disconcerted him so much, that he had not another word to utter."

Speaking about the badness of the house, and the offer said to have been made by Sir Hudson Lowe to build a new one, Napoleon observed, that he had only refused the offer of making additions to the present wretched old house of Longwood, and the design to build another on that miserable situation. "The governor," said he, "asked me if I had heard that wood had arrived to build a new house, but that I must not believe that a house had been sent out; that I might perhaps have seen such an assertion in the papers; but that only materials had come out. I told him

that I did not believe what I saw in the papers; more especially any thing relating to myself. He said, that if I made choice of a spot to build a house upon, I might have it; but on condition that it was approved of by him; without which I could not have it where I pleased. I was not so silly as not to have known this before. He then made an offer of building additions, but with a very bad grace. I told him, that I did not wish to subject myself to the inconvenience of having workmen continually to annoy me with their noise. That the English government ought to provide me with a house already built, and not one to be built. After this, he wrote a letter to Montholon on the same subject, who replied by my desire, that if he intended to build a new house for us, let it be built in a place where there was shade and water. Nothing could be more plain than this. It is a fine prospect certainly that he now holds out. With all the activity of Cockburn, the construction of a new house would take three years, and with this man, I dare say six; and that a house might be healthy, it ought not to be inhabited for eighteen months after being built. I shall be dead long before that time. This I also told him. Plantation House is the only one in the island fit for me. The governor having a house himself in town, could easily retire to it for

six months, until improvements were made here, and having the command of every thing himself, without being obliged to ask permission from any body, he could soon render this habitable for some months in the year, which is all that it is adapted for. He could retire to town in the winter season."

Napoleon then said, that the English servants in the house had laughed at the French for eating lentils, and asserted, that in England they fed horses with what the French eat here. He laughed very heartily while saying this: and at an anecdote which I related about Dr. Johnson, who I informed him, had in the first edition of his English dictionary, defined oats to be "food for horses in England, and for men in Scotland."

Count Montholon called Captain Blakeney* and myself this day to look at the state of his apartments. The rooms, especially the Countess's bed-room, the children's room, and bath room, were certainly in a shocking state, from the extreme humidity of the place. The walls were covered with green fur and mould; damp and cold to the touch, notwithstanding the fires which were constantly kept in them. I never saw a human habitation in a more mouldy or humid state, in which opinion the orderly officer agreed.

* Captain Blakeney had replaced Captain Poppleton as orderly officer on the departure of Captain P.'s regiment from St. Helena.

8th.—Saw Napoleon, who informed me that after I had left him yesterday, he had found himself very unwell with headach and general pains in his limbs; and had taken a warm bath, which had been very beneficial to him.

He was in very good spirits, spoke for a long time about the Manuscrit de Ste Hélène, and observed, that it must have been written by a person who had heard him reason, and was acquainted with his ideas. He added, that he thought he knew the author, whom he supposed to be a man who had figured in the revolution, and now lived retired.

He asked many questions about the number of bottles of wine we drank at our party the night before last. Blamed Mr. Boys's conduct, for having preached in allusion to the admiral.* Said that a man's conscience was not to be amenable to any tribunal; that no person ought to be accountable to any earthly power for his religious opinions. "Had you not persecuted the Catholics in Ireland," added he, "in all probability the greatest number of them would before now have become Protestants; but persecution strengthens them in their belief. Even Pitt himself was aware of the

* Mr. Boys had thought it a duty to mention something from the pulpit in censure of an official person, for having set an example of immorality to a small colony, by publicly living with a woman not his wife, and for absenting himself from church.

necessity of giving the Catholics equal privileges with the Protestants."

9th.—Races at Deadwood. The commissioners all present. None of the French from Longwood attended, except the children and some of the domestics.

During the interval between the heats, Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me, and asked if "some of General Bonaparte's horses were not on the race-ground?" I replied in the affirmative. His excellency asked how they came there? I replied, that I had borrowed the horses from General Gourgaud, one of which I had lent to Miss Eliza Balcombe, and the other to the surgeon of the Conqueror. Sir Hudson immediately broke out into not the most moderate expressions, and his gestures attracted the attention of many of the spectators. He characterised my having dared to lend any of General Bonaparte's horses without his (the governor's) permission, to be the greatest piece of presumption he had ever witnessed. I observed, that I had come to St. Helena to learn that it was a crime to borrow a horse for the use of a young lady; neither had I known that it was necessary to go to Plantation House to ask permission from him to borrow a horse belonging to the Longwood establishment. Sir Hudson replied, that "I had no business to form any opinion about it."

This was evidently only a pretext to have an

opportunity of venting his pitiful vengeance, as not a week passed that horses were not sent down to town, and frequently to Sir Thomas Reade's, for Dr. Livingston and others to ride up to Longwood, without it having ever been signified that it was necessary first to apply to Sir Hudson Lowe for permission. Besides, Gen. Gourgaud always directed that a horse should be in the stable at my command.

A little before the conclusion of the races, the three commissioners, Madame Sturmer, and Captain Gor, came in as far as the inner gate of Longwood, where they remained for some time, during which the governor approached and looked in at the outer gate. Shortly afterwards, Count and Countess Bertrand, Count and Countess Montholon, and General Gourgaud, went out to walk, and met the commissioners outside of the gate, with whom they had a long conversation. They afterwards proceeded together to Hut's Gate. It was nearly dark before they returned.

Napoleon in high spirits; looked out of a window at the races, with which he was much pleased. Told me that he had done every thing in his power to establish the same in France.

12*th*.—Went to Plantation House, in consequence of orders communicated to me by Captain Blakeney. After some conversation relative to the late discussions respecting the quantity of fuel allowed to Longwood, Sir Hudson Lowe entered

again upon the heinous crime I had been guilty of in lending one of the horses of the Longwood establishment to a young lady; to which I replied as I had done before, which he said was quite in the Longwood style. He then asked in an abrupt manner if I had not received some books from Dr. Warden? I replied, that I had received seven or eight monthly publications containing reviews of his work. "Did you not receive one, sir, with a view of Longwood?"* I replied, yes. "It is very extraordinary," said Sir Hudson, "that you did not inform me of it." I replied, that I was not bound to tell him of any or every book I received or purchased; that I was in the habit of having books and pamphlets of various descriptions from England, which I was not obliged to give any account of. Sir Hudson said, that I ought to have done so, and asked if I had lent any of them to the French, or if they had seen them. I replied, that to my knowledge the French had not seen them; that they were at present in my inner apartment. He said, that "it was very extraordinary I should have had those pamphlets for two months, without being able to tell whether the French had seen them; and that I might have books in my rooms, to be shewn to them, of a very improper tendency, which they might read in my absence;" and after harping for a long time on those

* A few days before, I had lent this pamphlet to an officer of the staff.

unlucky pamphlets, he said he supposed I had no objection to lend them to him. I replied, certainly not; that they should be sent to him on my return. They consisted of the Monthly Review, Gentleman's Magazine, Eclectic Review, British Ladies' Magazine, European Magazine, and New Monthly. His excellency then said, that Count Las Cases had given a pretty strong hint in the letter he had sent to Longwood from the Cape, that he was in want of the money which he had lent them, which it did not appear to be *convenient* for them to understand. After which he made a long and abusive harangue upon the "Character of Bonaparte," extracted from the Quarterly Review, which publication his excellency appeared to consider as a sort of political gospel.

14*th*.—Napoleon in very good spirits. Asked many questions about the horses that had won at the races, and the manner in which we trained them; how much I had won or lost; and about the ladies, &c. "You had a large party yesterday," continued he. "How many bottles of wine? *Drink, your eyes look like drink*," which he expressed in English. "Who dined with you?" I mentioned Captain Wallis amongst others. "What, is that the lieutenant who was with Wright?" I replied in the affirmative. "What does he say about Wright's death?" I said, "He states his belief that Wright was murdered by orders of

Fouché, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with you. That six or seven weeks previous, Wright had told him that he expected to be murdered like Pichegru, and begged of him never to believe that he would commit suicide; that he had received a letter from Wright, about four or five weeks before his death, in which he stated that he was better treated, allowed to subscribe to a library, and to receive newspapers." Napoleon replied, "I will never allow that Wright was put to death by Fouché's orders. If he was put to death privately it must have been by my orders, and not by those of Fouché. Fouché knew me too well. He was aware that I would have had him hanged directly if he attempted it. By this officer's own words, Wright was not *au secret*, as he says that he saw him some weeks before his death, and that he was allowed books and newspapers. Now if it had been in contemplation to make away with him, he would have been put *au secret* for months before, in order that people might not be accustomed to see him for some time previous, as I thought this *** intended to do in November last. Why not examine the gaolers and turnkeys? The Bourbons have every opportunity of proving it, if such really took place. But your ministers themselves do not believe it, The idea I have of what was my opinion at that time about Wright, is faint; but as well as I can recollect, it was, that

he ought to have been brought before a military commission for having landed spies and assassins, and the sentence executed within forty-eight hours. What dissuaded me from doing so, I cannot clearly recollect. Were I in France at this moment, and a similar occurrence took place, the above would be my opinion, and I would write to the English government, 'Such an officer of your's has been tried for landing brigands and assassins on my territories. I have caused him to be tried by a military commission. He has been condemned to death. The sentence has been carried into execution. If any of my officers in your prisons have been guilty of the same, try and execute them. You have my full permission and acquiescence. Or if you find hereafter any of my officers landing assassins on your shores, shoot them instantly.' This affair of Wright's," added he, "made so little impression upon me, that when Lord Ebrington spoke about it at Elba, I did not recollect it. My mind was so much occupied with grand objects, that I had little time to think of a poor English captain. Had the Bourbons, Moreau, or the Vendean chiefs been put to death, then indeed I might have been suspected. I might have tried and executed the Vendean chiefs for having carried arms against the country. They are all alive. My opinion is, if I had known Wright had been one of Sydney Smith's officers,

and that he had fought against me at Acre, I would have sent for and questioned him about the siege and released him. I recollect perfectly well seeing an officer wounded and carried off at Acre, whose bravery I admired at the time. I think that I should have released him, if I had found him to be that officer. It appears also that he killed himself when he was upon the point of being released, as I see that the court of Spain had interceded for him. When you first spoke to me on the subject, I imagined that Wright had killed himself purposely to avoid giving evidence against your ministers; and I attached a degree of heroism to the act, which I gave him great credit for; but since I see that it was a long time after, and when I was at Ulm, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, and three hundred leagues from Paris. It requires but a trifling circumstance to make you English kill yourselves."

Napoleon then rallied me upon my supposed attention to Miss ***, and said, I ought to marry her. I replied, that I was neither rich enough, nor young enough, to have pretensions to so fine a lady. He now recounted some of his own love adventures. "The most beautiful female I ever saw," said he, "was an Irish girl, Mademoiselle G**s; whether she had been born in Ireland, or was only of an Irish family, I am not certain. It was during Josephine's time, and long be-

fore I married Marie Louise. One day, when I was hunting in St. Germains, some of the court intriguers threw her in my way, and contrived it so, that she came with a petition in her hand to deliver to me. When she presented herself, and said she had a petition, every one made way for her, as I had given orders that persons bringing petitions should invariably be allowed to approach me. She fell at my feet, and presented it. She was covered with a veil, that did not conceal the beauty of her countenance, which was really heavenly. Certainly I was taken with her charms, and although I suspected there was some intrigue, I was not displeased. Three or four times afterwards I saw and conversed with her. I used to take little liberties with her, such as patting her cheeks. At this time a letter from her mother to her was brought to me from the secret post-office. This mother was an old intriguer, and gave her daughter directions which elucidated her character. There were instructions relative to her conduct towards me in many particular instances. I was now convinced that it was not proper for me to countenance this proceeding, and although I was assuredly smitten with her, for she was as beautiful as an angel, I gave such orders as prevented her ever having the means of being again admitted to my presence. Since that time, I have been informed, she really had a regard for me, and

would have been faithful. She is now married to M. ***, a very rich man, but, still, I am led to believe, preserves an affection for me.

"The evening before I left Paris for Waterloo," continued Napoleon; "a beautiful Englishwoman came to the palace, and asked to see me. She saw Marchand, who told her that it was impossible. She said, she was an English lady, and a friend of Mademoiselle G**s, whom I well knew, and that she was persuaded I would see her; that I could not refuse to see a young lady who loved me, and admired my character. Marchand told her that I was to leave Paris the next morning, and could not be disturbed. At hearing this, she appeared to be much afflicted, and with some reluctance she went away. Perhaps she was some beautiful intriguer, or one who had *la tête montée*, for me. When once a woman has *la tête montée*, all the world will not prevent her from attempting to succeed in her designs. Soon after I had taken Vienna, the Austrian Princess *** got her head full of me, from hearing me so much talked of. She was one of those princesses, of whom you know there are so many in Germany. Nothing would ********.† For this purpose she came to Schoënbrunn, and insisted upon seeing me.

† The following quotation from Douglas, will sufficiently explain the designs of this *innamorata*:

"As ladies wish to be, who love their lords."

Murat, who was a fine handsome fellow, tried to gain her affections, but she rejected him with disdain. I ordered her to be admitted, and represented myself as Maréchal Duroc. She could speak very little French or Italian, and I could not converse in German. I told her not to speak so loud, as the emperor would hear her, and pointed out Duroc as emperor; but she was not to be deceived. She had seen me pass by a house where she was, and cried, no, no, *vous, vous empereur.* She was extremely handsome, and very candid in her confessions."

Napoleon then spoke about the assertion, said to have been made by Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, respecting him; viz. that he had made out a list of the richest heiresses in France whom he was in the habit of ordering to marry such of his generals as he pleased. That none of them could marry without his leave, and were obliged to espouse any persons, to whom he thought proper to give them. These assertions he declared to be wholly false. "So far from being true," added Napoleon, "it was not in my power to get even Caulaincourt married to a lady to whom I wished to see him united. She was the daughter of ***, who was president of the chamber, a banker, and enormously rich, which he had chiefly acquired, it was supposed, by a ********. She was a beautiful girl, and he in-

tended giving her a large portion. I asked the father myself, as a favour, to give her in marriage to Caulaincourt, but he gave me a positive refusal. At that time, Caulaincourt was one of my greatest favourites. So much for Castlereagh's veracity."

19*th*.—Went to Plantation House, in obedience to directions received from Sir Hudson Lowe through Captain Blakeney, desired also to take with me a report of the state of health of Napoleon. On my arrival, Sir Hudson Lowe asked for the report, which stated, that with the exception of a few slight catarrhal attacks, his health had been tolerable. Sir Hudson Lowe asked if they had been of any consequence, to which I answered in the negative. The governor observed, that others, besides me, had made reports relative to General Bonaparte's health. That Madame Bertrand had told the commissioners that he was extremely unwell; that because they saw him standing in the viranda, they must not believe that he was in good health. I repeated, that he had suffered some indisposition, but not of a serious nature. Sir Hudson Lowe then said, that he had heard a great deal, though not all of the conversation which had passed between the French and the commissioners, and that all of the former, except one, had abused the opportunity. That every time Count Bertrand had had an opportunity of speaking to them, he had abused it; that this last

was the only time that Montholon had had an opportunity of speaking to them, which he (Sir Hudson) asserted, he had fully availed himself of by cramming them with misrepresentations.

20*th*.—Saw Napoleon in his bath. At first he was rather dull and out of spirits. Complained of pain in the right cheek, shooting from the diseased tooth. Gums spongy, and bled upon the slightest touch. Ankles and legs a little swelled. Great want of sleep at night. Explained to me several reasons which convinced me that Corvisart had been right in prescribing to him exercise on horseback, which I strongly recommended myself, and in as forcible a manner as possible. Napoleon replied, that under the present restrictions, liable to be insulted by a sentinel if he *budged* off the road; he could never stir out, neither did he think that I myself, or any other Englishman placed in his situation, would avail himself of the privilege to ride, fettered with such restrictions. To this observation of his, I made no reply, for if I had expressed my real sentiments as a *man*, and not as a surgeon, I must have said that I agreed with him in opinion; and contented myself with recommending antiscorbutic vegetables, &c. "*Di quà un poco non mi vedrete più, Dottore; vorrei che fosse questa sera, una maniera d'****** as certain, but more barbarous than the stiletto. *Sento che*

la macchina sene va giornalmente. However that is what he was sent for. In succeeding ages the **** will pay for it. *Sur le rocher le plus affreux dans le monde,* they send out a man to impose restrictions which never have been practised in the revolutionary tribunals under Marat. Even there, the condemned, while permitted to live, were allowed newspapers and books. They did not expire in agonies, protracted so long as to make it appear a natural death. *That* refinement of cruelty was unknown to Billaud de Varennes, or Collot d'Herbois.

"I ask you," continued Napoleon, "can *you* lend me a newspaper or a book? Can you *even* lend me a work upon science?"

Shortly afterwards he spoke about Catholic emancipation, which if effected, he pronounced would be of great benefit to the English on the continent, and be a most wise and politic measure for our ministers to adopt.

He then made some observations about Mr. P——e's having sold his wife,* which he said would reflect but little credit on the governor, and that, had such a circumstance occurred in France, the Procureur Général would have prosecuted the offending parties. That it appeared to be a most disgraceful circumstance, especially when,

* This circumstance actually happened at St. Helena.

as it appeared to be, it had been sanctioned by the two organs of communication of the governor, civil and military.

Napoleon then observed that he was at a loss to conceive from whence the Edinburgh Review had obtained so much accurate information respecting him. "That circumstance," said he, "of the *déjeûné de trois amis*, I never told to any person. It is true that I was the author, and that it produced great effect in France, but I do not recollect ever having disclosed it to any one. There are, however, some mistakes in the Review. I never knew Barras at Toulon. My first acquaintance with him was at Paris, after the siege of Toulon.

"My marriage with Marie Louise," added Napoleon, "produced no change in me. I was precisely the same as before. Never was woman more astonished than Marie Louise was after her marriage, when she observed the few precautions that I took to insure my safety against any attempts upon my life. When she perceived that there were no sentinels except at the outer gates of the palace; that there were no *lords* sleeping before the doors of the apartments; that the doors were not even locked, and that there were no guns or pistols in the rooms where we slept, 'Why,' said she with astonishment, 'you do not take half so many precautions as my father, who has nothing to fear.' I am," continued Napoleon,

too much of a fatalist, *(trop fataliste,)* to take any precautions against assassination. When I was in Paris, I used to go out and intermingle with the populace without my guards, receive their petitions, and was frequently surrounded by them so closely that I could not move."

I inquired of the emperor in what engagement or engagements he considered himself to have been in the greatest danger? He replied, "In the commencement of my campaigns. At Toulon, and particularly at Arcola. At Arcola, my horse was shot under me; rendered furious by the wound, the animal seized the bit between his teeth, and galloped on towards the enemy, In the agonies of death, he plunged into a morass and expired, leaving me nearly up to my neck in the swamp, and in a situation from which I could not extricate myself. I thought at one moment that the Austrians would have come and cut off my head which was just above the surface of the morass, and which they could have done without my having been able to offer the least resistance. However, the difficulty of getting at me, and the approach of my soldiers, who rescued me, prevented them."

I asked if he had not been frequently slightly wounded? He replied, "several times, but scarcely more than once had I occasion for surgical assistance, or any fever in consequence of a wound. At Marengo a cannon-shot took away a piece of the boot of my left leg, and a little of the skin,"

said he shewing the mark to me, "but I used no other application to it than a piece of linen dipped in salt and water." I asked about a wound of which there was a deep mark in the inside of the left thigh, a little above the knee. He said, that it was from a bayonet. I asked if he had not had horses frequently killed under him, to which he answered, eighteen or nineteen in the course of his life.

"The regiment de la Fère," said Napoleon, "in which I commenced my career, behaved so badly to the inhabitants of Turin, that I was obliged to reduce them. I accordingly had them marched to Paris, assembled on the parade, ordered the colours to be taken from them by some colonels, and lodged in the church of," (the Invalids, I think he said,) "covered with mourning. I divided the officers who had not behaved so badly as the principal actors, amongst other regiments. Some months afterwards, I formed the regiment again under different officers, and the colours were taken from the church with great pomp by a number of colonels, each tearing a piece off, which they burnt, and new ones were given in their stead."

"When I was about seventeen years of age," said he, "I narrowly escaped being drowned in the Saône. While swimming, cramp seized me, and after several ineffectual struggles, I sank. I experienced at that moment all the sensations of

dying, and lost all recollection. However, after I had sunk, the current carried me upon a bank of sand, on the edge of which it threw me, where I lay senseless for I know not how long, and was restored to life by the aid of some of my young companions, who by accident saw me lying there. Previous to this, they had given me up for lost, as they saw me sink, and the current of the river had carried me to a considerable distance."

While looking over a number of papers (chiefly Portsmouth), he observed an article stating that *** had made large purchases in the north of Ireland. "Ah," said Napoleon, "some of my money has gone to pay for those estates. After the abdication at Fontainbleau, upwards of forty millions of francs, my private property, was seized, and taken from my treasurer near Orleans.* Of this money, about five and twenty millions were divided amongst T***, M**, H**, and C***. The money thus seized included the marriage portion of the empress Marie Louise, which had been paid in sovereigns of gold, an old German coin. The remainder was placed in the French treasury. The whole of these sums had been guaranteed to me by the treaty of Fontainbleau.

* It was necessary for me as narrator of Napoleon's conversations, to acquaint the public with the fact detailed by him of the seizure of his treasures; but it is evident that the application of them, as related by him, could have been only conjecture on his part.

The share which C * * * obtained was very large, and the exact amount of it is known to me."

The talents requisite in a good general then came under his observation. "The mind of a general ought to resemble and be as clear as the field-glass of a telescope, *et jamais se faire des tableaux.* Of all the generals who preceded him, and perhaps all those who have followed, Turenne was the greatest. Maréchal Saxe, a mere general, *pas d'esprit;* Luxembourg, *beaucoup; le grand Frédéric, beaucoup,* and a quick and ready perception of every thing. Your Marlborough, besides being a great general, *avait aussi beaucoup d'esprit.* Judging from Wellington's actions, from his despatches, and above all from his conduct towards Ney, I should pronounce him to be *un homme de peu d'esprit sans générosité, et sans grandeur d'âme.* Such I know to be the opinion of Benjamin Constant and of Madame de Stäel, who said, that except as a general, he had not two ideas. As a general, however, to find his equal amongst your own nation, you must go back to the time of Marlborough, but as any thing else, I think that history will pronounce him to be *un homme borné.*

21*st.*—At about six minutes before ten o'clock at night, three distinct shocks of an earthquake were felt at Longwood. The whole of the house was shaken with a rumbling, clattering noise at

first, as if some heavy body, like a loaded waggon, was dragged along the upper apartments, succeeded by an evident tremulous motion of the ground, the glasses rattling on the table, and the pictures receding from the walls. The duration of the whole might have been from sixteen to twenty seconds, as Captain Blakeney and myself, who were sitting together at the time that it occurred, had sufficient time from its commencement until it was over to reason and reciprocally ask from what it could proceed, before we guessed at the right cause, which we discovered simultaneously before it ceased. No mischief was done.* Generals Montholon, Gourgaud, all the household attendants and English servants came out. No alarm appeared to exist amongst them. General Montholon informed me, that his son Tristan, who was asleep, was awoke by the shock, and exclaimed that somebody was endeavouring to throw him out of the bed. General Gourgaud also felt three distinct shocks. Upon inquiry being made of some of the sentinels about the house, they replied, that they had not experienced any thing extraordinary. This may be accounted for by the fact

* Although Napoleon was in bed, which he did not leave during the time of the shocks, some veracious person wrote to England that "Bonaparte endeavoured to escape out of the house, but was stopped by the sentinels," which falsehood was eagerly inserted in some of the ministerial papers.

of the wind having been so strong at the time, that they were obliged to use considerable exertion in walking against it. The sensation was very strongly felt in our kitchen, about forty yards from the house, and at the guard-room, about five hundred yards distant, particularly by those men who were lying down on the ground.

Very little mischief was done in the island. It appeared that the direction of the shocks was perpendicular. Had it been lateral, James Town must have been overwhelmed with immense masses of rock.

22*nd*.—Saw Napoleon in his bed-room. When I entered it, he was employed in making some calculations. He raised his eyes, looked at me, and said, smiling, "Well, Mr. Doctor, *tremblement de terre* last night. I observed that I had experienced three distinct shocks. After he had remained a short time at his calculations, he got up, and said that he was in bed at the time it occurred. "At the moment of the first shock," continued he, "I imagined, and said to myself, some accident has happened to the Conqueror; she has taken fire and is blown up,* or else some powder magazine on the island has exploded. At the second shock, however, I immediately per-

* When this surmise was mentioned a short time afterwards to Admiral Plampin, the following remark was made:—"Ay, ay, the d——d rascal supposed so, because he wished it!"

ceived what it was, and said it was an earthquake." I asked if he had heard the rumbling noise which accompanied it, and that I thought the duration of it had been from sixteen to eighteen seconds. Napoleon replied that he thought it had lasted altogether about twelve seconds. He mentioned that he had felt the shock of an earthquake once before at Ferrara, at break of day. Some further conversation about earthquakes then took place, during which I mentioned that a shock had been felt in St. Helena in the year 1756, and another in 1782. I said that it was likely the fanatics and the superstitious in the island would attribute the earthquake to his presence; for the Portuguese had said that the strong and destructive south-east-wind which prevailed at Madeira in 1815, when the Northumberland arrived off Funchal, and had done so much mischief, had been produced by his arrival. He laughed very heartily at this, and observed, that to make a good tale of it (the earthquake) it ought to have occurred immediately upon his arrival, or a few days after.

Napoleon then said he had been informed that Lord Moira had demanded twenty thousand additional European troops in India. "I do not believe it," said he, "but if there is any necessity to send troops to India, it is owing to the imbecility of your ministers in having given up any

possession beyond the Cape to the French. If true, it has been most probably caused by some intriguing French adventurers, of whom there are now so many thousands without employment, who, joining necessity to their hatred of you, have stirred up the Mahrattas against you. Instead of having given up Pondicherry, and the Isle de Bourbon to the French, you ought to have acted as the Romans did to the Carthaginians, and said, 'You shall not stir beyond such a latitude,' not for ever, because that would be an injustice, but for ten years or longer, until your fears for the safety of the Indies are over. My opinion is, that your having given up Pondicherry and Bourbon to the French, will cost you ten thousand more Europeans in India, without benefiting France in the position she is, under those imbeciles the Bourbons. Even when *I* was in power, I would not have given a *quattrino* (a farthing) for those possessions, had it not been for the hopes that I always entertained of driving you out of India; to effect which, and to maintain a correspondence, the isle of France or of Bourbon was so necessary. Every year I received ambassadors from the Nabobs and other Indian princes, especially those of the Mahrattas, imploring help from me, and offering to drive you from India, provided I would assist them with fourteen or sixteen thousand infantry, artillery, and officers. They offered to

find all the cavalry if I would send officers to instruct their troops. The hatred they expressed against you was astonishing. Every year I had those proposals through different channels. Very frequently by the isle of France, *mercantuzzi*, (petty merchants) came with letters for me, in Danish vessels, and sometimes over land, which they had concealed about them, Several came in disguise by **. Possibly you may have some interested views in giving up Pondicherry, thinking that thereby you may smuggle some of your India goods by French tenders into France. But this cannot be of sufficient weight against the great injury arising from the proximity to your Indian possessions of a rival nation like the French. Your having given up that colony, will also excite envy and a desire to recover all they formerly had, whereas, if they had none, they would forget that they ever had had any possessions in India. You ought not to have allowed the French or any other nation to have put their nose *(mettere il naso)* beyond the Cape. You ought to monopolize the whole China trade to yourselves. Instead of going to war with the Chinese, it were better to make war with the nations who desire to trade with them. You ought not to suffer the Americans to send a ship there. You gave up Batavia to the Dutch, who next to the French, it was your interest to shut out from India. The Dutch use a large

quantity of tea, which should be supplied by you. The first and grand object of every nation is to consider its own interests, especially when every other country gains something. After my fall, you might have had any thing you liked to ask for, but whilst other nations were acquiring territory, you abandoned your first interests, and even neglected to make a treaty favourable to your commerce, for which you are now suffering, and will suffer, and the expedients you have put into execution will only procrastinate the evil day."

25*th.*—Napoleon sent for me in the evening about eight o'clock. Found him in his bed-room. He complained of slight headach and pain in the right side of the face, which he said he had felt immediately upon going into the garden, in consequence of the effect of the wind, and which had prevented him from staying out more than a quarter of an hour. He felt some nausea, and eat scarcely any thing at dinner. After I had recommanded him what I thought advisable, he asked me (as he had done sometimes before) of what kind of temperament I took him to be, what was necessary to be done to keep him in a state of good health? I replied that I conceived him to be of a temperament which required much activity; that it was necessary for him to employ both his physical and mental faculties almost constantly

and that without the exercise of both the mind and the body, it was my opinion he could not long remain in health. That he was a man who required to stir much about. "You are right," replied the emperor, "such has been necessary to me through my life, such is now, and such will be as long as the machine holds. Exercise of the mind I almost daily take in my writings and otherwise; and exercise of the body I should take even in this island, were I not in the hands of a *boja*. But under the present system it can never take place. Never can I put myself in the way of being insulted by sentinels, or receiving a *fusillade* if I stirred off the high road.

26*th*.—Saw Napoleon at nine o'clock. He complained of a sensation of soreness in the lower extremities. His legs, especially the left, swelled, and the ankles pitted upon pressure. Appetite deficient. Some nausea at times. Gums spongy. In addition to exercise, &c. I recommended the continuance of a greater quantity of antiscorbutic vegetables. He objected to taking a dose of physic, which I advised, not on account of any dread which he had of it, or of its bad taste, but because he was of opinion, that the more medicine was administered, the more one stood in need of it. "Take a dose of medicine once," said he, "and in all probability you will be obliged to take an additional hundred afterwards."

He then eat his breakfast before me, which consisted of two or three radishes, a little toast and butter, followed by a little *café au lait*.

28*th*.—Saw Napoleon at eleven, a. m. Appeared to be in nearly the same state as yesterday. Ankles œdematous; appetite bad; eat nothing since breakfast yesterday. His body has been rendered so extremely sensible to external impressions, that the slightest exposure to wind or cold produced a catarrhal or rheumatic affection. I proposed to call in Mr. Baxter, giving as a reason, that when a person of so much consequence and in such peculiar circumstances was even slightly indisposed, it was proper to call in the first medical advice. Napoleon replied, "There is no necessity for it. If all the colleges of medicine in France and England were assembled, they would give the same advice that you have done, viz. to take exercise on horseback. I myself know as well as any physician what is necessary for me. It is exercise. Calling in Baxter to me would be like sending a physician to a man who was starving with hunger, instead of giving him a loaf of bread. I have no objection to your making known to him my state of health if you like, and I am well aware that he will say *exercise*. As long as the present system is in force, I will never stir out." When I again urged the subject, "What," said he, "would you have me render myself liable to be

stopped and insulted by a sentinel, as Madame Bertrand was some days ago, at ten minutes past six in the evening, and while it was still daylight? If I had been in her place, it would have occurred, as the sentinel had orders to stop every body. It would have been a fine subject for this governor to have written upon to London, and to have stuck a caricature in the print-shops, of Napoleon Bonaparte stopped at the gate, with a sentinel charging his bayonet upon him. It would have been very amusing to this ***, and the Londoners would have laughed. Until matters are put on the footing they were in Cockburn's time, which were approved of by his government, or an equivalent given, I shall never stir out. The bill is positive; no alterations ought to have taken place, except such as were ordered by the Prince Regent and the privy council, and signed by the Regent or Lord Liverpool; not by Lord Bathurst. I consider all restrictions not made by them as null. Force certainly can execute any thing, and to avoid the possibility of being insulted, I have shut myself up; and until I know to a certainty what restrictions there are, and by whom made, I shall not venture out, or expose myself to the caprice of my enemy. By prohibiting me to speak to such persons as I might meet, he offered to me the greatest insult which could be given to man. It is true that he has since taken it off; but if he

has the power to make restrictions as he pleases, he may renew it to-morrow upon some pretext. To a man who has the power of doing what he likes, a pretext will never be wanting. You may tell him what I have said, and that I believe the intentions of * * * * * * and * * * * * were and are to put an end to me, by inducing disease from confinement, and that such are not the intentions of the Prince Regent, of Lord Liverpool, or Lord Sidmouth. For the restrictions *sur le moral* imposed by him upon a man like me, have the same effect in imprisoning me, as chains and irons on the legs would have upon galley slaves. To robbers and galley-slaves, physical restrictions are imposed—*aux gens éclairés*, moral ones. There is not a little lieutenant in that regiment who would go out if subjected to the restrictions imposed upon me. I asked the ambassador, "Would you, my Lord, go out under the restrictions of not speaking more to any person you met, than, How do you do? unless in the presence of an officer? (It is true that he has taken this off, but he may put it on again according to his caprice.) Would you go out under the restriction of not being able to move to the right or to the left of the road? Would you stir out under the obligation of coming in again at six o'clock in the evening, or otherwise run the risk of being stopped by sentinels at the gates? He replied instantly, "*Non, je ferais comme vous*

je resterais dans ma chambre." There are different ways of assassinating a man; the pistol, the sword, poison, or morally assassinating, as * * * * * * and * * * * * are doing to me. It is the same in the end, excepting that the latter is the most cruel. When the admiral, who was a man *d'un caractère dur*, was here, you recollect what a different kind of life I led. I rode out four or five times a week, saw company, and even invited English officers, ladies, and others to dine. In the admiral I had confidence. His word I believed, and not the slightest suspicion of sinister design ever entered my head, *parcequ'il avait la marche droite et sincère, rien de tortueux ou de tracassant.* Although I disagreed with him, and thought he was *un homme dur*, still I felt confidence in his character and in his integrity. Had I any intention of committing suicide, as this *geolier* insinuates, I should have done it in the beginning, when, from not having been accustomed to it, I must have felt it most oppressive. Besides, if I intended it, a pistol would be my resource. *Je n'aime pas la longue guerre.* What inconvenience ever occurred during Cockburn's time by my riding out? The intentions of * * * * * * are to impose restrictions of such a nature, that I, without degrading my character, and rendering myself an object of contempt in the eyes of the world, must imprison myself; thereby in the course of

time to bring on disease, which in a frame impaired by confinement and the blood being decomposed, must prove mortal, and that I may thus expire in protracted agonies, which may have the appearance of a natural death. This is the plan, and is a manner of assassinating just as certain, but more cruel and criminal, than the sword or the pistol."

"The only one of us," added he, "who goes out, I may say, is Gourgaud, and he has been stopped upwards of fifty times. Had I been in his place, the same thing would have happened to me. Once during the admiral's time I was stopped, but he instantly *metteva l'isola sotto sopra*, (turned the island topsy turvy,) on account of it; and I clearly saw that he was really displeased, and that he took every precaution to prevent the recurrence of a similar circumstance. Now this brute would, on the contrary, be pleased with it, or with any thing else that would have a tendency to lessen or to degrade my character."

"I am well convinced," added Napoleon, "that the barbarous manner in which I am treated will be revenged by the blood of some innocent Englishmen. By the argument and doctrines of your ministers, that it is *useful* to keep me here, every act, however atrocious, may be justified. Would it not have been *useful* to me to have procured the assassination of Nelson or Wellington? Would it

not now be *useful* to the French nation to get rid of all the allied troops by poisoning the bread and the water? Would it not be *useful* to them to assassinate Wellington? It is not the *utility* of an act which is to be considered, it is its justness; for by the former principle every species of crime may be apparently justified, as being useful, and *therefore* necessary. It is the doctrine of Talleyrand."

Soon after this, Sir Hudson Lowe came to Longwood, and having made some enquiries respecting Napoleon's health, asked if I had had any particular conversation with him upon the subject of his complaint? In reply, I communicated to him the foregoing conversation, avoiding the repetition of the epithet *bourreau*. His excellency called Major Gorrequer to be a witness to some parts of it, viz. that about Lord Amherst which he said he did not believe, and the intentions which Napoleon attributed to certain persons, and asked, if I had made any reply? I said, No. He observed, that a reply might easily have been made, if I had been disposed to do so, but that it appeared I was of the same way of thinking as General Bonaparte asserted Lord Amherst had been; and asked if such were the case? I answered, that as a medical man, I had strongly recommended Napoleon to take exercise on horse-

back. This did not satisfy Sir Hudson Lowe, who in an angry tone and manner, repeated his question. I replied, that as my opinions, when given in reply to his questions, had latterly caused so much anger, I must beg leave to decline giving any, unless upon medical subjects: that moreover, my opinion was of little consequence, adding, that as a medical man, I had strongly recommended exercise. This reply greatly displeased Sir Hudson Lowe, who observed that it was in vain to expect any thing good from a person possessed of such sentiments. That he had no confidence in any person about General Bonaparte. After a tolerable long harangue, in which he accused Napoleon of having crammed the ambassador's head with calumnies, and purposely delayed seeing him until the day before his departure, in order that he, (Sir Hudson,) might not have an opportunity of refuting them; he concluded by saying, "Do you not think, sir, that General Bonaparte has treated me most shamefully in that business?" I replied, that Napoleon had been so unwell as not to be in a situation to receive strangers; that until the last moment, he had been undecided whether to receive his lordship or not: and that Lord Amherst had been at his, (Sir Hudson's) house for several days, during which he must have had ample opportunities of making his

lordship acquainted with every particular. That if I were rightly informed, Lord Amherst had seen and conversed with him for some hours after the interview his lordship had with Napoleon, with whom he had been only about two hours. This reply excited his excellency's wrath, who, looking at me with an expression of countenance that I shall never forget, said, "if it were not that it would be made a subject of complaint, I should immediately, and without waiting the orders of government, send you off the island, sir. I have received no official intelligence from government concerning your appointment; you are not of my choosing; you are only permitted to visit General Bonaparte as a medical man." I observed that I was acting according to his own instructions, by confining myself to medical subjects. He repeated his threat of sending me off the island; to which I answered by telling him that a dismissal from St. Helena would not give me the smallest uneasiness. After this Sir Hudson went down to Count Bertrand's, where he remained about half an hour. On his return he sent for me, and after saying that General Bonaparte had been represented by Count Bertrand to be in a much worse state of health than I had mentioned, ordered me to send him a written report of his health.

About four o'clock, Count Balmaine, with Ba-

ron and Madame Sturmer came as far as the inner gate of Longwood, where they met General and Madame Bertrand, who with the little Arthur, and a maid-servant, were walking out. Shortly afterwards General Montholon joined them. They remained together for nearly an hour, walking between the guard room and the inner gate. It was amusing to observe the gestures of Sir Thomas Reade, who was all the time standing at, or moving before Captain Blakeney's door, with a telescope in his hand; especially at a time when a thick fog came on, which completely obscured them from the knight's view, who was vainly endeavouring to penetrate it with his glass.

Sir Hudson Lowe's visit to Count Bertrand, I am informed, was to offer that a soldier's barrack should be put up at Longwood for Napoleon to walk under, as a substitute for the deficiency of continuous shade. Some conversation also took place about the restrictions, in which observations of a nature similar to those of Napoleon to me in the morning, were made to Sir Hudson Lowe by Count Bertrand, who also informed his excellency of the opinion expressed by Lord Amherst.

Saw Napoleon in the evening. He was in much the same state as in the morning. Told me that he had seen Madame Sturmer through his glass, and passed some commendations upon the rosy bloom of her cheeks.

29*th*.—Signal made for Captain Blakeney to proceed to Plantation House. Sent my report of Napoleon's health by him, and made application for some sea-water to be sent to Longwood for a bath for the use of Napoleon.

Saw Napoleon, who was in much better spirits. He had eaten freely of antiscorbutics. His gums were a little better. The lower extremities nearly the same in point of size, but not so painful.

Had a jocular conversation with him about patron saints. He asked who was my patron saint,—what was my Christian name? I replied, that my first was a family name; that I was called after Barry, Lord Avenmore, an Irish peer. "But," said he, laughing, "you must have some patron saint to befriend you, and plead your cause in the next world?" I mentioned my second Christian name. "Ah?" said he, "then *he* will plead for you. St. Napoleon ought to be very much obliged to me, and do every thing in his power for me in the world to come. Poor fellow, nobody knew him before. He had not even a day in the kalendar. I got him one, and persuaded the Pope to give him the fifteenth of August, my birth-day. I recollect," continued he, "when I was in Italy, a priest preaching about a poor sinner who had departed this life. His soul appeared before God, and he was required to give an account of all his actions. The evil and the

good were afterwards thrown into opposite scales in order to see which preponderated. That containing the good proved much the lightest, and instantly flew up to the beam. His poor soul was condemned to the infernal regions, conducted by angels to the bottomless pit, delivered over to devils, and thrown into the flames. 'Already,' said the preacher, 'had the devouring element covered his feet and legs, and proceeded upwards even unto his bowels; in his vitals, oh! brethren, he felt them. He sunk, and only his head appeared above the waves of fire, when he cried out to God, and afterwards to his patron saint. 'Oh! patron,' said he, 'look down upon me; oh! take compassion upon me, and throw into the scale of my good deeds, all the lime and stone which I gave to repair the convent of——. His saint instantly took the hint, gathered together all the lime and stone, threw them into the scale of good, which immediately preponderated; the scale of evil sprung up to the beam, and the sinner's soul into paradise at the same moment. Now you see by this, brethren how useful it is to keep the convents in repair, for had it not been for the lime and stone bestowed by this sinner, his poor soul would even now, children, be consuming in hell fire; and yet you are so blind as to let the convent and the church, built by your forefathers, fall

to ruin.' At this time," continued he, laughing "these *canaglie* wanted to get a new convent built, and had recourse to this expedient to procure, money, which after this, poured in upon them from all quarters."

Napoleon then began to rally me about my profession. "You medical people," said he, "will have more lives to answer for in the other world than even we generals. What will you say for yourself," said he, laughing, "when you are called to account for all the souls of poor sailors you have despatched to the other world? or what will your saint say for you, when the accusing angel proclaims, 'such a number you sent out of the world, by giving them heating medicines, when you ought to have given cooling ones, and vice versa; so many more, because you mistook their complaints, and bled them too much; others because you did not bleed them enough; numbers because they were *canaille*, and you did not pay them as much attention as you would have done to the captain or the admiral, and because you were over your bottle, or at the theatre, or with a fine girl, and did not like to be disturbed, or after *drink* (in English), when you went and distributed medicines, *a dritto ed a torto*, (right and wrong). How many because you were not present at the time a change in the complaint took place, when a me-

dicine given at the moment might have saved them? How many others because the provisions were bad, and you would not complain through fear of offending the *fournisseurs?*"

I replied by observing, that on the score of conscience I was perfectly easy in my mind; that human nature was liable to err; that very likely I had made mistakes, but not intentional ones; nor had I ever paid less attention to the *canaille* than to the officers; and endeavoured as much as possible, as I perceived that he was half in earnest, to uphold the honour of my profession. I also explained to him, that in our service, the surgeons could gain nothing by not complaining of the *fournisseurs*, &c. Napoleon answered, that certainly a man ought always to be judged by his intentions; but that there were abuses in all departments, which were principally kept up by people being either interested, or afraid to complain; that he had endeavoured to eradicate them as much as possible, in which he had effected much; but had not been able perfectly to succeed. "My opinion," continued he, "is, that physicians kill as many as us generals. When they despatch a number of souls to the other world either through ignorance, mistake, or not having properly examined their complaints, they are just as cool and as little concerned as a general with whom I am ac-

quainted, who lost three thousand men in storming a hill. Having succeeded, after several desperate attempts, he observed, with great *sang froid*, 'Oh, it was not this hill I wanted to take; it was another; this is of no utility,' and returned back again to his former position." I remarked that it seemed as if he thought physicians as bad and as ignorant as they are described to be in Molière or Gil Blas. He laughed, and said, "I believe that there are a great many of Molières physicians. Of surgery, I have quite a different opinion; as there you do not work in the dark. There you at least have daylight, and your senses to guide and assist you. You recollect having heard of Sieyes?" I replied in the affirmative. "Sieyes," continued he, "before the revolution, was almoner to one of the princesses. One day, when he was performing mass in the chapel before herself, her attendants, and a large congregation, something occurred which made the princess get up and retire. Her example was followed by her ladies in waiting, and by the whole of the nobility, officers, and others, who attended more out of complaisance to her than from any true sense of religion. Sieyes was very busy reading his breviary, and for some time did not perceive it. Lifting up his eyes, however, from his book, lo! he observed that the princess, nobles, and all the

others *comme il faut*, had disappeared. With an air of displeasure and contempt he shut the book, hastily descended from the pulpit, exclaiming, '*I* do not say mass for the *canaille*;' and went out of the chapel, leaving the service half finished. Now," said he, laughing very heartily, "many of you physicians would leave a patient half cured, because he was one of the *canaille*."

He then spoke of Larrey. "Larrey," said he, "was the most honest man, and the best friend to the soldier that I ever knew. Vigilant and indefatigable in his exertions for the wounded, Larrey was seen on the field of battle, after an action, accompanied by a train of young surgeons, endeavouring to discover if any signs of life remained in the bodies. In the most inclement weather, and at all times of the night and the day, Larrey was to be found amongst the wounded. He scarcely allowed a moment's repose to his assistants, and kept them eternally at their posts. He tormented the generals, and disturbed them out of their beds at night whenever he wanted accommodations or assistance for the wounded or sick. They were all afraid of him, as they knew he would instantly come and make a complaint to me. He paid court to none of them, and was the implacable enemy of the *fournisseurs*.

Speaking about service on board of ships of

war at sea during the winter, especially of a certain class, I remarked, that the seamen were better off in point of being able to warm themselves at a fire than the officers. "Why so?" said Napoleon. I replied, "Because they have the advantage of the galley fire,* where they can warm and dry themselves." "And why not the officers?" I said, that it would not be exactly decorous for the officers to mix in that familiar way with the men. "*Ah! la morgue aristocratique, la rage aristocratique*," exclaimed Napoleon. "Why, in my campaigns I used to go to the lines in the *bivouacs*, sit down with the meanest soldier, converse, laugh, and joke with him. I always prided myself on being *l'homme du peuple*," (the man of the people). I observed that a man in his exalted situation might do without impropriety that which, if done by an inferior officer, especially on board of a ship, might produce too much familiarity, perhaps contempt, and thereby relaxation of discipline. "*La morgue aristocratique*," cried Napoleon again, "you are the most aristocratical nation in the world. Had I been one of those *principotti* in Germany, your oligarchy would never have sent me here. But because *je suis l'homme du peuple*; because I may say that I raised myself from the *canaille* to the greatest height of power without

* The galley is the kitchen on board of a man of war.

the aid of the aristocracy or hereditary rights; because a long line of nobles or of petty princes did not distinguish my name; because in fact I was not one of them, they determined to oppress and humiliate me when in their power. Lords Bathurst and Castlereagh, *le canaille de l'aristocratie*, are the persons who have ordered all these attempts. John Bull will comprehend that I am oppressed *parceque je sors du peuple*, in order to prevent any of them from presuming to elevate themselves to a level with the aristocracy."

He concluded by observing, "that the governor always took a witness with him to Bertrand's, for the purpose, he supposed, of testifying to every thing that he thought proper to assert. That in all probability he made a *procès verbal* as he liked, and got the other to sign it. That, therefore, to prevent his *making* conversations, he had ordered Bertrand to write an official letter* to him, stating their grievances and what they wanted."

30*th*.—Napoleon much in the same state. Went to Plantation House to report. Found that Sir Hudson Lowe had gone out. Met him at Longwood on my return. Informed him of the state of Napoleon's health; and in reply to some of his observations, told him that there was nothing immediately dangerous, but that œdematous swel-

* Appendix, No, XI.

lings of the extremities taking place with a man of Napoleon's time of life and of his temperament and present habits, were always to be looked upon with a suspicious eye, as such were frequently the primary symptoms of dropsy.

His excellency said, that his principal object in coming to Longwood had been to obtain an answer from Count Bertrand, to an offer which he had made on the 28th of the month, to put up a soldiers' barrack seventy feet long, which might be formed into a temporary gallery to walk in, until an answer arrived from England relative to building the new house. That he could get no reply from Bertrand, but a shrug of the shoulders. that Count Bertrand had been very violent in his language, and had not merely asked for one or two things, but had insisted "that every thing should be put upon the same footing as during Sir George Cockburn's time. That the emperor would not stir out unless permission were given to him (Bertrand) to admit persons by his pass into Longwood. That he should write and hold correspondence with whoever he liked, go where he liked, enter what houses he liked, in fact do what he liked in the island without any restriction." He then asked if I had heard any thing from him of the conversation which they had held with the commissioners? I replied, "that I had not heard

him mention even their names." His excellency said, that "it was very extraordinary, as General Bonaparte had made some very strong remarks about them to Mr. Balcombe."

Saw Napoleon again in the evening. He complained of pain in his teeth and cheeks, which he attributed to having taken a walk in the garden for ten minutes. Proposed to him that the barrack should be erected. He replied, that he stood in need of exercise in the open air, and not in a covered gallery. That he had caused a gallery of a league in length to be built at —— in France, but that it had not answered the purpose. Moreover that in summer, the billiard-room became so hot at five o'clock in the afternoon from the rays of the sun penetrating through it, as to render it impossible to remain there; that a wooden barrack would be worse: that it would therefore be useless to erect it, as the shade of the trees was what was desired.

October 1*st*.—Saw Napoleon in his bed-room at eight, a. m. He complained of a dull pain *(dolore sordo)* in the right hypochondriac region, immediately under the cartilages of the ribs, which he said he experienced yesterday morning for the first time. Sensation in the right shoulder, which he described to be more of numbness than of pain. Slight inclination to cough. Want of rest at night.

He said that he felt as if he wanted to lean or press his side against something *(vorrei appoggiarmi incontro a qualche cosa)*. Gums spongy, and his legs a little swelled. Pulse 68. Appetite tolerable. Said he felt something in the right side which never was there before. Told him that it might probably be owing to costiveness, and recommended a dose of physic, which I said would also be proper if it were the commencement of liver complaint, the prevailing disease of the island. That if it increased, and were accompanied by other symptoms, there could not be a doubt of its being hepatitis; in which case it would be necessary to have recourse to proper remedies, which I specified, together with abstinence from wine and a suitable diet. He shook his head at the proposal of physic. I told him that if it were hepatitis, it must not be neglected, as if not taken in time, it would terminate fatally. He replied, "*Almeno avrò questa consolazione, che la mia morte sarà un disonore eterno alla nazione Inglese*, which has sent me to this climate to die under the hand of a ***." I observed that he ought not to accelerate his own death by refusing to take proper remedies. He replied, "*Ce qui est écrit, est écrit*, from above," looking up. "*Nos journées sont comptées*." I answered, that according to that doctrine, all medical aid was useless. He made no reply.

With respect to diet and abstinence from wine, he observed that he was a man who had never committed any excesses either in eating or drinking. That he drank very little wine; however, that he found the little he took was absolutely necessary, always finding himself better after it, and was convinced that if he left it off, he should sink rapidly. He then went into a salt-water bath, and had a long conversation with me upon medical subjects.

2*nd*.—Napoleon felt relieved by the salt-water bath yesterday. Continued much in want of rest. Recommended exercise on horseback, &c.

Saw him again at ten in bed. His legs were a little more swelled than in the morning. He would have taken another bath, but there was no water. Had eaten scarcely any thing. Slight headach.

3*rd*.—Examined the right side, and perceived that it felt firmer to the touch than the left. There was also a tumefaction evident to the sight, which when pressed hard, gave a little pain. Napoleon said, that this was observed about two months since. That he had thought nothing of it, and attributed it to obesity, but that now, from its being attended with pain, he imagined it might be connected with enlargement of the liver.*

* As it is not the intention of the author to tire the reader with

I recommended calomel, frictions to the extremities, diligent use of the flesh-brush, hot salt-water bath, a continuance of antiscorbutics, a gargle, exercise on horseback, &c. Napoleon said that the governor had written to Count Bertrand yesterday, stating, that he (Napoleon) might go off the road, and down into the valley, but that the same privilege, unless with him, was not to be extended to his officers. "Mere *tracasserie*," said he, when I recommended him to profit by it, "It would only expose me to more insults, for the sentinels do not know me, and every old soldier who wished to fulfil his duty, so as to clear himself of all responsibility, would say, '*Halte là*, is General Bonaparte amongst you? Are you him? Oh, then, if you are him, you may pass.' Thus should I be exposed to daily insults, and be obliged to give an account of myself to every sentinel who thought it right to perform his duty properly. Besides, he has no right to impose more restrictions upon *questi signori*, than upon me. By the paper which they have signed, they only agree to subject themselves to such restrictions as are or may be imposed upon me. Moreover, I do not recognize his right to impose

the detail of a medical journal, the enumeration of the symptoms will, for the future, be discontinued, unless where absolutely necessary.

any other restrictions than those made by Admiral Cockburn, which were approved of by his government, unless he shews that they are signed by the Prince Regent, or by the ministers. For if he has the power to impose what restrictions he likes, he may, according to his caprice, or upon some pretext, which to him would never be wanting, lay them on again, or make them worse than before. This is one of the reasons that I have not taken exercise, that I may leave nothing in his power to inflict. I do not choose to subject myself to the caprice of a man whom I do not trust, and who is my personal enemy. Besides, I never would go out without sending Gourgaud to ascertain that there was no danger of being stopped and insulted by sentinels.

I asked permission to call in Mr. Baxter to see him. He said, that if the symptoms increased, he probably would, as I wished it, provided that the governor did not interfere with it, *se sene mischia, mai,* (if he did interfere never).

4th.—Went to Plantation House according to order, and gave Sir Hudson Lowe a written report of the state of Napoleon's health. After having read it, he said, that there were too many details in it, and that I must make out one which could be made public. Said that he had received a long letter from Count Bertrand, containing ar-

guments similar to those which I was in the habit of using, and in which there was an allusion to Lord Liverpool, which when coupled with circumstances that had taken place some time ago, looked as if there were some correspondence in that quarter. I said that Napoleon had always declared, that he believed Lords Liverpool and Sidmouth to be better disposed towards him than any others of the English ministers. That, indeed, I had never heard him speak ill of any of the English ministers nominatively, excepting Lords Bathurst and Castlereagh.

5th.—Saw Napoleon in the morning, who was much in the same state as before.

Count Montholon, Count Balmaine, and Captain Gor, had a long conversation together.

6th.—Napoleon nearly the same. Again recommended him exercise most strongly, and told him, that if he deferred it much longer, the swellings in his legs might increase so much as to render him incapable of taking it. That if he mounted on horseback, and rode, I was convinced all the swellings in the lower extremities would soon disappear. He assented to this, but declared, that until things were put on the footing they had been in Sir George Cockburn's time, or equivalent, he would not go out. That he was determined to leave nothing in the

power of a man who had been mad enough to prohibit him from speaking, and who, at his caprice, might order him to be blindfolded, to prevent his making a *reconnaissance.* That the restrictions were chiefly upon the *moral*, and not physical; as he might go into the wood when he liked, but that considering the person he had to deal with, he was convinced that if he did, he (the governor) would find some pretext to insult him, and he would leave nothing in his power, unless matters were put as they had been before, which would be an acknowledgment that he was not to be subject to his caprice."

I took the liberty of observing that he was like a man tumbling down a precipice, who would not lay hold of a rope within his grasp, by which he might save himself from inevitable death.* He laughed at this comparison and said, "*Que le sort se fasse, nos journées sont comptées,*"

7th.—Napoleon nearly the same. Observed, that the governor had insinuated, that he (Napoleon) wanted to kill himself. "Had I intended this," continued he, "I would have fallen upon my sword long ago, and died like a soldier. But

* The reader will, I trust, agree with me in opinion, that I was bound, as his medical adviser, to endeavour to prevail upon my patient to use any *remedy* that might be beneficial to him; for this purpose only I recommended exercise.

to purposely kill myself by the slow agonies of a lingering disease, I am not fool enough to attempt. *Je n'ai jamais aimé la longue guerre.* (I never loved tedious warfare.) But there is no death, however slow and painful, that I would not prefer to dishonouring my character. A man who was once capable of imposing the restrictions of the 9th of October, and the 14th of March, is capable of laying them on again, or even worse, according to his caprice or his fears, real or imaginary. If I were to go out and be once insulted by a sentinel, it would have the effect of doing more injury to my health than six months confinement. But this man is insensible to any moral feeling. He thinks that he has got some Corsican deserters or corporals to deal with. *C'est un mélange d'imbecillité et d'astuce.* Before I had gone out a week, he would make some insinuations, as he perpetually does, to the commissioners, and say that I had abused the permission he had given."

A large sealed packet addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, given by Count Bertrand to Captain Blakeney, for which a receipt was taken.

Communicated the substance of what Napoleon had said to Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I repeated, that whenever Sir George Cockburn made any regulations relative to the French, he was ac-

customed to discuss the matter with Count Bertrand or Montholon, by means of which they were enabled to make arrangements in a manner likely to give the least offence. Sir Hudson said, that *his own measures* had been approved of by the British government, and that most of the letters which he had received, commenced by stating, that the Prince Regent approved of, and had commanded, that such and such measures should be adopted.

8*th*.—Napoleon walked out for a short time in the garden. Being so little accustomed to exercise, this fatigued him so much, that he was obliged to sit down on the steps before the viranda. He was, however, in better spirits than yesterday, and felt benefited by the salt-water baths, and such of the other remedies as he would consent to use.

9*th*.—Not so well. Got cold yesterday, and complains of pains in the lower extremities, and had been very unwell in the night. "I was going to send for you early in the morning," said he, "but then I considered this poor devil of a doctor has been up all night at a ball, and has need of sleep. If I disturb him, he will have his eyes so heavy, and his intellects so confused, that he will not be able to form any correct opinion. Soon after this I fell into a perspiration, and felt much relieved."

Immediately after I had left him, he went to bed again, where he remained for some hours.

10*th*.—Napoleon in rather bad spirits, legs somewhat less swelled, &c.

"The governor," said he, "was at Bertrand's yesterday, and professed his wish to accommodate, but he has already done the same so often, without having come to any conclusion, that he will probably end as before. I ordered Bertrand to send for the little Major (Gorrequer), talk the matter over with him, and explain what we want. I conceive, that the only guarantee I have for my life consists in having some communication with the officers of the army and navy, and the inhabitants. For had communication existed before, this governor would not have been able to have continued his absurd restrictions so long as he has; although the place is small and wretched, and the inhabitants nearly slaves to arbitrary power, still the public opinion would have had some weight. Rumour would have reached England, and John Bull would not have suffered conduct so disgraceful to his country. What I want is to have no mystery or secrecy used about me. Whenever there is mystery, there are always bad intentions. Every thing ought to be conducted so that it might be printed, and then nothing would be printed. I care not if the house I live in were made of glass. So ought the proceedings with re-

spect to me to be conducted. You recollect that during the admirals time no attempts were made to send letters to England, nor ever would, had he remained, because the situation was tolerable. One could live then. I have explained to Bertrand my wishes relative to the receiving of visitors, and told him to communicate to the governor that he may easily arrange the matter by sending up a list himself of such persons as he will permit to visit Longwood, and to require that no insinuations shall be made to prevent them from coming, as has been the case hitherto. We can send every thing we please to Europe, and always could. With respect to the commissioners, as policy enters into that, I leave it to him. I have told him already, that I would with pleasure receive the Austrian, his wife, and the Russian, as private persons. If, however, political reasons oppose it, I care not for it, though nothing can be more ridiculous than to see those commissioners unable to come inside of the inner gate of Longwood, when they are permitted to come as far as it, and hold conferences with us as long and as often as they please, which must excite for the author of such absurdities the ridicule and contempt of every beholder. All that I desire is, that it may be clearly understood and explained to those commissioners, that political reasons alone pre-

vent their being received at Longwood, and that they may not be crammed with such lies as have been told to them up to this day. They say they have been informed by the governor that it is all my fault; that I have refused to see them. That there does not pass a week in which this man does not make insinuations to them, and that such is the mystery and secrecy observed, that they thought themselves in Venice or Ragusa, instead of an English colony. Every week produces hints and insinuations that they have abused this or that privilege. There is nothing in the world makes a man hate another so much as insinuations; especially when they come from one in power, because he cannot repel or answer them. With respect to strangers, let him, when a ship arrives, send a list of such as he will allow to come here—I mean of the greater number, and not pick out one or two favorites. If he suspects any of them let him say so, and no notice will be taken of them, or let him not place their names on the list. If I see strangers at all, it shall be from my own will, and not because *he* likes it. Let him do this—let him leave off his insinuations, and above all, let there be no mystery, and I shall be contented."

Had some conversation with the emperor afterwards about Talleyrand. "When I returned from

Italy," said he, "I went to live at a small house in the Rue Chantereine (I think). A few days afterwards the municipality of Paris ordered that it should be called *Rue de la Victoire*. Every one sought to manifest the national gratitude to me. It was proposed to give me a fine hotel in Paris, and a magnificent estate. Although I had maintained and paid the army for two years, and even paid the arrears for some time posterior, and sent more than thirty millions to the treasury of France —I was scarcely worth three hundred thousand francs. The directory, however, influenced probably by jealousy, would not consent, and said that my services were such as could not be rewarded by money. Every description of persons tried to see me. The enthusiasm was *au comble*. I rarely however associated with others than Kleber, Desaix, Caffarelli, and some *savans*. The directory gave me a splendid fête. Talleyrand, who was minister of foreign affairs, gave another. I remained but a short time at either. I was afterwards nominated to the command of the army of England, which in fact was named so to deceive your ministers as to its real destination, which was Egypt."

"Talleyrand had been bishop of Autun during the revolution, and was one of the three bishops who swore to the civil constitution of the clergy. He was afterwards sent to England, but becoming

suspected during the fury of the revolution, he fled to America, where he remained until after the 13th Vendémiaire, when his name was erased from the list of emigrants. He insinuated himself into the confidence of the directory, and was made minister of foreign affairs, and as such had constant communication with me. It was then customary to celebrate the anniversary of the execution of Louis the Sixteenth, at which Talleyrand wished that I should attend. I replied, that I had no public functions; that I did not like the ceremony; that fêtes were celebrated for victories, but that the victims left on the field of battle were lamented with tears; that celebrating the death of a man, was not the policy of a government, but that of a faction. Talleyrand maintained that it was just, because it was politic; that all countries had rejoiced at the death of tyrants, and that my presence was expected. After a long argument it was arranged that the institute should attend, which I was to accompany as a member of the class of mechanics to which I belonged. Although I avoided public notice, the multitude, which paid no attention to the directory, but had waited to see me go out, filled the air with cries of '*Vive le général de l'armée d'Italie.*' Never yet," added he, "was there a general who was more beloved by his troops."

"To shew you the confidence that I had in the

disposition of the army," said he, "I need only recount to you an event which will be consecrated by history. Five or six days after my landing at Cannes, the advanced guard of my little army met the advance of a division marching from Grenoble against me. Cambronne, who commanded my troops, wanted to address them, but they would not listen to him. They also refused to receive Raoul, whom I sent afterwards. When I was informed of this, I went to them myself, with a few of my guard, with their arms reversed, and called out, 'The first soldier who pleases may come forward and kill his emperor.' It operated like an electric shock, and '*Vive l'empereur* resounded through the ranks; the division and my guards fraternized, all joined me, and advanced together to Grenoble. Close by Grenoble the brave Labédoyère, a young man, animated by the noblest sentiments, and disgusted by the conduct of the *misérables*, against whom France had fought and bled for so many years, joined me with his regiment. At Grenoble, I found the regiment, in which, twenty-five years before, I had been captain, and some others, drawn up on the ramparts to oppose me. No sooner did they see me, than enthusiastic cries of *Vive l'empereur* were heard, not only from them, but from the whole of the national guard and the populace: the gates were

torn down, and I entered in triumph. What is singular, and which strikingly shews the sentiments of the troops, is, that in a moment the six thousand men by whom I was thus joined, mounted old tri-coloured cockades, which they had kept as a treasure, when the army had been obliged to adopt the Bourbon anti-national flag. I advanced to Lyons, where I was joined by the troops charged to defend it against me, and the Count d'Artois was happy to escape, escorted by a single dragoon, from the city he had commanded a few hours before. To all his intreaties, offers, and prayers, *Vive l'empereur* was the reply,"

While sitting on the steps of the viranda this day, Napoleon observed Mr. Stokoe walking with me in the garden, and ordered him to be called. He asked him several questions in Italian.

Sir Hudson Lowe and Major Gorrequer were for some time at Count Bertrand's this day.

Sir Thomas Reade told me that Sir Hudson Lowe had received a sealed parcel from Bertrand, addressed to Lord Liverpool, which he would forward, although he knew that it contained complaints against himself. That he did not care what complaints they made. That if it were not for the d—d commissioners, things would be better. He then asked me if I had much conversation with them? I said, very little, that I had

observed a marked alteration in their conduct towards me latterly; instead of asking me numerous questions as before, they rarely spoke, except upon common place subjects. He observed, that "it was very likely they (the commissioners) would tell the French the tenor of my reports on Bonaparte's health, as the French had represented him to be worse than I had described him to be."

Major Gorrequer came to Longwood by signal, and had a long conference with Count Bertrand.

11*th*.—Saw Napoleon in bed at seven, a. m. Complained of having been restless all night, and of increase of pain in his side and shoulder. Had a return of palpitation, &c. which he attributed, and probably with reason, to his having sat in the sun for some time yesterday. I recommended such remedies as were proper, some of which he put in practice.

Saw him again at three. He had been in the hot bath, and found much relief from it. His appetite was considerably diminished.

Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood, very busy in measuring the distance at which the sentinels were posted.

A ship arrived from the Cape with stores, and a mail from England.

12*th*.—Saw Napoleon with his legs in a tub of

hot water. Told me that he felt uneasy, and *di cattivo umore* (in bad humour).

Sir Hudson Lowe had a long interview with Count Bertrand, the latter endeavoured to explain to him the point in dispute, viz. that being obliged to send all letters through him open to such persons resident on the island, as he (the governor) might allow to visit them, was considered an useless humiliation. If he wished to forward a letter privately to England, or to carry on an improper correspondence with an individual or individuals in the island, he (Bertrand) having the power of inviting a certain number of persons to visit Longwood, and to retain them there some hours (as the governor said he would allow), would surely embrace *that*, as the proper moment to give them such letters, or otherwise to communicate improperly with them, rather than hazard the compromising of himself and them, by sending a sealed letter containing improper communications through the orderly officer, which, should suspicions arise, might be opened, and ruin the person to whom it was addressed. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, would not understand this. Count Bertrand also mentioned to him that the emperor considered a free intercourse with the inhabitants, as the only guarantee he had for his life.

When Major Gorrequer was at Count Ber-

trand's on the 10th, the latter informed him that the governor's proceedings had been so illegal, and involved in such mystery and obscurity, that some of the officers of the 53rd regiment conceiving that there might be criminal intentions in view, had signified to them not to be afraid, for that in the 53rd regiment there were neither assassins nor executioners to be found. Also that Sir George Cockburn had said soon after the arrival of Napoleon, "if I put sentinels in such a manner, and insist upon such and such measures, this man will shut himself up and never stir out. He will not live six months. I will not be the means of assassinating any body. I will arrange matters so that he shall have liberty, and at the same time not afford the least chance of escaping from the island, which is all that I can effect, or indeed care about."

14*th*.—This morning, on presenting myself according to custom to call upon Napoleon, I was informed that he was asleep, and had left word for me to go down to Count Bertrand. Had a conversation with the latter, the purport of which was, that the emperor had been given to understand that I was in the habit of writing bulletins of his health, daily, or at more distant periods, and that it was his desire that every bulletin should be shewn to him, the emperor, before being sent.

That any person acting as his physician must necessarily have a portion of his confidence; and that he would not consent to be styled General Bonaparte in reports made by him, as such would appear in Europe to be an acquiescence on his part to the use of such a title, which he would sooner die than consent to; that the words *l'empereur* must be used, and that I had better make the governor acquainted with it. I observed, that with respect to the title of *l'empereur*, I knew that it would be inadmissible.

Saw Napoleon afterwards, who told me that he had always thought I might be required to make out reports of the state of his health, especially when labouring under indisposition; that, however, as it was only a surmise, he did not take any notice of it; but that some days ago, Generals Montholon and Gourgaud were asked how were certain symptoms (palpitations), which they were totally ignorant he had ever been afflicted with, as he (Napoleon) had only made me acquainted with them, and had professed their surprise; that a reply was made, stating that such symptoms were described in the bulletins of health sent to the governor. I informed Napoleon that I had often made reports of the state of his health. He asked to see one. I immediately brought him one of the 10th. Looking over it, he observed the word "general," and said that he would never consent

to be so styled by me, or by any other person acting as his physician; that as such I must possess a certain share of his confidence, without which I could not be acquainted with the symptoms; that a physician was to the body what a confessor was to the soul, and was bound to keep such confession equally sacred, unless permitted to divulge it. For the future, therefore, he insisted I should submit to him all reports which I should make of his health, previous to sending them to the governor. That he did not wish to influence me in their compilation; on the contrary, if I conceived any observations made by him to be incorrect, I was not to insert them, but that I should not render an account of such symptoms as delicacy or other motives might induce him to wish should be kept secret. That after this warning, if I were to send any more bulletins without having been previously shewn to him, it would be acting the part of a spy and not that of a physician, which, he added, was what the gaoler of St. Helena wanted, and had done every thing in his power to make me. That my reports were transmitted to the commissioners, and by them to their courts. That therefore he could not consent to allow a person in my situation to style him "general," in reports which might be sent to France, where he had been once sovereign; or to the courts

of Vienna and Petersburgh; as coming from me, it would appear to be an acquiescence on his part to such title, which he would rather die than consent to. Therefore I must give my word of honour not to make any reports in future without complying with what he thus required, and leaving the original in Bertrand's possession; if I did not consent to this arrangement, that I must not write any more; if I did, he would never see me again as a physician.

I replied that I never should be permitted by the governor to style him *l'empereur*, and suggested that I might use Napoleon or Napoleon B. That as to shewing the reports to him, I must first communicate with the governor, to which he consented, but not to the appellation. In my verbal reports, he said he cared not if I called him *generale, boja, or tiranno Bonaparte.*

Communicated the purport of the above to Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House. As I had foreseen, he decidedly refused to consent to the use of the title required; that he was willing he should be styled Napoleon Bonaparte. As to shewing the reports to Napoleon previous to their being sent to him, he said that he saw no objection for the present; however, it was a matter he could not decide upon directly, that it required some consideration, &c. He added that it was some deep laid scheme of the commissioners.

Informed Napoleon in the evening of the answer made by the governor. He observed that he could not think of allowing himself to be insulted by his physician. That after the proposal he had made to the English government to assume the *incognito*, to which no answer had been given, it was the height of insult to insist upon naming him as they liked. The more that they endeavoured to humiliate, the more tenacious would he be of the title. (" *Ho perduto il trono*" said he, "*per un punto d'onore, e perderei la vita cento volte*," &c.) "I lost my throne for a point of honour, and would lose my life a hundred times rather than allow myself to be debased by consenting to be denominated as my oppressors please."

After some time, I proposed dropping all titles and using the word *personage*, which I said I thought might remove all difficulties. He approved of my suggestion, but said that *patient (le malade)*, would answer better, and satisfy him, provided the bulletins were first shown to him, and his consent obtained to send them.

It was signified to Count Bertrand this day by Sir Hudson Lowe, that Sir George Cockburn used to cause the notes and papers which were sent by the French to town to be shewn to him before they were allowed to be transmitted to the persons to whom they were directed.

15*th.*—Communicated the proposal of yesterday to Sir Hudson Lowe, who refused his consent, saying that he must be styled Napoleon Bonaparte, or General Bonaparte, in any bulletins or reports made of the state of his health.

16*th.*—Had a conversation with Napoleon upon the subject of the refusal of the governor to comply with the suggestion of calling him *the patient* in the bulletins. He observed that the governor evidently wanted to destroy the confidence which existed between him (Napoleon) and me as his physician. "When a man has not confidence in his physician," said he, "it is useless to have one. Confidence cannot be commanded. You ought to consider yourself as of no nation. A physician and a priest ought not to belong to any particular nation, and be divested of all political opinions. Treat me as if I were an Englishman. Chance gave you to me; and that is the reason I had confidence in you. If I had not taken you, you know that I should have had a French physician, who would not have made bulletins without my permission; therefore I insist that you shall not. Would you, if you attended Lord Bathurst, write bulletins of the state of his complaints, to be printed, or sent to any other than members of his own family, without having first obtained his consent. I insist upon being treated in a similar

manner; and that you drop all political considerations as to what I am, or what I was; and when I consult you, act as you would do to one of your own countrymen who was ill."

17*th.*—Napoleon was lying on his sofa, looking low and melancholy, with a cup of chicken-water before him. Marchand told me that he had been very unwell in the morning, and that he was obliged to chafe his temples and forehead with *eau de Cologne*. Napoleon would not answer the inquiries which I made relative to his complaints.

The Griffon sloop arrived this day, bringing the intelligence of the loss of the Julie sloop of war, on the island of Tristan d'Acunha, on the 2nd, with all the officers, except Captain Jones and two midshipmen.

18*th.*—Napoleon in his bath. Still persisted in refusing to consult me on his complaints. Told me, that I had been remarked to go regularly every Tuesday and Saturday to Plantation House; and that, were it not for the confidence he had in me, he would, the moment it had been noticed, have dispensed with my services; as it was evident from the regularity of the periods, that I went by order of the governor. "The fact," continued he, "is, that all this is only an artifice to deprive me of medical assistance *e d'arrivare più presto alla fine*; for it was well known, that as

soon as I found it out, I would not submit to it, or that no man of feeling or honour would do so. But this man has no *morale*, no feeling He has been always accustomed to deserters and galley-slaves; and nature never intended him for any higher situation than a keeper of convicts. I shall not gladden his heart with a picture of my malady in order that he may glut his enmity by calculating how long I may suffer before the last agony. You may tell him that I conceive his object to be to deprive me of all medical aid, and by that to arrive sooner at the end which he proposes. That I do not esteem life so much as to allow my physician to be made a spy. Tell him that I said his views are directed to lessen the confidence I had in you, and to make you a spy, or to make me suspect that you are one. In fact," continued Napoleon, "had it not been for the confidence which I have in you, from the character Captain Maitland gave of you, and from my own observation, the measures of this governor would long ago have induced me to tell you that I had no longer any occasion for your services."

Communicated part of the sentiments thus expressed by Napoleon to Sir Hudson Lowe, at Plantation House, who after some hesitation authorized me to say, that for the future no more bulletins would be demanded, without first having

made him (Napoleon) acquainted that such were asked for.

Some conversation then passed about the permission which had been granted by Sir George Cockburn to the French of sending sealed letters to persons residing in the island. His excellency maintained, that Sir George Cockburn had never authorized such a practice, that he had only *tolerated* it, and had greatly exceeded his powers in many respects.

19*th*.—Communicated this reply of the governor to Napoleon; after which, and after having assured him that I would not send any bulletins without having shewn them to him, he entered into a communication with me touching his malady. He was never free from dull pain, or an uneasy sensation in the right side; his appetite was diminished; his legs still swelled, especially towards night; occasional nausea; great want of sleep, &c. There was some degree of anxiety evident, and a cast of melancholy, probably caused by his complaint, and increased perhaps by the information in the last paper sent him by Sir Hudson Lowe, containing the decision of the allied powers, that his son should not succeed to the duchies of Parma, &c.

22*nd*.—Napoleon very unwell last night with an attack partly of a nervous nature.—Asked me

if there was a witness present during the conversation which I was obliged to hold twice a week with the governor? I replied in the affirmative. "Then," said he, "Doctor you will be made to speak as he likes. I will venture to say, that he has a *procès verbal* made out ever time you go there, and such conversations as best suits his views made and signed by his witness, which will be produced against you hereafter. It would not surprise me if he had a conversation ready made before you arrive there. It places you in a very dangerous situation."

28*th*.—Went to Plantation House, where Sir Hudson Lowe, after some enquiries touching Napoleon's health, demanded if I had had any remarkable conversations with General Bonaparte, what length of time they lasted, and on what subjects? This led to a discussion, in which his excellency was more than ordinarily violent and abusive. Amongst other elegant expressions, he said, that he conceived me to be a jackal, running about in search of news for General Bonaparte.

In reply to this expression I said, that I would neither be a jackal, nor a spy, nor informer, for him or for any one else. "What do you mean, sir," said he, "by a spy, nor an informer?" I said, that if I complied with his directions to inform him of the conversations which passed between Napoleon

and myself, I should conceive myself to be both. In a paroxysm of rage, he said, that I was to consider myself as prohibited from holding any communication whatsoever with Napoleon Bonaparte, except upon medical subjects. That I was to have no sort of communication with him upon other points. I asked him to give me this order in writing, which he refused, and after some further abuse, told me to wait outside of the room for some time. In about a quarter of an hour I was called in again, and informed by Sir Hudson Lowe, that I was to conduct myself as before, observing, however, that he (Sir Hudson) only authorized me to hold medical communication with General Bonaparte; that as to other subjects I was myself responsible;* that I was not to refuse to answer General Bonaparte upon any subject on which he might question me; but that I *was not to ask him any questions other than medical ones*, &c.

Afterwards he asked what I thought myself bound to divulge? I replied, as I had formerly done when similar questions had been put to me. He asked if I did not think myself bound to communicate to him any abusive language made use

* It may be necessary to remind the reader that the governor, in one of his proclamations, which will be found in the appendix, had pronounced the holding of "any *unauthorised* communications with General Bonaparte," to be felony.

of by General Bonaparte, respecting him? I answered, certainly not, unless ordered by Napoleon. He asked, "Why so sir?" I replied, that I did not chuse to act the part of an incendiary. His excellency then denied that he had ever asked me to tell him *all* the conversations which passed between General Bonaparte and myself, I put him in mind of his having told me at Longwood, and elsewhere, that it was necessary he should know every thing that was said, as he might draw conclusions and inferences which I would not, and therefore that it was essential for him to know every thing. After this, I demanded permission to take the last directions he had given to me in writing from his own dictation, to prevent the possibility of a mistake, which he refused. He then told me that he would in future dispense with my attendance twice a week; but that he expected me to confer with Mr. Baxter every week on the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health: to which I consented, as Napoleon had no objection to verbal communications being made, and I need not say that I was heartily glad that my presence at Plantation House was dispensed with.

November 2nd.—Napoleon reclining on the sofa with some newspapers lying before him, and his snuff-box in his hand.* He looked very melan-

* It has been asserted that Napoleon took snuff in such im-

choly and low. After the usual inquiries about his health, my advice was given as usual, in as forcible a manner as I could, especially as to exercise on horseback. He replied that he felt no confidence in the governor, who he was convinced would find out some pretext to insult him, or make some insinuations before he went out four times. "That letter," continued he, "which you saw at Bertrand's the other day, came from him, and contained a paper with the account that my son had been disinherited from the succession to the duchies of Parma, &c. Now, this coming from another person would be nothing; but as he invariably culls out all the news that might prove agreeable, which he retains at Plantation House, and sends whatever may wound my feelings, it is easy to see the motives by which he is actuated."

"You see," added he, with an emphasis, "that he lost no time in sending that news to me. I was always prepared to expect something of the kind from the wretches who compose the congress.

moderate quantities, that he was in the habit of cramming his waistcoat pocket full of that article as no snuff-box could contain a sufficiency for his consumption. — The reader may form his own opinion of the correctness of this assertion when he is informed, that twelve pounds of the only kind of snuff he used, were brought by Marchand from Paris in July, 1815, of which rather more than one half remained when I left St. Helena, in July, 1818

They are afraid of a prince, who is the choice of the people. However, you may yet see a great change; that is, provided they continue to give him a good education, or that they do not assassinate him. If they brutify him by a bad education, there is little hope. As for me, I may be considered as dead, as already in the sepulchre. I am certain that before long, this body will be no more. *Sento che la macchina lotta, ma che non può durare.* (I feel that the machine struggles, but cannot last)."

"I," added he, "could listen to the intelligence of the death of my wife, of my son, or of all my family, without change of feature. Not the slightest sign of emotion, or alteration of countenance would be visible. Every thing would appear indifferent and calm. But when alone in my chamber, then I suffer. Then the feelings of the man burst forth."

"I suppose," added he, "that that Montchenu is very glad to hear of my illness. By what channel does he send his letters to France?" I replied that he sent them through the governor and Lord Bathurst. "Then they are all opened and read in London by your ministers." I replied, that I was ignorant of their having recourse to such practices. "Because," said Napoleon, "you never have been in a situation to know any thing

about it. I tell you, that the despatches of all the ambassadors, and other diplomatists, that pass through the post-office, are opened. Otto told me, that when in London, he ascertained this to be a fact beyond a doubt." I said that I had heard that in all the states on the continent, official letters were opened. "Certainly they are," answered Napoleon, but they have not the impudence to deny it, like your ministers, although it is carried to as great an extent among you as any where else. In France," continued the emperor, "an arrangement was made, so that all the letters, sent by the ambassadors or other diplomatic characters, all their household, and all persons connected with foreign affairs, were sent to a secret department of the post-office in Paris, no matter in what part of France they were put in. All letters or despatches, in like manner, for foreign courts or ministers, were sent to this office, where they were opened and deciphered. The writers sometimes made use of several different ciphers, not continuing the same for more than ten lines, in order to prevent their being understood. This, however, did not answer, as in order to decipher the most ingenious and difficult, it was only necessary to have fifty pages of the same cipher, which, from the extent of the correspondence, was soon to be had. So clever were the agents em-

ployed, and so soon did they read the ciphers, that latterly only fifty louis were paid for the discovery of the means of deciphering the new one. By opening all the letters addressed to the diplomatic persons, the post-office police got acquainted with their correspondents, to whom all letters addressed subsequently, were treated in a similar manner. The ambassadors suspected that there were some infidelities committed upon their correspondence, and to prevent it used generally to change their cipher every three months. But this only gave a little additional trouble. They sent their letters sometimes to a post-office town a few miles distant from where they actually resided, thinking that they were very cunning, and would thus escape observation, not knowing of the arrangement I have mentioned to you. The ambassadors of the lesser powers, such as Denmark, Sweden, and even Prussia, used, through avarice, to save the expence of couriers, to send their despatches through the post-office in cipher, which were opened and deciphered, and the most important part of their contents copied and communicated to me (never to the ministers) by *****. By these means I knew the contents of the despatches that Bernstorf, ****, and others, sent to their courts, before they arrived at their destination; for they were always sealed up, and sent on after we had

done with them. Several of them, especially those of Bernstorf were full of injurious reflections upon me, censures on my conduct, and fabricated conversations with me. How often have I laughed within myself, to see them licking the dust from under my feet at my levee, after having read in the morning, the *bêtises* they had written of me to their sovereigns. We used, also, frequently to discover very important matters which they had communicated to them in confidence from the ambassadors of Russia and Austria, and of your country, (when you had one in Paris,) who always sent their despatches by couriers of their own, which prevented me from being acquainted with the nature of them. Through the correspondence of the lesser powers, I became acquainted with the opinions of the greater. The cleverness of those who conducted this machinery was astonishing. There was no species of writing which they could not imitate perfectly; and in the post-office were kept seals similar to those used by the ambassadors of all the powers of Europe, independent of an immense number of others, belonging to families of different countries. If they met with a seal for which they had not a fac-simile, they could get one made in twenty-four hours. This arrangement," continued he, "was not an invention of mine. It was first begun by Louis the Four-

teenth, and some of the grandchildren of the agents originally employed by him, filled in my time situations which had been transmitted to them from their fathers. But," added he, "Castlereagh does the same in London. All letters to and from diplomatic persons, which pass through the post-office, are opened, and the contents forwarded to him, or some other of your ministers, and they must be aware that a similar practice is followed in France."

I asked if it was a general rule to open at the French post-office letters addressed to persons not diplomatic. "Rarely," said he, "and never, unless when a man was strongly suspected. Then the first thing that was done, was to open every letter directed to him, by means of which his correspondents were discovered, and all letters addressed to them inspected; but this was an odious measure, and very seldom resorted to with Frenchmen. As to foreigners, enemies of France, it was proper to adopt every means of becoming acquainted with their secret machinations."

Napoleon then told me that he had resolved for the future only to have one regular meal daily at about two or three o'clock. For some time past he has eaten very sparingly.

3*rd*.—Napoleon much the same. According to his general custom, when newspapers were before him, he asked me now and then the meaning of

any word which he did not comprehend. He strongly censured the conduct which the allied powers had practised in persecuting his brother Lucien, who was a literary character, a man who had never commanded, and who had endeavoured to withdraw himself from political affairs. "It is," added he, "from a consciousness of their own tyranny, and the fears resulting from a knowledge that they have violated the rights of nations, and have acted contrary to the spirit of the age, and the will of the people. For persecuting me, they might allege some reason. They might say that I had been a sovereign and a tyrant, and that it was necessary for the repose of the world; but nothing can justify such acts of oppression and barbarity towards him. The principle of utility upon which they act once established, God knows to what length it may be carried. Upon a similar pretext the French might justify the assassination of Wellington and his whole army. It is a principle which will make kings tremble upon their thrones."

Some conversation now took place about Lord Cochrane, and the attempt which his lordship had made to capture or destroy the ships in the Charante. I said that it was the opinion of a very distinguished naval officer whom I named, and who was well known to him, that if Cochrane had

been properly supported, he would have destroyed the whole of the French ships. "He could not only have destroyed them," replied Napoleon, "but he might and would have taken them out, had your admiral supported him as he ought to have done. For, in consequence of the signal made by L'Allemand," (I think he said) "to the ships to do the best in their power to save themselves, *sauve qui peut* in fact, they became panic-struck and cut their cables. The terror of the *brûlots* (fire-ships) was so great that they actually threw their powder overboard, so that they could have offered very little resistance. The French admiral was an *imbecille*, but yours was just as bad. I assure you, that if Cochrane had been supported, he would have taken every one of the ships. They ought not to have been alarmed by your *brûlots*, but fear deprived them of their senses, and they no longer knew how to act in their own defence.

When asking the emperor some medical questions, he recounted the following anecdote. "About seven years ago, the Persian ambassador in Paris fell sick, and ordered a physician to be sent for. The messenger not properly comprehending what he meant, thought that he wished to see a minister of the treasury, to whom he went and informed him that the Persian ambassador desired to speak to him. The minister surprised, said,

'this is a curious mode of acting, but those barbarians know nothing of etiquette, and perhaps he has something important to communicate.' On his arrival, the ambassador held out his wrist, that he should feel his pulse, whilst another great fellow with a turban brought a chamber utensil, which he held up to his nose for inspection. You may judge how the minister was confounded at such a reception."

5th.—Napoleon remained in bed very late, not having had any sleep during the night. Found him not risen at eleven.

Saw him once more in the course of the day, and had some conversation about his brother Lucien. He observed again on the cruelty and injustice of persecuting a literary character who did not meddle in politics, and who had even quarrelled with him. To persecute a man from whom no danger was to be apprehended two years after he (Napoleon) had been sent to St. Helena, was the height of injustice. Such fear of an individual shews that they are conscious of acting contrary to the will of the people. "*Les tyrans tremblent pour luers seuils.*" Here he made a quotation about Pluto trembling lest the earth should open and expose to view all the horrors of the infernal regions. "What a degradation," added he, "to see the ambassador of one of the greatest powers

in Europe persecuting an individual who has never been, nor ever desired to be a sovereign. *Quando io sarò morto e forse il giorno non è lontano John Bull mi vendicherà.* (When I am dead, and perhaps the day is not far off, John Bull will revenge me.)"

Napoleon then recounted to me some private anecdotes of Lucien.

He also told me, that one Ignatio Lorri, (I think was the name,) a Corsican and a foster brother of his, had early in life embraced the English party, and entered their sea-service. He was ignorant, though *un bravissimo uomo*, and an excellent seaman. He commanded an English storeship, and landed in ——,* where he went disguised as a peasant to see the French consul. "When he came into his presence," continued Napoleon, "he threw off his *cappotto*, shewed the English uniform, and told who he was. He made many inquiries concerning me, without however offering to enter my service. The consul did not believe him, and wrote a long history to Paris of an impostor who had presented himself to him, and asserted himself to be the emperor's foster brother. He was much astonished to find that I admitted it to be perfectly true. It is surprising that during all the height of

* The name of the place is illegible in the manuscript of my journal.

my power, this man never asked a favour of me, although in his childhood he loved me, and knew, that since my elevation, I had loaded his mother with favours and money."

6*th*.—Napoleon in rather better spirits, otherwise much the same. Spoke to me about an article which he had seen in the papers, stating that Talma had paid a reckoning for him at a tavern once, when through the want of money he had offered his sword in pledge. This he declared to be untrue, and that he did not believe Talma had ever said so. "I did not know Talma personally," continued he, "until I was first consul. I then favoured and distinguished him very much, as a man of talent and the first in the profession. I sometimes sent for him in the morning, to discourse with me while I was at breakfast. The libellers said that Talma taught me how to act the king. When I returned from Elba, I said one morning at my breakfast to Talma, who was present with some other men of science, '*Eh bien, Talma,* so they say that you taught me how to sit upon my throne. *C'est un signe que je m'y tiens bien.*'"

Count Balmaine and Baron Sturmer had a long interview with General Montholon yesterday. They rode up to the inner gate, where they remained for some time looking in. Signals are made

to Plantation House whenever they come near Longwood, and a spy is generally sent to dog them from the town; but no direct attempts are made to prevent their intercourse with the inhabitants of Longwood.

8*th*.—Napoleon observed that I walked lame, and asked if I had the gout. I replied in the negative, and said, that it had been caused yesterday by a tight boot; that I never had the gout, and never had been confined to my bed a day in my life by illness. He then asked if my father had ever had that disease, and said that he would prescribe for my present complaint, by ordering me to eat nothing, drink barley-water, and keep my leg up on a sofa during the day. He then made some observations about his son, and said, that his having been disinherited from the succession to Parma gave him little or no uneasiness. "If he lives," added he, "he will be something. As to those contemptible little states, I would rather see him a private *gentleman*, with enough to eat, than sovereign of any of them. Perhaps it may however grieve the empress to think that he will not inherit after her; but it does not give me the smallest trouble."

"The emperor Francis," added he, "whose head is crammed with ideas of high birth, was very anxious to prove that I was descended from some

of the old tyrants of Treviso; and after my marriage with Marie Louise, employed divers persons to search into the old musty records of genealogy, in which they thought they could find something to prove what they desired. He imagined that he had succeeded at last, and wrote to me, asking my consent that he should publish the account with all official formalities. I refused. He was so intent upon this favourite object, that he again applied, and said, '*Laissez-moi faire*,' that I need not appear to take any part in it. I replied, that this was impossible, as if published, I should be obliged to take notice of it; that I preferred being the son of an honest man, to being descended from any little dirty tyrant of Italy. That I was the Rodolph of my family."

"There was formerly," added he, "one Buonaventura Bonaparte, who lived and died a monk. The poor man lay quietly in his grave; nothing was thought about him until I was on the throne of France. It was then discovered that he had been possessed of many virtues, which never had been attributed to him before, and the Pope proposed to me to canonize him. *Saint Père*,' said I, '*pour l'amour de Dieu épargnez-moi le ridicule de cela*;' you being in my power, all the world will say that I forced you to make a saint out of my family."

25*th*.—Signal made for me to go to Plantation House, where I found Sir Hudson Lowe, who interrogated me upon various matters that had taken place at Longwood, and the conversations I had had with Napoleon. I replied, that I had formed a determination not to meddle with what did not concern me, and only troubled myself about my professional pursuits. He said that I must have had some conversations not medical with him, and demanded to be informed of the subject of the conversations I had with General Bonaparte. I replied, that in the first place, nothing important had taken place; that in the next, I did not think myself bound to repeat the subject of such conversations as I had with Napoleon, unless permitted, or unless matters came to my knowledge connected with my allegiance, or of great importance to my own government. Sir Hudson replied, "You are no judge, sir, of the importance of the conversations you may have with General Bonaparte. I might consider several subjects of great importance, which you consider as trifling or of no consequence." I observed, that if I was not at liberty to use my own discretion or judgment, I must necessarily repeat to him every thing I heard, which would place me in the situation of a man acting a most dishonourable and disgraceful part. The governor replied, "that it

was my *duty* to inform him of what circumstances came to my knowledge, and of the subject of my conversations with General Bonaparte; for if I did not, it was easily in his power to prohibit me from holding any communication with him, except on medical subjects, and then only *when sent to* for that purpose. That it was a duty I owed to the English government." I answered, that it would be acting the part of a spy, an informer, and a *mouton*. That I never understood the government had placed me about him for other than medical purposes; that my duty did not require me to commit dishonourable actions; and that I would not do so for any person. Sir Hudson remained silent for a few moments, eyeing me furiously, and asked what was the meaning of the word *mouton?* I replied, "*Mouton* means a person who insinuates himself into the confidence of another, for the purpose of betraying it. Sir Hudson then broke out into a paroxysm of rage; said that I had given him the greatest possible insult in his official capacity that could be offered, and concluded with ordering me to leave the room, saying, that he would not permit a person who had made use of such language to sit in his presence. I told him that I did not voluntarily come into nor ever would have entered his house, unless compelled to do so. He walked about in a frantic manner,

repeating in a boisterous tone, "Leave the room, sir," which he continued bawling out for some moments after I had actually quitted it.

The following narrative may convey some idea of the manner in which Lieutenant-general Sir Hudson Lowe, K. C. B. &c. &c. was duped, when he had the command of an important fortress. It was communicated to me at Longwood, principally by the *maître d'hôtel*, Cipriani, whose name was also Franceschi, but which latter he never assumed at St. Helena, for reasons which will be seen hereafter.

In 1806, Sir Hudson, (then Lieutenant-colonel Lowe,) was entrusted with the command of the island of Capri, which is situated in the bay of Naples, and with the secret service, or in plainer terms, the espionage of the continent, at least as far as regarded the Mediterranean. In the island he commanded, he generally received intelligence from the city of Naples, from which it is distant only a few miles. It was most generally brought to him by means of a fishing-boat, commanded by a man named Antonio, who went out at night under pretence of fishing. Sir Hudson employed as a spy Antonio Suzzarelli, a Corsican and a man of talent, who had been educated as a lawyer along with Pozzo di Borgo, and Saliceti, the then minister of police at Naples. Suzzarelli, had for-

merly been an officer in the English service. Maresca a Neapolitan, and Criscuolo, another Neapolitan, were also employed by him on a similar service; and Cassetti,* a Neapolitan lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, was spy for Queen Caroline of Sicily. Suzzarelli remained faithful to Sir Hudson Lowe for about twenty days, viz. from the 19th or 20th of January, to the 10th of February, when some despatches of his were taken, in a boat going over to Capri. At a tavern, he met Cipriani Franceschi, who was then in the confidential service of Saliceti, supposed to be his natural son, and generally known by the name of Franceschi. Being countrymen and intimate acquaintances, Suzzarelli confided to Franceschi the nature of his employment, informing him also, that he received a certain sum monthly from the English government. Cipriani proposed to him to apparently continue to furnish information to the governor of Capri, and receive his salary, but at the same time really to communicate every thing to Saliceti, and obey his directions; adding, that he then would be paid double what he received from the English; and, insinuating, that should he refuse, in all probability he would in

* All those respectable persons, I believe, are now in existence, and one of them I have reason to believe enjoys a pension from his majesty's government for his *services.*

two or three weeks be discovered and shot. Suzzarelli who was no novice, took the hint immediately, closed with the proposal, and was brought before Saliceti from whom he received instructions how to act. Suzzarelli also brought over Maresca and Criscuolo to the same mode of acting, partly by promises and partly by threats. Cassetti also became a spy on the queen for Saliceti. All of them were paid double what they received from the other parties. Matters were ordered so, that whenever Suzzarelli received a despatch from Sir Hudson Lowe, it was immediately brought to Saliceti in the state in which it had been received; who, after reading it, dictated such answers as he thought proper. Sometimes Suzzarelli was permitted to tell the truth. For example, while the French troops were in great force in Naples, he was directed to mention their number. Whenever it related to an affair which Saliceti did not like to answer directly, he caused the master of the boat and his crew to be arrested and thrown into confinement for some days, when after some forms of examination had been gone through, they were released. This also gave an opportunity for Suzzarelli to exercise his talents in obtaining more money from Sir Hudson, by inventing tales of the trouble he had been at, and the expenses he had incurred in paying bribes,

to save those poor devils, who otherwise would have been shot. In this manner the whole of the information furnished to the British government, was only such as answered the ends of Saliceti, and consequently of the emperor Napoleon, except what trifling intelligence Sir Hudson could glean from the master of the boat, and his sons, who were faithful to him, but were ignorant of every thing of importance. Commissions of the most difficult nature were frequently sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Suzzarelli to execute, which by order of Saliceti, were done with the greatest punctuality and despatch. Amongst others, there was one for some expensive French watches for Queen Caroline, scarce books, and all recent publications for Sir Hudson, particularly a copy of Las Cases' Atlas, (then called Le Sage's), to obtain which he was very anxious. This also afforded honest Suzzarelli another opportunity of gaining money from Sir Hudson, for, although he was ordered by Saliceti to furnish the articles at prime cost, with a reasonable charge for expenses, in order to prevent suspicion, he never failed to lay on from fifty to a hundred per cent. under different pretences. He practised smuggling also to a considerable extent, Sir Hudson frequently paying for the articles he received in English or colonial goods, which Suzzarelli used afterwards to sell at Naples, at a large profit.

Sir Hudson, in his cunning, had recourse to an extraordinary mode of sending over the wages to Suzzarelli, Criscuolo, and Maresca, which last in the fulness of his heart, he used to call his champion, *(suo campione)*. They were paid in gold, which was generally sent in loaves of bread, that the cautious Sir Hudson had baked in his own house, and put the money in with his own hands, lest his spies should be discovered by any spies of the Neapolitan police. The loaves had the appearance of bread for the use of the boatmen, while fishing at night. As soon as they were landed, they were brought up by Suzzarelli to Saliceti; the latter insisting that every kind of correspondence should be first submitted to him. By means of Suzzarelli the French government became acquainted with the real destination of the army under General M'Kenzie Fraser, and the fleet under Sir J. Duckworth.

Suzzarelli even offered to procure Sir Hudson some soldiers to recruit the Corsican regiment in Capri; and some I believe were actually despatched over to him, to corrupt the foreigners under his command. While the attack upon Capri was meditating, Suzzarelli had the art to persuade Sir Hudson Lowe that it was meant against the little island of Ponza; accordingly to defend which the English frigate Ambuscade, and the greatest part of the gun-boats were sent; thus

leaving the passage to Capri defended only by a small force. To encourage this belief, an embargo was laid upon all vessels in Naples; but some fishing boats, manned with persons in the employ of Saliceti, were sent out at night, purposely to fall in with some of Sir Hudson's boats, and to assure them that the expedition was meant for Ponza. In order to embroil the British government and Sir Hudson with Queen Caroline, letters were fabricated by a Neapolitan, called Don Antonio, as if from her to Cassetti; whilst others purporting to be written by Sir Hudson, were forged by an English schoolmaster residing at Naples; these last confidentially stating, that the object of the English was to get the royal family out of Sicily, and send them to England on a pension, that they might subsequently take possession of the country; and the first containing complaints of Sir Hudson by the queen, and invectives against him and the English. Those wretches also, to afford amusement to Saliceti, and to themselves, used sometimes to create a quarrel between Sir Hudson and the Prince of Canosa, who commanded in Ponza, by means of forged letters, abusing each other, which they caused to fall into their hands. They usually assembled at night to enjoy themselves, drinking and laughing at their dupe Sir Hudson, whose health they toasted out of derision,

whilst, in the midst of their revels, they were hatching new means of deceiving him. Even Saliceti himself sometimes went to listen and laugh at their schemes.

Some time in 1807, or 1808, Suzzarelli was to go to Vienna, to execute a mission for Saliceti, and determined to make Sir Hudson Lowe pay the expenses of the journey. The chief object of this mission was to sound the English ambassador, and Pozzo di Borgo, then at Vienna. Suzzarelli went to Sir Hudson Lowe, whom he persuaded that at Vienna he could procure information of the greatest importance, and obtained from him six thousand francs for the expenses of his journey, &c. with strong letters of recommendation. He then went to Vienna, where he was very well received by the English ambassador, from whom he procured some important intelligence. He also obtained from him an order to have the salaries paid which were given to other English agents and officers who resided on the continent. With Pozzo di Borgo, he did not succeed, as the wary Corsican could not believe that it was possible for him to deceive Saliceti, as he pretended to have done. Suzzarelli in trying to ingratiate himself into Pozzo di Borgo's confidence, boasted of his influence over Saliceti, saying, *Io faccio intendere a Saliceti tutto cio che*

*voglio,** (I make Saliceti believe whatever I like). *A me tu conti questo?* (Dost thou tell this to me?) replied Pozzo di Borgo, bowing down to the ground. All the art of Suzzarelli could not extract a single secret from him, although the letter of recommendation given by Sir Hudson Lowe, represented him as a man in whom every confidence could be placed, and in the passport which he received afterwards from the English ambassador, he was styled *Il Signore Barone Suzzarelli.* On his return to Naples, he was asked by Saliceti, "*Ebbene cosa hai tirato da Pozzo di Borgo?*" (Well, what hast thou extracted from Pozzo di Borgo?) "Ah," replied Suzzarelli, shrugging up his shoulders, "*dui birbi insieme, non si guadagna niente,*" (two rogues together, nothing is gained). He then told Saliceti, that Pozzo di Borgo had sent his compliments to him. Saliceti replied, "Suzzarelli, I know that thou hast told me many lies, but this is the greatest that ever has escaped thy lips, accustomed as they are to lying. I well know Pozzo di Borgo: I have been the means of banishing him from his country, and of proscribing him; so that through my means, if caught in France, he would be shot. Thinkest thou, then,

* The Italian in this narrative is given as delivered by Cipriani, who generally conversed in not the most pure or correct language.

that so proud a man as Pozzo di Borgo, and a Corsican, would send his compliments to one who has done him so much injury. None but the meanest and vilest of men would be capable of it, and I well know Pozzo di Borgo to be one of the proudest on earth." In fact, Suzzarelli* acknowledged afterwards, that he had invented it.

Suzzarelli had at one time, persuaded Sir Hudson Lowe to promise to come over to Naples, and meet him in a little house on the beach, belonging to Maresca, where he would have seen Saliceti in disguise, who had decided not to seize him, as he conceived that it would be difficult to find another governor, who would allow himself to be gulled so egregiously, and would, besides, have prevented them from deriving any more services from Suzzarelli. "*Vorrei vedere questo colonello tuo*," said Saliceti, "*fammelo vedere. Un uomo può lasciarsi ingannare per qualche mese, ma di lasciarsi coglionare a questo segno per tanti anni, bisogna essere ben bestia.*" (I should like to see

* After Saliceti's death, Suzzarelli confessed that he had never succeeded in deceiving him but once, and even then not completely; as Saliceti, in giving him some money for the expenses of his journey to Vienna, told him that it was not given on account of the services he had then rendered the public, as he, in the bottom of his heart, believed that most of what he had told him was false, but because he knew that he must get money by some means, for the existence of his family and himself.

this colonel of thine. Let me see him. A man may allow himself to be deceived for some months, but he who suffers himself to be humbugged so grossly for so many years, must be a beast indeed.) "Oh," replied Suzzarelli, with an air of gravity, "*non è tanto bestia, è talento mio.*" (Not quite so great a blockhead, it is my cleverness.) Something, however, induced Lowe to change his intentions.

Murat being desirous of seizing all the English merchandize, of which there was a great quantity in Naples, under the name of American, and, at the same time, not wishing to quarrel with the Americans, employed Suzzarelli to find out the means of ascertaining what was really American, and what was not. Suzzarelli went to Sir Hudson Lowe, whom he persuaded that he should be able to render essential service to the British government, if he were possessed of the means of distinguishing the English passports from the real American ones. Sir Hudson gave him two, one real and American, and the other counterfeit and English, shewing him how to distinguish between them, the only difference being in the stamp. In the English, the initial was exactly in the centre of the stamp; in the American, though the letter was the same, it was placed a little underneath. Furnished with these Suzzarelli departed, and in

the beginning of 1810, a general seizure of the ships was made by Murat, and all those found with passports in the manner described above, were confiscated. While Saliceti lived, but few were seized, as he wished to keep Suzzarelli on terms with Lowe.

It was by means of the money acquired by the seizure and confiscation of the above-mentioned vessels, that King Joachim in a great measure equipped and paid the expedition undertaken against Sicily in the year 1811. Saliceti became acquainted with almost every thing that passed at the court of Palermo, by means of the Duchess of C***, with whom he intrigued. She was daughter to the Princess C***, wife to the Sicilian ambassador in ***, and *prima dama* to Caroline, and her confidant. Her husband wrote her an account of every circumstance that took place at the court of ****. She hated the French, and Saliceti pretended that he was a republican, and detested the French party. She established a correspondence with her mother, who communicated every thing to her, for the disclosure of which she received one thousand *scudi* per month from Saliceti.

In 1808 or 9, a Neapolitan named Mosca, and in rank a captain, was sent over from Capri by Queen Caroline to assassinate Napoleon's brother, Joseph, at that time king of Naples. In

order to stimulate him to the deed, she gave him a lock of her hair, and a letter in her own handwriting, engaging to make him a colonel as soon as what he promised was effected. Independent of this, he received a letter from the Princess V** T***, confidant to Queen Caroline, specifically pointing out what he was to do; viz. *to rid his country of the usurper* and giving him every assurance, that the "*good queen his mistress, would fulfil all her promises to him.*"* He accordingly left Capri, in a felucca, provided with all the necessary passports; in one of which, signed by an English officer, there were instructions requiring that all British officers should afford every assistance to the bearer, who was proceeding on a *secret mission*, for the good of the service of King Ferdinand. He landed at Molino, near to a country-house of Joseph's and his intention was to have assassinated him while walking in the garden. While lurking about in expectation of his victim, he met with a girl, whose appearance struck him, and to whom he offered some pieces of gold to consent to his wishes. Not succeeding in this, he told her that he had come over from the queen to execute a grand object, and that if she would consent to his desires, he would make her a great

* Those two letters, as well as the passports, I saw in the original, since my return from St. Helena.

woman. The girl became alarmed, and would not consent, notwithstanding the sight of his gold, and the promises he made. Information was given to the police, who proceeded immediately to the spot. Two of Mosca's associates were killed, and he himself seized, after a desperate resistance. The letters, the lock of hair, the arms which were found upon him, and the girl, were produced against him before a military commission. He said, in his defence, that he merely had come over to throw himself at Joseph's feet, and ask pardon and permission to return to Naples. after condemnation, however, he confessed his real intentions. He died with great courage, and refused to disclose the names of his accomplices. Some time after this, Queen Caroline sent over a Neapolitan apothecary named Gherardi, (or Visconti,) and his two sons, to assassinate Saliceti. For this purpose he went to Ponza, from whence he proceeded to Capri, and from Capri to Naples, where he landed at night, taking with him a sort of catamaran, in shape and size similar to a ship's buoy. He managed matters so well as to get admittance into Saliceti's house, and even to hire a room under the stairs as an apothecary's store, in which he placed his machine. Saliceti, who had been at a party at the house of the Princess ***, did not return until about twelve or

one o'clock, alighted from his carriage, and according to his usual custom, bounded up stairs with great quickness: this saved his life: for the incendiary's machine did not explode until he had passed through four rooms of his suite of apartments. Cipriani was with him at the moment of the explosion. Upwards of thirty of the rooms were either blown to pieces or materially injured, and the palace nearly reduced to ruins, under which was buried one of Saliceti's daughters (now the Duchess of ***) † where she remained for some hours, but at last was discovered by Cipriani hearing the moans of some person. While proceeding on in the direction of the voice, he tumbled through the floor down to the room below, fortunately without sustaining any injury, which brought him nearer to the sufferer. An alarm was given, and after considerable difficulty the young lady was extricated, half dead, from under the mass of ruins. Some of the rafters had formed a cross over her, which was the means of saving her life. Gherardi and his sons were arrested and tried, the sons shot, but the father, in consequence of his advanced age, escaped with perpetual imprisonment.

Immediately after this event, Sir Hudson Lowe

† This lady is now alive, and resides in Naples. In 1819, I saw and conversed with her sister at Rome.

wrote a letter to Saliceti, professing his entire ignorance of it, and his detestation of similar attempts.

Saliceti, suspecting the drum-major of the regiment of Vajro, then in Naples, to be an agent of Queen Caroline, employed Suzzarelli to discover it. Accordingly Suzzarelli, with whom the drum-major was intimately acquainted, embraced an opportunity of addressing him one day while he was walking about, looking very discontentedly, and commenced by inveighing against the tyranny to which they were subjected, and how happy he should be to get away from a place where no one's life was safe for a moment; professing his intention of effecting his escape as soon as he could do it without running the risk of being seized and shot by the police, of which he said he was in great dread. The poor drum-major heartily joined him, professed his own disgust for the government they were under, and his attachment to that of Caroline, adding, that *he* would also get away as soon as possible. Upon this Suzzarelli proposed to him to induce twenty or thirty of his regiment to enter into either Caroline's or the English service, telling him to make them sign a paper purporting their readiness to enter, and giving him two hundred dollars to forward his plans, with a promise, that as soon as they were ready, he would procure them a passage over to Capri.

The drum-major went amongst his friends in the regiment, and used all his endeavours to inveigle some to enter into his projects. He could not, however, succeed with more than ten or twelve, who were so illiterate that they could neither read nor write, and he was obliged to write their names himself, along with those of his two sons. He then met Suzzarelli according to appointment, acquainted him with how far he had succeeded, and shewed him the list of names. Suzzarelli communicated this to Saliceti, recommending him at the same time to wait until he had procured more victims. Saliceti rejected this, replying, that it was the business of the police by every means to discover traitors, but not to encourage or make them; on the contrary, that his duty was to nip every thing of the kind in the bud, and not knowingly to allow such practices to be carried on.

The drum-major and his associates were immediately arrested, the paper with the names found upon him, and, a short time afterwards, himself, his sons, and some of the others were hanged. Suzzarelli lay concealed for several days, and then went to see the widow of the unfortunate drum-major, told her that her husband had nearly been his ruin; that he had come to him to request assistance in getting away from Naples, which he in his friendship had promised to afford,

but that all had been discovered; that he had been taken up, thrown into prison, and should have been hanged, if luckily for him a countryman of his had not been in Saliceti's office, who had interested himself to save his life. This he told so plausibly, that the poor woman implicitly believed what he said, looked upon him as a benefactor, and ever afterwards, when in trouble, used to have recourse to Suzzarelli for advice, who occasionally gave her a dollar or two. Two or three days after this abominable treachery, Cipriani said to Suzzarelli, "What a *scelerato* (miscreant) thou art, Suzzarelli. How canst thou reconcile to thyself being the cause of the death of those poor fellows who were hanged through thy deceit?" "Bah," replied Suzzarelli, "*Sono porci Napolitanacci*," (they are Neapolitan hogs).

In 1809, Saliceti wishing to discover when the packet from England was expected to arrive in Sicily, set Suzzarelli to work upon Colonel Lowe. Suzzarelli accordingly wrote to the colonel, stating that as the news they had received from England by the last English papers had been very distressing, and had produced bad effects, by discouraging those partizans of the English who believed it; that even those who did not credit it to the full extent thought that something unfavourable had occurred; he therefore requested

the colonel to communicate immediately to him any news that he might have received, that he might be able to keep up the spirits of the party. Sir Hudson Lowe replied, that he was very right to use every exertion not to allow the loyal sentiments of the faithful subjects of King Ferdinand to be lowered; but at that moment he had no authentic intelligence to communicate; that, however, he expected to a certainty that the packet from England would arrive in a few days, when he would take care to forward to him forthwith every intelligence that was favourable. As soon as Suzzarelli, made this known to Saliceti, a privateer called *l'Ardito*, was despatched to cruize between Sardinia and ——, and in a few days actually fell in with the English packet, (which I believe, was called the Success), which she took. The mail was thrown overboard, but in the hurry, it hung by one of the cords which attached it, and the privateer's men kept up such a fire of musketry, that the crew of the packet durst not approach to cut it away, and it was taken. In it were despatches giving some directions concerning an attack which was meditated upon Corfu; with some letters from the admiralty to the admiral relative to the blockade of that island. Cipriani described the packet as having been commanded by a young man about twenty, and manned with fourteen men.

Suzzarelli extorted large sums of money from Colonel Lowe under various pretexts; such as indemnifying his agents for their imprisonment, and as bribes stated by him to have been given to the police to prevent his own arrestation. He was a most debauched character, but a man of talent, of prepossessing appearance and manner. He tried at times to deceive Saliceti with wonderful stories, and invented schemes to obtain money from him. Saliceti on these occasions has been known to say, "*Va a far credere questo al colonello tuo, che è un coglione, a me non puoi, che ti conosco.** Canst thou not say at once that thou hast need of money?"

With a view to embroil the English government with the Sicilian, a letter was fabricated by Suzzarelli, in imitation of Colonel Lowe's hand-writing. In the course of conversation with Cassetti, Suzzarelli observed, that Queen Caroline was playing the devil in Sicily, and endeavouring to destroy all the English. This excited Cassetti's curiosity, and caused him to make many enquiries from Suzzarelli, who, after many seeming difficulties, replied, that he had a letter from the colonel to that effect, which Cassetti, with great eagerness, asked to see. Suzzarelli after much

* Go and make thy blockhead of a colonel believe this. It will not go down with me, who know thee.

persuasion allowed him to look at it. It stigmatized the Neapolitans as a set of wretches without faith; counselled Suzzarelli to beware of them, asserted that Queen Caroline had formed a plot to assassinate all the English in Sicily; that the barons had every thing ready to take up arms, and to massacre or drive them off the island; concluding with declaring, that in consequence of this discovery, the English government had resolved to seize upon the queen, and take the island under their own protection. Cassetti begged hard to be allowed to retain the letter, which Suzzarelli refused but gave him a copy, promising, that he would consider of the propriety of giving him the original. He then went to Saliceti, to whom he related that Cassetti had taken the bait, adding, that he had promised to consider of the propriety of letting him have the original. Not to neglect taking every precaution, Saliceti desired Suzzarelli to send for the English schoolmaster in their employment, who counterfeited hand-writing to perfection, to ascertain if the colonel's hand-writing had been well imitated by Suzzarelli. On looking at it, he declared that the cheat would be discovered. He then was ordered to copy the letter, and imitated Sir Hudson Lowe's hand-writing so perfectly, that the latter was subsequently deceived by it himself. The next morning Suzzarelli gave it to Cassetti, in-

structing him at the same time not to shew or lose it, as he said his life depended upon it. Cassetti immediately hurried off to Palermo, and shewed the letter to the queen, who in a rage sent for Sir John Stuart, who was then at Palermo, and presented him the counterfeit letter, insisting that a most summary punishment might be inflicted upon Colonel Lowe for having dared to make use of her name in such a manner. Sir John Stuart immediately sent to Colonel Lowe to demand an explanation. On being shewn the letter, his handwriting was so well counterfeited, that he acknowledged it to be his, but declared that he was not conscious of ever having written such a letter, neither could he find a copy of it in his private despatch-book. At the time that Suzzarelli forged the letter, the police purposely sent out some boats and seized the colonel's boat coming over from Capri. The next day, Suzzarelli wrote to the colonel to inform him that the boat had been seized, and that he did not know what intelligence he had forwarded to him, as all had fallen into the hands of the police, who had possessed themselves of the boat.

Maresca was usually the person employed to go over to the colonel in Antonio's boat. Sir Hudson styled both Suzzarelli and him *sui campioni* (his champions). Maresca had two sons, who, as well as Antonio, the boatman, and his

sons, was faithful to Sir Hudson Lowe. About the middle of 1809, Sir Hudson Lowe began to suspect Suzzarelli, who in consequence went over to Capri, where he employed his eloquence so effectually as to convince Sir Hudson that he was the most trusty of mankind, and wholly devoted to his service. On his return Suzzarelli went to Saliceti, to whom he related the whole conversation that had taken place between them, accompanying it with divers strokes of wit at the expense of the poor colonel. Saliceti, when he wished to unbend from state affairs, and divert himself, used sometimes to send for Suzzarelli to make him laugh, by recounting the gross manner in which he had humbugged the colonel.

Several plans were laid to induce the Prince of Canosa to land on the coast of Naples, but fortunately for himself, he did not agree to any of them, as he would have been seized and shot within twenty-four hours. While Suzzarelli was thus carrying on his game, a letter arrived from the police at Paris, stating, that information had been received that one Suzzarelli, a Corsican emigrant, in the pay of England, was at that moment in Naples, employed as a spy for the English, and desiring that Saliceti might cause him to be arrested, tried by a military commission, and the sentence executed directly. Saliceti sent for Suz-

zarelli, in whose hands he put the letter to read. He then wrote to the police in Paris, explaining the nature of Suzzarelli's connexion with Sir Hudson Lowe, and that he was a *treasure* to them. This incident Suzzarelli turned to his own advantage, as it gave him an opportunity of extracting some money from Sir Hudson Lowe, under pretence of having been obliged to bribe largely some of the police; adding, that if it had not been for his friend and countryman, *Franceschi*,* who was in the service of Saliceti, and had great influence, he should infallibly have been arrested and shot.

Information was sent to Saliceti that Cassetti intended to poniard him. Although he did not credit it, he nevertheless determined to take precautions. Accordingly one night when Cassetti made his appearance, he was seized and minutely searched. Nothing, however, was found upon him to justify such a suspicion. After having gone through this ordeal, he was permitted to enter, and loudly complained of the ignoble treatment he had received. Saliceti pretended utter ignorance of it, and affected the greatest astonishment, sent for the officer of gendarmerie, and with an angry air asked how he dared to put

* This was the reason that Cipriani never assumed the name of *Franceschi* at St. Helena.

such a measure in execution towards a man of honour like Cassetti.* The officer, who was prepared, pretended that it was a mistake, and by order of Saliceti made many apologies to the *man of honour.* "I saw," said Cassetti, who was himself deceived, great rogue as he was, "fire flashing from Saliceti's eyes with indignation at the unworthy treatment to which I had been exposed."

Suzzarelli, while over in Sicily, had a conversation with one of the Roncos, a captain of brigands under the command of one Piccioli, a native of Cheti, and in the employ of Queen Caroline, who were in the habit of landing and committing depredations in the Calabrias. Piccioli was tired of her service, and was desirous of doing something to procure his pardon and admittance into that of Murat. He therefore, proposed through Ronco, to cause the gang to land at night in such part of Calabria as might be agreed upon, for the purpose of betraying them into the hands of the Neapolitan police. Suzzarelli mentioned this to Saliceti, and proposed to send a vessel to bring them to Calabria, under pretence of landing in some place where they would meet with a rich booty; which plan he hoped to effect through Ronco.

* Cassetti had the rank of lieutenant-colonel in King Joachim's army, as well as in that of Queen Caroline.

Saliceti, however, who doubted Suzzarelli's courage, told him that he was clever at making proposals and projects, but not in executing such a one as he had suggested, and sent him away. At this proposal was present one Spadaccini, a Neapolitan, a lawyer by profession, and the secret spy of the interior for Saliceti. Ostensibly he was a partizan of Queen Caroline's, and in order the better to deceive the partizans of the exiled family, he procured himself to be arrested and thrown into prison by orders of Saliceti, where he was detained as a suspected person for four months, and apparently treated with great rigour; although in reality he was allowed to do what he liked, and every night went out of the prison in disguise, to make merry with his brother villains. He was a man of determined courage, and capable of any desperate enterprize. At night he returned to Saliceti, to whom he said that the project proposed by Suzzarelli, was one of *straw*, and that he alone was the person who could succeed, as he was intimate with Piccioli, they having been brought up together at college, and their houses next to each other. Saliceti promised him six thousand *scudi* in case of success, but if he failed, he declared that he would not only not give him anything, but would take his present pension from him; adding, that he would give him no money in

advance, but would allow six companies of Corsican gendarmerie to be placed under his orders. This offer was immediately accepted by Spadaccini, who proceeded to Pescara, from whence he sent a messenger to Piccioli, who was then at Rocoli. On Piccioli's arrival they had a long conference together, during which they arranged their diabolical plans. A few days afterwards, Piccioli landed in the gulph of Tarento with his gang, consisting of between seventy and eighty ruffians, all *gente di riputazione*, who had signalized themselves by robberies and murders along the coasts, and were the terror of the kingdom of Naples. These wretches marched forward to the mountains, and in their way took an escort with the contribution of the district for three months, which was on its road to the treasury. In the Abbruzzi, they were led by Piccioli at night into a defile, where, under pretence of ascertaining the way, their Judas proceeded in advance. The Corsican gendarmerie were disposed amongst the trees, and as soon as Piccioli got to a certain distance, he stepped in amongst them, when they commenced a fire upon the deluded villains, and massacred every individual of them, who certainly had merited death, but not through the treachery of their leader. After this exploit, Spadaccini and Piccioli returned to Naples, where the for-

mer received the reward of his enterprize, and the latter his pardon. Saliceti, however, considered his treachery to be of so black and atrocious a nature, that he never would either see him, or allow him to be employed.

At the end of October, 1808, King Joachim, finding that the possession of Capri by the English was a source of continual annoyance to the trade of Naples, and also being alarmed by the attempts at assassination made by persons coming from that island, and in the pay of Queen Caroline; and considering it as a reproach to him to suffer the English to hold an island so near to his capital, determined to make himself master of it. Accordingly, great preparations were made for the attack, which, Suzzarelli and his confederates persuaded Sir Hudson Lowe was destined for the island of Ponza. Every thing having been prepared, a council of ministers was held a short time previous to the attack. Some wished that Suzzarelli should continue to deceive Sir Hudson Lowe to the last; one* however gave his opinion that the success of the attack was uncertain, and should it fail, Colonel Lowe would perceive that he had been deceived by Suzzarelli, and would never trust him again. He thought therefore that

* This fact was related to me in 1819 by the minister himself, whose name, for obvious reasons, I shall not mention.

to prevent this, it would be right to permit Suzzarelli to send information of the real destination of the expedition to Sir Hudson Lowe a few hours before it sailed. Until that moment Suzzarelli should continue to persuade him that it was intended for Ponza; thus whatever might be the event, Suzzarelli would not be compromised. A number of scaling ladders were requisite for the attack of Capri, and it appeared difficult to cause them to be constructed without its coming to the knowledge of Sir Hudson Lowe, which would not only expose Suzzarelli, but point out at once the real object of the expedition. This appeared at first to be an insurmountable difficulty. The genius of the same person, however, who had proposed the above measure, suggested an expedient which perfectly answered. The day before the attack, an order was given by the police, that all the lamplighters in the city of Naples should assemble with their ladders at a certain hour on the following day. The same night, Suzzarelli sent over intimation to Lowe, that the island was to be attacked next morning, and even inclosed him a copy of the proclamation which was to be issued to the troops who were to make the attempt. It was considered that this short notice would only tend to increase the confusion of the garrison. The expedition, consisting of sixteen or eighteen

hundred men, under the command of General Lamarque, sailed from the bay of Naples on the 4th or 5th of October, and arrived under the rocks of Capri, without any molestation from the English squadron, consisting of the Ambuscade frigate and three or four sloops, or the flotilla of gun-boats; which in the supposition of Ponza being the intended point of attack, had been sent to defend it. Capri had a garrison composed of the royal regiment of Corsicans, the royal regiment of Malta, and some English artillery. There is not perhaps in the world an island which presents more obstacles by nature to an attacking army than Capri. Nine-tenths of the circumference of the island consists of steep and perpendicular rocks, several hundred feet above the level of the sea. Every known landing place was fortified, and there were about forty pieces of cannon mounted in the forts. In spite of all these natural and artificial obstacles, the French landed, being obliged in some places to climb the precipices by means of ladders, resting on the moving basis of the boats below. The regiment of Malta, whether through cowardice, or from having been corrupted by *the champion*, Suzzarelli, threw down their arms, and refused to fight, and were made prisoners, in spite of all the exertions of their officers, several of whom, including the commanding officer, were

killed in the attempt. In this manner the fort St. Barbe, and Ana-Capri, the summit of the island, were taken. The only way of communicating with Capri itself, the citadel, and the forts, where Sir Hudson and the rest of the garrison were was by means of a stair or ladder, of four or five hundred steps, down which only one person at a time in front could descend, and was commanded by several pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding this, the French troops made the attempt, succeeded, and invested the town. Five hundred men were harnessed to some twenty-four pounder guns, which they dragged up in one night to Mount Solaro, the most elevated point of Ana-Capri, and commanding the citadel. During the whole period of his government, Sir Hudson Lowe had neglected to fortify this part, in the supposition that it was impracticable to drag heavy cannon up the steep sides of the mountain. Breaching batteries were constructed facing the citadel, and others furnished with furnaces for red hot shot erected along the beach, in order to keep off the English squadron and flotilla which were seen beating up from Ponza. Some reinforcements also pushed off from Naples and landed near Tiberius's Bath, and in a few days, Sir Hudson Lowe capitulated, surrendering to the French the island, forts, artillery, ammunition, and stores.

Capri was commonly called the Gibraltar of Naples, and the obstacles to its capture, or even to landing, appeared so insurmountable, as to draw forth from Saliceti the following remarks, on visiting it after it was taken, "*J'y ai trouvé les Français, mais je ne puis pas croire qu'ils y soient entrés.*"

When the expedition under Lieutenant-general Sir John Stuart and Admiral Freemantle, consisting of about eighteen or nineteen thousand men, left Sicily in 1809, the advice and intention of the admiral were, that the expedition should land between Portici and Castelamare, and attack the city of Naples. Sir Hudson Lowe was with the army. Reference was made to Suzzarelli for advice, who recommended that the English should at first secure some point of support and retreat, by taking the islands of Ischia and Procida, and then to land at Baja, the garrison of which he said was commanded by a Corsican colonel, a relation of his, who would for a certain sum of money, and an equal rank in the English service, betray the place, after making a shew of resistance. That by this time the English party and that of Ferdinand would have time to arrange their plans to assist them, and collect their adherents. This advice was unfortunately followed. There were at this time only four thousand men

in that city, as most of the French troops were upon their march towards Germany, it being a little before the battle of Wagram. Orders had been given to those troops who were in the city to abandon it if the English landed, and retire to Fort St. Elmo, there to remain until they were succoured. They had even been ordered not to fire upon the town of Naples, if the English occupied it. All the treasure, all the king and queen's baggage and jewels were packed up, as well as those of the principal persons, and ready to depart the moment the English landed. Little or no resistance could have been made. There were several frigates and a seventy-four on the stocks, immense stores, between two and three hundred sail of merchantmen, and a very large flotilla, which must have been all taken, as Murat did not like to injure the city by attempting a useless defence. When the English first appeared, Saliceti was in Rome. Murat became imbecile, and thought of nothing but saving his treasures. The queen, however, who had much more firmness and talent in the cabinet than her husband, sent Cipriani with a note to Saliceti, intreating him to return without loss of time to Naples; that the king had lost his senses, and was incapable of commanding; and that every thing depended upon him. This letter Cipriani concealed in the sole

of his boot; and after some difficulty, and a narrow escape from robbers near Terracina, succeeded in arriving at Rome. If he succeeded in bringing back Saliceti, he was ordered by the queen to return with all possible celerity; and at a place agreed upon near the entrance of the town, to take out his handkerchief, and appear to wipe the sweat off his brows; if not, he was to continue his course. He saw Saliceti at about two in the morning, to whom he communicated every thing. After reading the letter, Saliceti demanded what Suzzarelli and Maresca were doing. Cipriani replied, that they were in Naples, and endeavouring to persuade the English generals not to land between Portici and Castelamare, but to attack Ischia. "*Bravo Suzzarelli,*" exclaimed Saliceti, "*son perduti;* but if they land between Portici and Castelamare, we are lost." Saliceti sent Cipriani on, who returned with a rapidity never before heard of, and made the signal agreed upon. He was soon followed by Saliceti, who on his arrival found Murat's horses saddled, and the king himself in the street, and on the point of abandoning the city to its fate. Saliceti in rather a harsh manner told Murat that he was unworthy of a kingdom if he did not defend his people; and concluded by assuring him that he would himself take the direction of every thing

in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, if he did not adopt the necessary measures for defence. Murat confounded, returned to his palace. Orders were instantly despatched to recal the troops in the interior, and those on their march to Germany; the fourth regiment of dragoons was brought from the Abbruzzi, and every necessary measure instantly adopted. Cannon were placed in the streets, with trusty troops and matches lighted; and orders publicly given to fire upon any assemblage of the people. Saliceti sent for those whom he suspected, and told them that he could not trust to their bare words that they would remain quiet, and not meddle with what was going on; and concluded by asking, in a stern tone of voice, what guarantee they could give him for their conduct? Astonished at his manner, after a little hesitation, they asked to be confined in one of the forts until the business was over, which was accordingly done. While he acted publicly in this manner, and ordered that every means of defence should be put in practice to encourage those who were faithful, and dismay the disaffected, he had at the same time secretly continued the directions, that if the English disembarked, the troops were to evacute the town, and retire to the forts, until a sufficient force had returned from the interior to afford some chance of success. In three days a respectable force was collected, and all fears at an end.

Saliceti was a republican in principle, and would have supported the establishment of that sort of government in Italy, had there appeared a probability of success. He died a few hours after having dined with an enemy, to whom he had been reconciled, which gave rise to a supposition that he was poisoned. Upon this, however, there was a difference of opinion; the French physicians asserting, and the Italians denying the fact. No traces of poison were discovered on opening his body. When Napoleon was informed of his death, he exclaimed, "*son nom seul me valait une armée de cent mille hommes.*"

Independent of the confirmation of the above account given to me by one of the then ministers of King Murat, and the fact of Sir Hudson Lowe's letters to Suzzarelli being now in existence, Napoleon, to whom I mentioned some of the circumstances, replied, that he was aware of the manner in which we had been betrayed by our spies at Naples; and added, that Cipriani, who had been a principal agent, could furnish me with all the particulars. He remarked, that in general our spies betrayed us. That the French had a great advantage in the Roman Catholic religion, as the spies were induced to believe that it was not only not necessary, but even meritorious, not to keep faith with heretics.

December 4th.—Miss V***, a pretty girl, and

femme de chambre to Lady Lowe, came to Longwood this day from Plantation House, mounted on one of the governor's horses, and furnished with a letter from Major Gorrequer, stating that Sir Hudson Lowe had forgotten to leave a pass for her before he went to town, and directing Captain Blakeney to admit her. She went to Longwood House, where she remained for near two hours, during which time she passed through almost every room in the building; the French domestics were so much enchanted with the apparition of a young and pretty girl, that their gallantry could scarcely refuse her any thing. She was very desirous of obtaining admission to Napoleon, and at one time had partly opened the door of the room where he was, for the purpose of going in to him, but was prevented by St. Denis. She persuaded them, however, to allow her to peep at him for some time through the kep-hole.*

7th.—Communicated to Mr. Baxter, that Napoleon had at last agreed to take some medicine

* A short time afterwards this young person left St. Helena pregnant (if report be true) by one of the inmates of Plantation House. She was accompanied on board ship by Sir Thomas Reade, and every possible attention paid to her by the governor. Various were the surmises at Longwood, as to the cause of this young woman's visit under *such* circumstances, some of which the intelligent reader will not fail to guess.

which I administered to him myself, and by which he had been temporarily benefited. Mr. Baxter agreed with me in opinion of the propriety of affording him some other winter abode, than the dreary and exposed situation of Longwood; where, in consequence of the bleak and eternal south-east wind, he very generally contracted a catarrhal affection whenever he went out. Mr. Baxter himself mentioned Rosemary Hall or Colonel Smith's, as being the most suitable.

9th.—Signal made for me to proceed to Plantation House. Soon after my arrival, Sir Hudson Lowe said, with a serious air, that he had sent for me on business not medical, that he had great occasion to censure my conduct, and then proceeded to ask, if I had not kept up a correspondence, or was not the medium of communication for the French at Longwood, with persons on the island? I felt surprised at the question, and replied, that I was ignorant of his meaning. He repeated his interrogations more than once, adding, that he did not mean communications to favour General Bonaparte's escape from the island, but of another nature. I replied, that if going into shops and buying articles for Countesses Bertrand and Montholon, or others at Longwood, could be construed into carrying on communications or correspondence for them, I must certainly

plead guilty. He then asked, if I had not written to town to a person to send up some articles for Madame Bertrand? I replied, certainly, that I had written to Mr. Darling to send up some basons, chamber utensils, and other articles of household use. The governor said, that it was a breach of orders, as he had prohibited me from being the bearer of any message or communication not medical. "What business had I to do so? If Madame Bertrand wants any thing of the kind, let her apply to the orderly officer; and why had she not done so?"

I replied, that, in the first place, cleanliness was necessary to prevent sickness, and consequently, every thing relating to it was medical. That, in the next place, the orderly officer was absent from Longwood when the request was made to me; that, even if he had been present, delicacy would prevent a lady from making demands to him for certain necessary articles, which she could with propriety mention to her surgeon: and that I did not conceive it to be a crime to desire a tradesman to purchase chamber utensils, (naming them,) or similar articles, either for Madame Bertrand or myself. His excellency, as usual, flew into a violent passion, and said, that he would not allow me to insult him in his capacity of governor, and was otherwise very violent; asked me, "how dare I order articles to

be sent out of the king's stores without consulting him? or to have them charged to those stores?" I replied, that I had said nothing about charging them to the king's stores. A reference was then made to my letter to Mr. Darling, which the governor had in his possession, and which confirmed my statement. Notwithstanding this, he continued his abuse, and made some common-place remarks upon the delicacy of *French* ladies.

I asked for written orders, in order to prevent the possibility of a mistake, which he refused to give. I then asked, if the ladies required me to purchase some articles for them in the shops, what reply was I to make? After some hesitation, he said, that "if they wished me to purchase any thing for them myself, I need not refuse, but that if they asked me to apply to another to purchase any thing for them, I was not to comply with it!!"

He was very violent for a great part of the time, and I had much difficulty in repressing a smile at the serious manner in which he treated this *important* subject.

No alteration of consequence has taken place in the state of Napoleon's complaint. Had some discourse with him upon the libels which had been published at his expense. "Of all the libels and pamphlets against me," said he, "with which your ministers have inundated Europe, not one

will live to posterity. During the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and even under Henry the Fourth, the press teemed with libels, not one of which is now to be found. The labours of those wretches employed by your ministers,* to dance over the ruins of their own country, will die in a similar manner. When I was asked to write, or cause to be written, answers to them; I replied, *une victoire, un monument, de plus est la véritable réponse.* Besides, it would have been said that I paid for the

* The acrimony still entertained towards the deceased Emperor Napoleon, is exemplified by a reply which I have been told escaped from the lips of an under-secretary of state, who, when informed that, a short time before his dissolution, Napoleon ordered that his body should be opened, his heart taken out, preserved in spirits of wine, and sent to the Empress Marie Louise; replied, "*It ought to have been thrown into quick-lime.*" When Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, it was expressly stated, in the regulations for his safe custody, that should he die in that island, his body should be interred wherever he thought proper to order it in his will. This promise, however, has not been kept. In the codicil to his will, which was made known to the ministers, the following words are to be found:—

"*Avril le* 16, 1821. *Longwood.*"

"*Ceci est un codicille de mon testament.* 1°. *Je désire que mes cendres reposent sur les bords de la Seine, au milieu de ce peuple Français que j'ai tant aimé.*

(*Signé*) NAPOLEON

His remains were refused, at the end of last year, to the prayers of his aged mother.

writing of them, which would have been discreditable. Posterity will judge by facts: calumny has exhausted all her poisons on my person. I shall gain every day. *La première fureur passée, je ne conserverai pour ennemis que des sots ou des méchans.* When there is not a trace of those libels to be found, the great works and monuments that I executed, and the code of laws that I formed, will go down to the most distant ages, and future historians will revenge the wrongs done to me by my contemporaries."

I asked, if, in his own mind, he believed that *** was privy to the death of **? "There is not a doubt," replied he, "that the attempt was made with his consent. The empress," added he, "never could bear the sight of any of the murderers afterwards, and never would receive them; but one is now aide-camp to ***.

"After the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, ****," said he, "ordered a service to be celebrated for his death. I did not like this, and caused his conduct relative to the death of his own father, to be *served up to him in prose and verse.*"*

"Lord **," continued he, "was also privy to it. He was the most intimate friend of P**, the principal contriver and actor. This was well known at Petersburgh."

* An idiomatic expression.

He mentioned that Talleyrand certainly had first suggested the attempt upon Spain, partly through hatred of the Bourbon family, and partly in the hope of filling his pockets.

Conversing on the policy adopted by our ministers, "It would have been better for England," he observed, "to have left me on the throne, as Russia, Austria, and Prussia, would, through jealousy of me, have given commercial advantages to England. There is nothing now to prevent their taking steps to promote their own commercial interests, by injuring those of England. Moreover, having great influence with the French nation, and being loved by them, I could have given you a favourable commercial treaty, which the Bourbons, who are hated, dare not propose. But, in truth, there was nothing really to be feared from France, under any sovereign. Until she has an army of five hundred thousand men, France is not to be dreaded. Besides, it was always for the allies to grant peace. France was tired of war, and was frightened at the idea of new conquests.

I succeeded in beating the allies, because I attacked them in detail, and destroyed one power before the army of the other could arrive to support it. Hundreds of years will probably elapse, before circumstances will arise similar to those which concentrated such a mass of power in me.

I repeat, that there was nothing to be feared from me, for if I had attempted new conquests, the opinion which brought me back from Elba, would have thrown me to the ground again."

Massena, he observed, on a former occasion, had lost himself in the campaign of Portugal, which, however, he attributed to the bad state of his health, that did not permit him to sit on horseback, or inspect, himself, what was going on. "A general, who sees with the eyes of others, added he, " will never be able to command an army as it should be. Massena was then so ill, that he was obliged to trust to the reports of others, and consequently failed in some of his undertakings. At Busaco, for example, he attempted to carry a position almost impregnable in the manner he attacked it; whereas, if he had commenced by turning it, he would have succeeded. This was owing to his not being able to reconnoitre personally." He added, " that if Massena had been what he was formerly, he would have followed Wellington so closely as to be able to attack him,* while entering the lines before Lisbon, be-

* Speaking of the Duke of Wellington on a former occasion, he observed that all generals were liable to err, and that whoever committed the least number of faults, should be esteemed to be the greatest, and that he (Wellington) had committed them as seldom as most others.

fore he could have taken up his position properly."

14*th*.—Sir Hudson Lowe at Longwood. Asked me several questions about Napoleon's health. Observed, that it was very extraordinary he did not take exercise; that if he expected, by confining himself, to obtain any further relaxation in the system adopted, he was mistaken. He then inquired if the want of sleep was caused by mental or by bodily disease. I said, that I thought it was chiefly caused by the want of exercise, that no man, leading such a life as Napoleon did, could possibly remain long in a state of health. The governor said, with a sneer, that *he* believed *laziness* was the cause of his not taking exercise. I replied, that when he first came to the island, he had taken a great deal. He then said, that he wanted to have information of his state of health more frequently, and desired me to mention any thing extraordinary to Captain Blakeney. I said, that it would be very easy to arrange matters, by sending him bulletins describing Napoleon as "the patient," giving copies to Count Bertrand at the same time. This he refused to allow, saying, that as long as verbal reports could be got, he did not think written ones of consequence. He also made some insinuations about his not having seen Mr. Baxter.

In the course of conversation this day, Napoleon

expressed his disapprobation of our custom of shutting up shops, and prohibiting people from working on Sundays. In reply to what I said, he remarked, "For those who are at their ease, it may be very right and proper to discontinue working on the seventh day, but to oblige a poor man who has a large family, without a meal to give them, to leave off labouring to procure them victuals, is the height of barbarity. If such a law be enforced, provision ought to be made by your government to feed those who, on that day, have not wherewithal to purchase food, and who could obtain it, if permitted to labour. Or let your gorbellied priests, *(panciuti,)* give a portion of their dinners on that day to the starving poor, whom they will not allow to work. They would have an apoplexy, or an indigestion the less. Besides, it does not serve the cause of morality. Idleness is the mother of mischief, and I will wager, that there is more drunkenness to be seen, that there is more vice, and that more crimes are committed in England on a Sunday, than on any other day of the week."

Speaking upon the possibility of cordially uniting the negroes with the whites, Napoleon observed, that it had occurred to him, that the only mode of effectually reconciling the two colours, would be to allow polygamy in the colonies.

That every black or white man should be permitted to have a wife of each colour. By such means, he thought, that in the next generation, nearly all would be alike, and consequently all jealousy and hatred done away. He added, that it would have been easy to have obtained a dispensation from the Pope to that effect. He also said that he considered the negroes to be a race inferior to the whites.

Saw Napoleon again in the evening, who made some observations upon the governor, who, he observed, had passed by his windows. "I never see that governor," said he, "without thinking I view the man heating the poker *(échauffant la barre de fer)* for your Edward the Second in Berkley Castle. *La nature m'a prévenu contre*, and gave me a friendly warning the first day I saw him. *Comme Caïn, la nature l'a bien cacheté.* If I were in London, and Sir H. Lowe were presented to me *en bourgeois*, and I were asked, whom do you conceive that man to be? I should reply, *c'est le bourreau de la municipalité.* You cannot say," added he, "that it arises from prejudice against your nation, as I never have been so with Cockburn. Never did I for a moment, as you well know, suspect or distrust him in the slightest manner. From him I would readily have received a surgeon or any thing else. I had every confidence in him, even after we had differed. But I think that I see this

* * * * * * * * or beating the poker. He wanted to encircle the house with *grilles de fer*, in order to make the second *cage de fer de Bajazet*, for which purpose he put his government to the useless expense of sending out a ship-load of iron bars to make his cage."

I recommended him to see Mr. Baxter, adding that it would be a satisfaction to me to have the assistance of the advice and opinion of another medical person. He replied, "*Il governatore se n'è mischiato; è vero che la sua fisonomia è buona, ma è troppo attaccato a quel boja. Le gouverneur est* * * * * * * * * *. *Il rend odieux tout ce qui passe entre ses mains*, therefore I think that he must have suffered by contact with him. Besides, he has been recommended by him, and that is sufficient to prevent me from ever seeing him."

"If I, *malheureusement*," added he, "had such a physiognomy, the world would then believe the libellers. Look, they would say, oh, look at the countenance of the *scélérat*. See the murders of Wright, of Pichegru, and of a thousand others stamped on the visage of the monster."

18*th*. — Summoned to attend at Plantation House by letter from Major Gorrequer. As the reader must be already disgusted with the details of the manner in which the governor took advantage of his situation to insult and oppress an officer inferior in rank, because the latter refused to

be his spy; I shall not fatigue him with any further account of the conduct practised towards me on this day, than that my replies and refusals to disclose Napoleon's conversations, caused me to be treated in a more outrageous manner than on the 18th of last month. The governor followed me out of the room, vociferating after me in a frantic manner, and carried his gestures so far as to menace me with personal violence.

After this orders again given me to attend interrogations at Plantation House twice a week.

27*th*.—A letter sent by Major Gorrequer, informing me that I had been expected yesterday at Plantation House, and ordering me there this day. On my arrival, I saw Mr. Baxter, to whom, after some conversation about Napoleon's complaint, I communicated my positive determination never to come again to the governor at Plantation House, or attend him elsewhere, if a repetition of the scandalous treatment I had met with on the 18th again occurred; that this I was determined upon, whatever might be the consequences.

January 1*st*, 1818.—Napoleon nearly in the same state as yesterday.

Some conversation took place upon Mr. Hobhouse's book, which, as has been already stated, had been sent by the author, and detained by Sir Hudson Lowe. I said that it had been seen by

accident in Sir Hudson's library, by the person who had acquainted him (Napoleon) with the circumstance. "It was a *bêtise* in the governor," said he, "after he had illegally detained it, to leave it where any person might see it. In Cardinal Richelieu's time, a nobleman who waited upon him about some affairs, and to ask some favour, was ushered into his private cabinet. While they were conversing together, a great personage was announced, and entered the room. After some conversation with Richelieu, the great man took his leave, and the cardinal, in compliment to him, attended him to his carriage, forgetting that he had left the other alone in the cabinet. On his return to his cabinet, he rang a bell, one of his confidential secretaries entered, to whom he whispered something. He then conversed with the other very freely, appeared to take an interest in his affairs, kept him in conversation for a short time, accompanied him to the door, shook hands, and took leave in the most friendly way, telling him that he might make his mind easy, as he had determined to provide for him. The poor man departed highly satisfied, and full of thanks and gratitude. As he was going out of the door he was arrested, not allowed to speak to any person, and conveyed in a coach to the Bastille, where he was kept *au secret* for ten

years; at the expiration of which time the cardinal sent for him, and expressed his great regret at having been obliged to adopt the step he had taken, that he had no cause of complaint against him; on the contrary, that he believed him to be a good subject to his majesty; but the fact was, he had left a paper on the table when he quitted the room, containing state secrets of vast importance, which he was afraid he might have perused in his absence; that the safety of the kingdom demanded that they should not be divulged, and obliged him to adopt measures to prevent the possibility of the contents being known. That as soon as the safety of the country had permitted, he had released him, was sorry, and begged his pardon for the uneasiness he had caused him, and would be happy to make him some amends."

Some sentiments relative to the French revolution were also delivered by Napoleon, and arguments in favour of the validity of the imperial title. "The republic sent to and received from all the powers of Europe ambassadors. It was sanctioned by the will of the people, by victory, by religion, and by all the nations of Europe. Louis, driven from one state to another, was at last obliged to seek for refuge in England, but was received there as a private person, and on the express stipulation that he should only assume the

title of the Count de Lisle. None of the powers ever acknowledged Louis the Seventeenth, or Louis the Eighteenth. Every legitimate government cancels the rights and the legitimacy of the governments which precede it. The French revolution was a general movement of the mass of the nation against the privileged classes. The nobles retained the higher and the inferior justice, and other feudal rights, under various forms; enjoyed the privilege of being exempt from the burthens of the community, and exclusively possessed all honourable employments, The chief object of the revolution was to destroy those privileges and abuses, to abolish the manorial courts, suppress the remains of the ancient slavery of the people, and subject all citizens equally to bear the expenses of the state. It established equality of rights. Any citizen might succeed to any employment according to his talents. Before it, France was composed of provinces differently divided and unequal in extent and in population. They had a great number of legal customs and peculiar laws for the administration of civil as well as criminal justice. She was an assemblage of several states without amalgamation. The revolution destroyed all those little nations, and formed a new one. There was one France with an homogeneous division of territory, the

same civil and criminal laws, and the same regulations for taxes. There no longer remained any trace of the ancient privileges of the provinces, their ancient sovereigns, or ancient parliaments. One half of the territory had changed proprietors. France presented the spectacle of thirty millions of inhabitants circumscribed in natural limits, composed of one class of citizens, and governed by one law, one regulation, one order. Subsequently the French nation established the imperial throne, and placed me upon it. No person ever ascended a throne with more legitimate rights. The throne of France was granted before to Hugues Capet by a few bishops and nobles. The Imperial throne was given to me by the desire of the people, whose wishes were three times verified in a solemn manner. The Pope crossed the Alps to crown and anoint me. Kings hastened to acknowledge me. England acknowledged the republic, and sent ambassadors to the first consul. Before she violated the peace of Amiens, the English ministers offered through Malhouet, to acknowledge me as king of France if I would agree to the cession of Malta; and in 1806, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris to treat for a peace between the king of Great Britain and the *Emperor Napoleon*, exchanged his powers, and negociated with the plenipotentiary of the *emperor*. If Fox

had lived, peace would have been made. Moreover, the imperial title was acknowledged by Lord Castlereagh, when he signed the *ultimatum* at Chaumont, acknowledging the existence of the empire, and me as emperor.

2*nd*.—Went to Plantation House by order of the governor, whom I saw in the library. He asked a great many questions concerning my appointment as surgeon to Napoleon, and concluded by asserting that I was not his surgeon, but only *tolerated to visit him*. I observed that the bills which I drew for my pay on the Navy Board, the form of which had been ordered by Sir George Cockburn, were worded "as surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte and suite." I also took the liberty of asking him for what object I was at St. Helena?

He asked me "if I conceived myself to be independent of him as governor, and of the government under whose orders I acted?" I replied, that no British officer could be independent of the government of his country. He then asked "whether I conceived myself independent of *him*, and if it were not in his power as governor, and having charge of Napoleon Bonaparte, if he thought that my conduct was not correct, to send me away if he pleased?" I told him that he could reply to that himself, as he best knew what the extent of his authority was. This answer did not

please him, and after walking about the room for a little time exclaiming against my conduct, he stopped, crossed his arms, and after looking at me with an expression of countenance which I shall never forget, said, "This is my office, sir, and there is the door leading to it. When I send for you on duty, you will come in at that door; but do not put your foot in any other part of my house, or come in at any other entrance."

I calmly replied, that it was not for my own pleasure, or by my own desire that I ever set foot in any part of his house; and after suffering this paltry abuse of authority, departed.

Saw Napoleon afterwards, who was nearly in the same state as yesterday. Had some conversation relative to the capture of Rome by the French. "After the treaty which I had concluded at Tolentino with that imbecile and fraudulent court of old women at Rome," said Napoleon, "they endeavoured by all means to assist the Austrians. and even placed an Austrian general at the head of their troops. Every where the populace were excited by all the means generally put in practice by superstition and bigotry to massacre the French. General Duphot, who was residing at Rome as a private person, was murdered at the door of my brother Joseph, who was ambassador there. However, under all the circumstances,

and concluding that a rupture with Rome would infallibly lead to one with Naples, I was of opinion that we ought only to correct and not destroy her. That we ought to demand that an example should be made of the guilty, that Provera, the Austrian general should be obliged to depart, and an ambassador sent to Paris to beg pardon. The directory, however, decided that we should march against the Pope; and said, that the time was come to overturn that idol. Berthier was sent with an army to revolutionize Rome, and establish a republic, which was done. The people at first were transported with joy at the thought of the re-establishment of the Roman republic, and fêtes were given, and a *te deum* celebrated with great pomp; at which last a number of the cardinals attended, although the act of re-establishment was the annihilation of the Pope's temporal power. Their joy, however, was of short continuance, as the troops, who were little restrained by their generals, and excited by agents of yours and of the Austrians, commenced a scene of robbery, and plundered the Vatican and the palaces of the nobles of their pictures and pieces of art of all kinds, and finished by mutinying against the *imbecilles*, who saw the error too late, and endeavoured in vain to put a stop to their abuses."

"When the Venetians," continued Napoleon, "deceived by false reports that Joubert's army had been defeated and cut to pieces; and duped by the traitorous and machiavelian policy of the court of Vienna, armed a number of Sclavonians and peasants, the priests preached destruction to the French, and another Sicilian vespers. All the French in Verona were massacred and their bodies thrown into the Adige. Four hundred of the sick and wounded in the hospitals were barbarously murdered. In other towns in the Venetian territories similar cruelties were practised. As soon as they discovered that the army of Joubert was entire; that Augereau was marching against them, and finding that the Austrians, defeated every where, had sent to me to supplicate for peace, their fright knew no bounds. A deputation waited upon me, making the most submissive proposals; pledging themselves to agree to every thing I should require, and offering me millions if I would grant their prayers. Finding this useless, orders were despatched to their minister at Paris to corrupt the directory, in which they succeeded, as orders were sent of a nature favourable to their wishes. The despatches of their ambassador, however, were seized and brought to me, and the whole intrigue discovered, together with the amount of the bribes they had given. I

commanded the French minister to quit their territories within twenty-four hours, and declared war against Venice, which Baraguez d'Hillires entered with his division, upset the oligarchy, and the whole of the states were soon republicanized."

Received the letters which are inserted in the preface.

6*th*.—Interrogated by Sir Hudson Lowe whether Napoleon Bonaparte had directed or commanded me to make a communication which I had done to him, viz. that he, Napoleon, had told Lord Amherst, "neither of your houses of parliament can oblige me to see *mon bourreau*, &c." or whether I had repeated it without having had authority to do so from Bonaparte? I answered, that Napoleon had said, "If I were asked any questions about the conversation with him, I was permitted to mention it." This did not satisfy Sir Hudson Lowe, who wished me to answer it as best suited whatever purposes he had in view; and on my persisting in the above reply, he became very violent and abusive, and ordered Major Gorrequer to write down, "Mr. O'Meara refuses to reply to the question of, 'Did Bonaparte or did he not desire you to communicate the above-mentioned expressions to the governor?'" I said, that some persons would consider it as a desire, and others only as a permission, and therefore it

was best to put down Napoleon's words, which however, his excellency would not allow.

7th.—Sir Hudson Lowe sent for me at six o'clock in the evening, when after having made some inquiries about Napoleon's state of health, which I told him was not so good as the last time I had reported; he said, that if General Bonaparte thought he should gain any further relaxation in the restrictions by confining himself to the house in the manner he did, he was mistaken, as he, (Sir Hudson,) without an order from government, would not make any more alterations in the regulations, even if he were worse in health. I asked if he wished this to be communicated to Napoleon? He said, that he did not *desire* it; but that it ought to be known.

9th.—Another series of interrogations at Plantation House, partly about Lord Amherst, during which the governor said, that "General Bonaparte would not have dared to make use of the insulting expressions he did before any other persons than Lord Amherst and myself; that General Bonaparte had so expressed himself, because he (Napoleon) knew that his lordship had received the governor's permission to listen to any complaints which he might make; that a listener was as bad as a repeater; and that Count Bertrand had told him (Sir Hudson) in October last, that Ge-

neral Bonaparte was influenced by the persons about him, amongst whom I formed one." I could scarcely help smiling at the supposition that I could have influenced such a person as Napoleon, and contented myself with replying, that as far as I knew him, he was not a man to let himself be guided by the opinion of others. Sir Hudson, however, insisted that Count Bertrand had confessed it, and said that *I* should be responsible for a great deal of what might happen, &c. &c.

13*th*.—More interrogations at Plantation House. Sir Hudson Lowe took out of his pocket a Morning Chronicle of the 17th of September, 1817, (I think,) containing a detail of a conversation stated to have taken place between Napoleon and some English gentlemen, and was desirous, he said, "to know from me whether such a conversation had ever taken place between General Bonaparte and myself, or if I had ever communicated it to other persons. That he inferred from the commencement of the article, viz. *after the usual salutations*, that the conversation had taken place between General Bonaparte and some person who was frequently in the habit of seeing him; that Admiral Malcolm and myself were the only persons who had *tête-à-tête* conversations with him; therefore that it must have been communicated by one of us." I replied, that I had neither written

nor communicated it, and reminded him, that others besides the admiral and myself had communications with Napoleon. His excellency appeared to be very anxious that I should assist him to saddle it upon the admiral; in which, however, he did not succeed. Indeed, on the first glance I had of it, I saw that it must have come from Mr. Ellis; it however contained some misrepresentations.

15*th*.—Saw the governor at Plantation House, to whom I reported that Napoleon's indisposition had rather increased, and that I had been that morning under the necessity of giving him physic. Communicated the same to Mr. Baxter.

16*th*.—Saw Napoleon, who felt somewhat relieved by the effect of the physic administered yesterday. Had a conversation with him upon some of the early periods of his life, and the manner in which he had obtained the command of the troops of the convention against the sections. "When Menou," said he, "was repulsed in his attempt to disperse the sections, through the imbecility of the representatives who were with him, and his own incapacity, the convention was in the greatest alarm, as the *comité* of the section had declared itself sovereign in the exercise of its functions, and permanent, refusing to obey the orders of the convention, and had even sent deputations to

the other sections to assist them. Their numbers amounted to above forty thousand. I was in a box at the theatre Feydeau when informed of this, and proceeded to the assembly. The convention were in the greatest dismay; Menou was accused of treachery—the danger was imminent. Each member of the assembly proposed the general in whom he had confidence. The members of the committee of public safety, and some who had known me at Toulon, proposed me as the person best calculated, by the energy of my character, to save them in the present crisis. A deputation was sent to offer the command to me. I balanced however for some time before I would accept of it. It was a service that I did not like; but when I considered that if the convention was overturned, *l'étranger* would triumph; that the destruction of that body would seal the slavery of the country, and bring back an incapable and insolent race those reflections and destiny decided that I should accept of it. I went to the *comité* pointed out to them the inconvenience of having three representatives with the troops, who only served to impede all the operations of the general. The *comité* perceiving that there was no time to be lost, proposed Barras to the convention, as general-in-chief, and gave the command of the troops that were to protect the assembly, to me. The mea-

sures that I adopted, as I explained to you before, saved the convention, with a very trifling loss of men* on both sides."

20*th*.—Went to Plantation House, according to orders. While speaking to Mr. Baxter in the library, the governor came in, looking very angry, and asked in a rough and abrupt manner, what communications I had to make respecting Ge-

* I was informed by the Duke of Rovigo, and by many other officers who had served with him, that the humanity displayed by the emperor to his soldiers was exemplary on all occasions. That in particular he was frequently in the habit of riding over the field of battle after an action, accompanied by numbers of his staff, and by persons carrying restoratives of different kinds for the purpose of resuscitating any of the wounded, in whom signs of life appeared. That Napoleon has often spent hours in this pious employment. Amongst other strong instances, the Duke of Rovigo mentioned, that after the battle of Wagram, Napoleon, accompanied by him and several others, rode over the field, and pointed out for assistance many of the wounded from whom life had not yet departed, While employed in this manner, the body of a colonel named Pepin, who had fallen under his displeasure for some misconduct several years before, and had not been actively employed until a short time before the battle of Wagram, attracted his attention, though he had not seen him for a number of years. He was on his back, a ball had perforated his head, and life was not extinct, though he was insensible. "Ah, Pepin! poor fellow," said Napoleon, in a feeling manner, "I am sorry to see him here, and still more so that, before he met his fate, I had not an opportunity of letting him know that I had forgiven him, and forgotten his conduct."

neral Bonaparte's health? I replied, that no permanent relief for the better had taken place. "Has he been out of the house?" "He has not." "Has he been in the billiard room?" "He spends a considerable portion of his time there every day." "How does he employ his time there?" "I cannot tell, sir." "Yes, you can, sir," replied the governor, regarding me in his customary manner, "you well know what he does there; you do not do your duty to government."

His excellency then walked about the room, stopping occasionally, and regarding me with his arms crossed over his breast in a manner which it is difficult to describe, and bursting out into furious exclamations. I contented myself with taking out my watch to ascertain the length of time he contemplated me in this manner. I thought more than once that he meditated some act of violence. This composure and silence appeared not to be what he wished, and he began another series of interrogations in his usual manner, relative to the name of the person who had given me information about twelve months ago, that Lord Liverpool had interfered and prevented my removal from St. Helena. I answered that I had, at the time I had first mentioned it to him in July last, offered to shew, to a third person, that part of the letter which stated that application had

been made to Lord Liverpool, that his lordship should prevent my being removed. The governor renewed in a violent tone his demand that I should forthwith give him the name of the person who had communicated the information to me, and that the offer I had then made of shewing it to a third person, was an insult to him; and advanced towards me in a menacing manner, evidently with an intention to intimidate me to a compliance. I answered as before, which drew forth another demand of the name with an increase of violence. I said then, that as my replies only brought upon me abuse, bad language, and bad treatment, I must decline giving him any more answers on the subject. "Put down, Major Gorrequer, that Mr. O'Meara refuses to answer," was the governor's reply. After listening to a long and abusive harangue about my improper conduct since he had catechised me about a newspaper, (*id est*, since I had refused to be an instrument to calumniate Admiral Malcolm,) I was permitted to depart.

28*th*.—Saw Napoleon, who was rather better than on the preceding day. Had some conversation about Chateaubriand. "Chateaubriand," said he, "is an old emigrant, who was appointed secretary to Cardinal Fesch, when the latter was ambassador to the court of Rome, where he contrived to render himself disliked by the Pope and

the cardinals, notwithstanding the *galimathias* which he had published upon Christianity. While he was there, he endeavoured to persuade the old king of Sardinia, who had abdicated and turned *religieux*, to renew his claims to the throne of Sardinia. The king, suspecting him to be a *mouton, le mit à la porte*, and made a complaint to me of his conduct, which caused his disgrace. While I was in power, he was one of the most abject of my flatterers. *C'est un fanfaron sans caractère, qui a l'âme rampante, et qui a la fureur de faire des livres.*"

I asked him some questions about Bernadotte's conduct. "Bernadotte," said he, "was ungrateful to me, as I was the author of his greatness; but I cannot say that he betrayed me; he in a manner became a Swede, and never promised that which he did not intend to perform. I can accuse him of ingratitude, but not of treachery. Neither Murat nor he would have declared against me, had they thought that it would have lost me my throne. The wish was to diminish my power, but not to destroy me altogether. Murat's bravery was so great, that the Cossacs used to express their admiration of him with cries. They could not restrain their feelings, at seeing a noble figure, advancing like a knight of old, and performing such prodigies of valour."

"Labédoyère," said he, "was a young man animated by the noblest sentiments, and the most sovereign contempt for a race that had surrounded themselves with all that was most foreign to the manners and rights of the French; and with a set of *misérables*, who, to avoid starvation, had vegetated for twenty-five years in inferior and disgraceful situations. His attachment to me was enthusiastic, and he declared himself at the moment of the greatest danger."

Drouot he described to be one of the most virtuous and unassuming characters in France, though possessed of talent rarely to be met with. Drouot was a man who would live as contentedly, as far as regarded himself personally, upon forty sous a day, as if he had the revenues of a sovereign. He was charitable and religious; and a man whose morals, probity, and simplicity, would have been honoured in an age of stern republicanism.

30*th*.—Went to Plantation House. After some questions relative to Napoleon's state of health, Sir Hudson Lowe said, that he had heard, in an indirect manner, which it was not necessary for him to explain to me, that General Bonaparte was in a much worse state of health than I had reported him to be; that he desired, therefore, whenever I went to town, that I would mention to Mr. Baxter or Sir Thomas Reade the state of his

health, which might prevent the necessity of my coming to Plantation House to report on the day I made them. That I might now mention to Major Gorrequer what I had to say about his health. Accordingly, I told the major that, since the 26th, Napoleon had not suffered so much from head-ach, especially in the right side of the head, as I had extracted the tooth from that jaw; that the swelling in his cheeks was considerably less; that his bowels were very costive; that he had some symptoms of dyspepsia, such as nausea and flatulence; that the pain in his side was not increased, nor were his legs diminished in size; that on the whole, though the local complaint in his cheek was better, there was no amelioration in his general state of health. I also applied for a small still, or alembic, in order to make some orange-flower water, as there was none to be had on the island; which to Napoleon would have been very grateful, and indeed necessary?*

February 3rd.—The Cambridge storeship arrived, bringing the melancholy news of the death of the Princess Charlotte.†

Communicated this intelligence to Napoleon, who expressed his affliction at the unfortunate

* This request was never complied with, although frequently repeated.

† I have suppressed some of Napoleon's remarks on this event.

event: as, independent of the feelings which naturally arose at the fate of a princess, cut off in the prime of youth and beauty, and with such prospects before her; he said, that he had not been without hopes that she would have caused more liberal policy to be adopted towards himself. He inveighed against the accoucheurs, and expressed his surprise that the populace had not stoned them to death. He observed, that the business had a strange appearance, and that precautions appeared to have been taken to deprive the princess of every thing necessary to support and to console her in a first accouchement. He urged that some old married women, who had frequently borne children, ought to have been at her bedside to comfort her. Had they been present they would have perceived that matters were going on wrong, and would have insisted upon further assistance being rendered. It was unpardonable in the old queen not to have been on the spot. "What signified Leopold," said he, "he is a *garçon*, and knew not what to do. Had it not been for me," added he, "Marie Louise would have died in a similar manner. During the time of her labour, I was in an apartment close by, from whence I went to her room every now and then. After she had been some hours in labour, Dubois, the accoucheur, came to me while I was reclining on the sofa, with

great alarm, painted on his countenance, and said, 'that the empress was in a state of great danger, that there was a wrong presentation.' I asked him if he had ever seen any thing of the kind before. Dubois replied, 'that he had but very rarely, perhaps not one in a thousand, and that it was very afflicting to him that so extraordinary a case should happen with the empress.' 'Forget,' said I, 'that she is empress, and treat her as you would the wife of a little shopkeeper in the Rue St. Denis. This is the only favour I ask of you. Dubois then asked, 'if it were necessary that one should be sacrificed, which should he save, the mother or the child?' 'The mother certainly,' I replied, 'it is her right.' I then accompanied Dubois to the bedside, encouraged and tranquillized the empress as much as possible, and held her while the forceps were applied. The child was apparently dead, when born, but by frictions and other means he was restored to life. His birth produced a delirium of joy in the nation. On the discharge of the first gun, that announced the interesting event, all the population of Paris, in the greatest suspense, ran into the streets the public walks, and the parks, counting the number of guns. Twenty-one guns were to have been fired for the birth of a princess, and one hundred and one for a prince. At the discharge of the twenty-second gun, the

Parisians rent the skies with acclamations and expressions of universal delight. Almost all the powers of Europe sent ambassadors extraordinary to compliment me on the happy event. The Emperor of Austria was represented as his godfather by his brother the Duke of Wurtsburgh, and the emperor Alexander sent his minister for the home-department to Paris to express his satisfaction on the occasion."*

* Soon after the birth of young Napoleon, his father contemplated building a superb palace, nearly opposite to the *Pont d'Jena*, which was to have been called *Le Palais du Roi de Rome*. The government consequently endeavoured to purchase all the houses situated upon the ground where it was intended to be built. Upon the spot of ground, which, according to the plan that had been traced out, was to form the extreme right of the front of the palace, there was a small house belonging to a poor cooper named Bonvivant, which, including the ground upon which it stood, was not, at the highest estimation, worth more than a thousand francs. The owner demanded ten thousand francs. It was referred to the emperor, who ordered that it should be purchased at that price. When the proper persons waited upon the cooper to conclude the agreement, he said, that upon reflection, he should not sell it for less than thirty thousand francs. It was referred again to Napoleon, who directed that it should be given to him. When they came to conclude the business, the cooper increased his demand to forty thousand. The architect was greatly embarrassed, and did not know how to act, or in what manner he could again venture to annoy the emperor on the subject; at the same time he knew that it was impossible to conceal any thing from him. He therefore addressed him again

"Had the poor Princess Charlotte," added he, "had some person about her, who would have acted with energy as I did, she would have been saved. Now, through the neglect of her relations, and the imbecility, or something worse, of those *misérables* of accoucheurs, it is impossible to say what calamities may befal the British empire.

"No sooner was it known," continued Napoleon, "that the interests of France had induced me to dissolve the ties of my marriage, than the greatest sovereigns of Europe intrigued for an alliance with me. As soon as the Emperor of Austria heard that a new marriage was in agitation, he sent for Narbonne, and expressed his surprise that his family had not been thought of. At this time an union with a princess of Russia or of Saxony was contemplated. The cabinet of Vienna sent instructions on the subject to Prince Schwartzenburg, who was ambassador at Paris.

on the subject. "*Ce drôle là abuse,*" said he, "*pourtant il n'y a pas d'autre moyen; allons il faut payer.* The architect returned to the cooper who increased his price to fifty thousand francs. Napoleon, indignant, when informed of it, said, "*Cet homme là est un misérable, et bien je n'achatterai point la maison, et elle restera comme un monument de mon respect pour les loix.*" The Bourbons returned, razed the foundation of the intended palace, and threw down what had been erected; the cooper's hovel fell to ruins, and its master, M. Bonvivant, now lives at Passy, Rue Basse, No. 31, where he earns a miserable existence by his trade.

Despatches were also received from the ambassador in Russia, stating the willingness of the Emperor Alexander to offer his sister, the Grand Duchess Anne. Some difficulties however presented themselves relative to the demand that a chapel for the Greek ritual should be established in the Thuilleries. A privy council was held upon the subject, and the votes of the majority were for an Austrian princess. I consequently authorized Prince Eugene to make the overture to Prince Schwartzenburg, and articles of marriage, similar to those between Louis the Sixteenth and Marie Antoinette, were signed. The Emperor Alexander was not pleased that his overtures were slighted, and thought that he had been deceived, and that two negociations had been carried on at the same time, in which he was mistaken."

"It has been said," added Napoleon, "that the marriage of Marie Louise was one of the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, which had taken place some months before; this is entirely false. There was no thought whatever of an alliance with Austria, previous to the despatch from Narbonne, relating the hints which had been made to him by the Emperor Francis and by Metternich. In fact, the marriage with the Empress Marie Louise was proposed in council, discussed, de-

cided, and signed within twenty-four hours, which can be proved by many members of the council who are now in existence. Several were of opinion that I ought to have espoused a French woman; and the arguments in favour of this were so strong, as to incline me to balance for a moment. It was hinted, however, by the Court of Austria, that, declining to chuse a princess out of one of the reigning Houses of Europe, would be a tacit declaration of intentions to overturn them, whenever opportunities should present themselves."

10*th*.—No improvement has taken place in Napoleon's health. Had some conversation with him relative to the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince of Hesse Homburgh. "The English royal family," said he, "*va* * *incanagliarsi* with little petty princes, to whom I would not have given a brevet of *sous-lieutenant*. When I marched upon Ulm in 1805, I passed through Stutgardt with my army, where I saw your princess royal, the Queen of Wirtemberg,† with whom I

* A word probably invented by Napoleon, and intended to convey a meaning of degradation in a very strong manner.

† I have been informed, from a source entitled to the highest credit, that the Queen of Wirtemberg wrote an account of this interview to her mother Queen Charlotte, in which she expressed very favourable opinions of Napoleon, and, in describing his person, concluded in the following manner, "*and he has so bewitching a smile.*"

had several conversations, and was much pleased with her. She soon lost whatever prejudices she might have originally entertained against me. I had the pleasure of interfering to her advantage, when her husband, who was a brute, though a man of talent, had ill treated her, for which she was very grateful to me. She afterwards contributed materially towards effecting the marriage between my brother Jerome and the Princess Catherine, daughter of the king by a former marriage."

16*th.*—While in James Town, I was asked by Mr. Barber of the Cambridge, who had opened a shop in the town, ".how did Bonaparte like the portraits?" being ignorant of his meaning, I asked for explanations. He said, that I surely must know what he alluded to, and after some further conversation informed me that he had brought out two engravings of young Napoleon, for sale, thinking that it would please the French, and induce them to give him some custom. That, on his arrival, he had mentioned the circumstance, and that both of the portraits had been taken by the governor and Sir Thomas Reade, Sir Hudson Lowe declaring that he was glad to have an opportunity of sending such articles to Bonaparte. Mr. Barber appeared much surprised and disap-

pointed, when he learned from me that they had not reached Longwood.*

17*th*.—Went to Plantation House. The governor, after having made some enquiries about the state of Napoleon's health, and that of General Gourgaud, and whether I had complied with the desire he had expressed on the 21st, that I should shew to Captain Blakeney the letter in which Lord Liverpool's name was mentioned? I replied, that as he had left it to my option, whether to shew it or not, I had preferred the latter, seeing that the business had occurred a long time ago; that at the *time* I had offered to shew it, which he had refused to accept, and also because he had said he considered the offer to shew it as an insult. That it was necessary for me to be very cautious, and as I did not know why I was now required to shew the letter, I had declined doing so. His excellency was not pleased with this reply, and began to abuse me in his customary manner, saying, that "I constantly insulted him as governor." I replied that it never had been my intention to insult him either in word or deed; that I was very sorry if constructions, so foreign to my intentions, should have been put upon them. Sir Hudson Lowe then got up, and look-

* On my departure from St Helena, in August, 1818, neither of the engravings had been sent to the father.

ing at me in a menacing manner, said, "Upon your word of honour, sir, I ask you if you have had any other conversations with Napoleon Bonaparte, than upon medical subjects, for a month past?" I replied, "perhaps there may have been on other subjects, not interesting!" "I do not allow *you*, sir, to be a judge of whether they were uninteresting or otherwise. You have no authority for holding any communications with Napoleon Bonaparte, unless upon medical subjects, and then only when sent to for that purpose. Have you had any communication with any other person of his family?" "Certainly, sir, I have had." Without waiting to know whether those communications were medical or otherwise, he burst out with, "you have no authority, sir, to hold any communication whatsoever with any of his family, who are subject to the same restrictions as himself, unless upon medical subjects, and then only when sent for; and when finished, you are to leave them. You have no business to go amongst them, unless for medical purposes. Have you, sir, had any communication with any of them, unless upon those subjects?" I replied, by referring his excellency to his own orders, that I should not hold any other communication than medical with them. "This reply, sir, as usual, is not a direct one. You make it a practice to go to town

when ships arrive, which I do not approve of. You go to collect news for General Bonaparte." I answered, "that I was an English officer, and as such, would not give up my rights; moreover, that I, as well as others, was desirous of purchasing the necessaries of life as soon as they were landed, and before any monopoly took place to increase the price. That, if he intended to prohibit me from going to town, I had to request orders to that effect in writing." This Sir Hudson refused, saying with a sneer, "the request is worthy of the place you came from, and the people with whom you associate. I do not think a person, under a pledge to Napoleon Bonaparte, ought to be received into company, and I do not approve of your going to town when ships arrive. You are suspected by me, sir." I replied, "that I was under no other pledge to Napoleon, than one which was tacitly understood in every society of gentlemen." The governor said, "that it was presumption and insolence for me to dare to judge of the line of conduct his majesty's government had thought proper to pursue with respect to Napoleon Bonaparte." I replied, "that I did not attempt to judge of that, that I merely mentioned what was the custom of society." "You are a suspected man, sir, you are suspected by *me*." "I cannot help that, sir. It is a consolation to

me, however, under such circumstances, to have the *mens conscia recti*." This the governor said was a fresh insult, which he followed up by a volley of abuse.

"You took an opportunity, sir, of staying in town the other day, when a ship, arrived, instead of coming here to report, as you ought to have done," said his excellency, after he had a little recovered his breath. "It was in compliance with your own instructions, sir, on the 30th of January. You then told me, in the presence of Major Gorrequer, that when I saw Mr. Baxter or Sir Thomas Reade in town, it might supersede the necessity of my coming to Plantation House on that day. Having, therefore, seen and explained to Mr. Baxter on that day, what I had to say, I did not think it necessary to come up here." He endeavoured to shuffle this off. I appealed to Major Gorrequer, if I had not repeated his excellency's own words? The governor said, in not the most moderate manner, that this appeal was an insult to him, and burst forth into a fresh paroxysm of invective, which lasted for a considerable time.

18*th*.—Napoleon more lively than he has been for a few days.

Had some further conversation with him upon the subject of the death of the Princess Charlotte, during which he observed, that had she been the wife of a poor mechanic, she would have been

saved, and that one of *les dames de la halle de Paris* would have met with more care and attention from her relations and friends, than the heiress to the greatest throne in Europe had experienced from hers.

He afterwards spoke of the plans which he had upon England.

"Had I succeeded in effecting a landing," said he, "I have very little doubt that I should have accomplished my views. Three thousand boats, each to carry twenty men and one horse, with a proportion of artillery, were ready. Your fleet having been decoyed away, as I before explained to you, would have left me master of the Channel. Without this, I would not have made the attempt, Four days would have brought me to London. In a country like England, abounding in plains, defence is very difficult. I have no doubt that your troops would have done their duty, but one battle lost, the capital would have been in my power. You could not have collected a force sufficiently strong to beat me in a pitched battle. Your ideas of burning and destroying the towns, and the capital itself, are very plausible in argument, but impracticable in their accomplishment. You would have fought a battle and lost it. 'Well then,' you would say, 'we have been beaten, but we have not lost our honour. We shall now endeavour *de tirer le meilleur parti* from our misfortune.

We must make terms.' I would have offered you a constitution of your own choice, and have said, 'Assemble in London deputies from the people to fix upon a constitution.' I would have called upon Burdett and other popular leaders to organize one according to the wishes of the people. I would have declared the ** fallen from the ***, abolished the nobility, proclaimed liberty, freedom, and equality. Think you, that in order to keep the house of *** on the *** your rich citizens, merchants, and others of London, would have consented to sacrifice their riches, their houses, their families, and all their dearest interests, especially when I had made them comprehend that I only came to ****** away, and to give them liberty? No, it is contrary to history and to human nature. You are too rich. Your principal people have too much to lose by resistance, and your *canaille* too much to gain by a change. If, indeed, they supposed that I wanted to render England a province of France, then indeed *l'esprit national* would do wonders. But I would have formed a republic according to your own wishes, required a moderate contribution, barely sufficient to have paid the troops, and perhaps not even that. Your *canaille** would have been for me,

* Napoleon frequently used the word *canaille*, not in a degrading sense, but as the people, distinct from the nobles.

knowing *que je suis l'homme du peuple, que je sors de la canaille moi-même,* (that I am the man of the people, that I spring from the populace myself,) and that whenever a man had merit or talent, I elevated him without asking how many degrees of nobility he had; knowing, that by joining me, they would be relieved from the yoke of the aristocracy under which they labour. There is not a *canaille* in the world, not even the Prussian, worse treated. Excepting the obligation of serving as soldiers, the German *canaille* are better off than yours. You have no more regard for yours than if they were so many Helots, and you treat them precisely as if they were such. To my lords and my ladies, to the aristocracy and the *gentlemen,* (in English) oh, indeed, you pay every kind of attention and regard, nothing can be too good for them; no treatment kind enough; but for your *canaille,* bah! they are so many *chiens;* as your contractors said, when furnishing provisions to the French prisoners, 'it is too good for those French dogs.' You yourself have got a great deal of *la morgue aristocratique* in your head, and appear to look down upon your *canaille* as if they were a race of inferior beings. You talk of your freedom. Can any thing be more horrible than your pressing of seamen? You send your boats on shore to seize upon every male that can

be found, who, if they have the misfortune to belong to the *canaille*, if they cannot prove themselves *gentlemen*, are hurried on board of your ships, to serve as seamen in all quarters of the globe. And yet you have the impudence to talk of the conscription in France: it wounds your pride, because it fell *upon all ranks*. Oh, how shocking, that a *gentleman's* son (in English) should be obliged to defend his country, just as if he were one of the *canaille!* And that he should be compelled to expose his body, or put himself on a level with a *vile plebian!!* Yet God made all men alike. Who forms the nation? Not your lords, nor your fat prelates *(panciuti)* and churchmen, nor your *gentlemen*, nor your oligarchy. Oh! one day the people will revenge themselves, and terrible scenes will take place."

"That conscription," continued Napoleon, "which offended your *morgue aristocratique* so much, was conducted scrupulously according to the principles of equal rights. Every native of a country is bound to defend it. The conscription did not *écraser* a particular class like your press-gang, nor the *canaille*, because they were poor. It was the most just, because the most equal mode of raising troops. It rendered the French army the best composed in the world. The conscription would have become a national institution, instead

of being regarded as a punishment or a servitude. It would have been a point of honour to have served the country, and the time would have come, that a girl would not have married a youth that had not paid the debt he owed to it. The love of glory is the inheritance of a Frenchman."

"Were you a nation," continued he, "of half savages, of poor wild mountaineers, or of ferocious shepherds, like the Scythians; then indeed you might destroy your capital, and desolate your country, in order to stop the progress of an invader. Even if you were as poor, as wild, and as ignorant as the Spaniards, perhaps you might destroy some of your towns and habitations. But you are too rich and too selfish. Where is there one of you would say, 'I will destroy my house, abandon my property to be pillaged, my wife and daughters to be violated, my sons to be massacred!! And for what? To keep * * * * * * on the * *, and Lord Bathurst and the Archbishop of Canterbury in their employments of twenty thousand a year. All this I will do against a man who offers terms, who proposes to give us a constitution according to the wish of the nation.' No, no. It is more than could be expected from *man*. Pitt himself was well aware of it, and one of the means which he took to form the coalition against me, was, by asserting, that a descent was

possible; that if it were effected England would be conquered before twelve months; that then all the continent would be at my mercy and my disposal; that England once fallen, all was lost. This the king of Prussia told me afterwards."

Napoleon now repeated what he had said once before relative to the inhabitants of Moscow not having assisted in setting fire to the city; but on the contrary, having done their utmost to extinguish it; and proceeded thus: "The English, after a battle, finding that we did not come to plunder and destroy them, that we did not injure or molest the inhabitants, that their wives and daughters remained unviolated; for I would not have allowed the smallest outrage to be committed. Instant death would have been inflicted on whoever attempted it. They would have seen that we did not come to rob, or to destroy them, but merely to ******. If, indeed, war were waged, as in ancient times, when the male prisoners were massacred or made slaves of, and the women became the concubines of the victors, then the conquest of the nation would have been impossible. But no: you would have seen us advancing, and molesting the population as little as your own soldiers. Every thing would have been done to conciliate and to harmonize."

I now made some observations to Napoleon

about his own government in France. "The system of government," said he, "must be adapted to *l'esprit de la nation*, and to circumstances. In the first place, France required a strong government. While I was at the head of it, I may say that France was in the same state as Rome, when a dictator was declared necessary for the salvation of the republic. Successions of coalitions against her existence were formed by your gold amongst all the powerful nations of Europe. To resist successfully, it was necessary that all the energies of the country should be at the disposal of the chief. I never conquered unless in my own defence. Europe never ceased to make war upon France and her principles. *Il nous fallut abattre sous peine d'être abattus.*. Between the parties that agitated France for a long time, I was like a rider seated on an unruly horse, who always wanted to swerve either to the right or to the left; and to make him keep a straight course, I was obliged to let him feel the bridle occasionally. The government of a country just emerged from a revolution, menaced by foreign enemies, and agitated by the intrigues of domestic traitors, must necessarily be *dur*. In quieter times my dictature would have finished, and I should have commenced my constitutional reign. Even as it was, with a coalition always existing against me, either secret or public,

openly avowed or denied, there was more equality in France than in any other country in Europe.

"One of my grand objects was to render education accessible to every body. I caused every institution to be formed upon a plan which offered instruction to the public, either gratis, or at a rate so moderate as not to be beyond the means of the peasant. The museums were thrown open to the *canaille*. My *canaille* would have become the best educated in the world. All my exertions were directed to illuminate the mass of the nation, instead of brutifying them by ignorance and superstition."

"Those English," added he, "who are lovers of liberty, will one day lament with tears having gained the battle of Waterloo. It was as fatal to the liberties of Europe in its effects as that of Philippi was to those of Rome; and like it, has precipitated Europe into the hands of triumvirs, associated together for the oppression of mankind, the suppression of knowledge, and the restoration of superstition."

Recounted to the emperor the treatment I had experienced yesterday at Plantation House. "I do not believe," said he, "that in all the armies of Europe a man of so ignoble a character could be found. It is the height of baseness for a supe-

rior to insult officially an inferior. This man's disposition makes him like a person afflicted with an inveterate itch; he has need of continually rubbing against something. But independent of his natural uneasiness, his intentions are, by bad language and bad treatment, to irritate you into a breach of respect to him as governor, which he will convert into an act of violence, and proceed against you for an *attentat* upon him in his official capacity. You are in a very dangerous situation. He has a witness, who is his creature, and who will sign every thing that he dictates, and have no other conscience or will than his. You have only your own word to plead; and this man's conduct in endeavouring to make a spy of you, by ill treatment and abuse, is so extraordinary, that people unacquainted with him will with difficulty believe it. I see no other mode for you to act than to maintain an absolute silence. Hear what he has to say, and reply not, unless in answer to medical questions. To those he has a right to expect an answer; but to any thing else say, 'I do not know,' or, 'it is no business of mine.'"

20*th.*—Underwent a few more interrogations from Sir Hudson Lowe, in which I had the good fortune to leave his house, without having been assailed with any outrageous language.

23*rd.*—Cipriani complained this day of inflam-

mation of the bowels, which from the moment he made it known to me presented most formidable appearances. He was very largely bled, put into a warm bath, and recourse had to all the vigorous remedies usually administered in such cases. Only temporary relief, however, was obtained; and the unfavourable symptoms returned with increased aggravation. It was soon evident that his life was in the most imminent danger; and the advice and assistance of other professional men were called in. All, however, was useless, and the complaint was rapidly hurrying him on to dissolution. Cipriani himself, although conscious of his danger, preserved the greatest calmness and composure. Napoleon, who had an affection for him as his countryman, and a man wholly devoted to his service, was extremely anxious for his recovery, and frequent in his enquiries. On the 25th, Cipriani was in a state in which persons labouring under the same complaint are sometimes seen. He had experienced some relief from suffering; but it was doubtful whether it arose from the diminution of the violence of the complaint, or was that cessation of pain preceding dissolution, produced by mortification. The last was my own opinion; but there was nothing certain. He was in a state of extreme weakness. Nourishment was administered to him at short intervals, which was re-

tained on his stomach. While in this state of doubt, Napoleon, with whom I had been repeatedly during the day to report the state of the patient, sent for me at twelve o'clock at night. I mentioned that Cipriani was lying in a kind of stupor. "I think," said he, "that my appearance before poor Cipriani would act as a stimulus to slumbering nature, *(la natura che dorme)* and will rouse her to make new efforts which may finally overcome the disease and save the patient." He endeavoured to illustrate this by describing the electric effects which had been produced in many instances, by his appearance on the field of battle at most critical moments and times. I replied, that Cipriani was still sensible; and that I knew the love and veneration he had for his master to be so great, that on his appearance before him, he would make an effort to rise in his bed, which exertion, in the weak state in which he was, would probably produce syncope, during which his soul, already *tra si e no,* to quit or to remain in its earthly tenement, would most probably take its departure.* After this and other explanations on the subject, Napoleon acquiesced in my opinion, that he should not try the experiment; observing,

* It is well known to medical people, that in cases of great debility, the mere raising of a patient's head from the pillow has sometimes produced dissolution.

that in such cases, *les hommes de l'art* were the best judges.

At ten o'clock the following morning, symptoms decidedly mortal made their appearance, and about four, poor Cipriani was numbered with the dead.

Cipriani was a man possessed of strong, but uncultivated talents. Though artful, he had the appearance of openness and candour. He had, however, many good qualities, He was generous and charitable. Like most of his countrymen, he was an ardent friend, and a bitter enemy, and had strong national spirit. He was a republican in principle, and manifested more attachment to Napoleon in his misfortunes, than he had ever shewn for him in his grandeur. He was regarded by his master in a very confidential light. Had he enjoyed the benefit of an early education, he would probably have made a figure in the revolution. He had been unwell for several days before he complained, during which, in all probability, latent inflammation had been going on. His corpse was followed to the grave* by Counts Bertrand and Montholon, by myself, and by all the household who could attend. So much was he esteemed at St. Helena, that several of the most respectable of the inhabitants, and some of the officers of the

* See Count Bertrand's letter, Appendix, No. XII.

66th regiment, voluntarily joined the funeral procession. Had he been buried *within* the limits, Napoleon himself would have attended.

Immediately after his death, I reported the circumstance to Napoleon, who remarked, "Where is his soul! Gone to Rome, perhaps, to see his wife and child, before it undertakes the long final journey."

Some days before his demise, Cipriani told me, that not long after the governor had put into execution his rigorous measures towards the inmates of Longwood, Santini, who was of a merry disposition, had been observed to be much altered, and apparently thoughtful and melancholy. One day he came into Cipriani's room, and avowed his intention of shooting the governor the first time that the latter came to Longwood. Cipriani asked him if he was mad, and endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt, by using all the arguments in his power. Although Cipriani had much influence over him, Santini was unmoved, and accompanied his declaration with many oaths peculiar to the inferior order of Italians. He had his double-barrelled gun loaded with ball, with which he intended to despatch the governor, and then to finish himself. Cipriani, finding his arguments fruitless, went to Napoleon, to whom he communicated the affair. The emperor immediately sent

for, and questioned Santini, who avowed his intentions. Napoleon then commanded him, as his emperor, to drop all thoughts of injuring Sir Hudson Lowe, and succeeded, though not without some reluctance on the part of Santini, in making him abandon his project. Santini was a most determined character, and brave as a lion. Besides being master of the small sword, he had a sure and deadly aim with fire-arms; and there is little doubt, that had it not been for this prohibition, he would have effected his intentions.

March, 6th.—The progress of the disease in the emperor continues to advance a little, though slowly. Found him reading a volume of Corneille, upon whom he pronounced some warm eulogiums, observed, that to the sentiments which he inspired, France was indebted for some of her glorious deeds, and added, that if Corneille had lived in his time, he would have made him a prince.

He then conversed about himself, said, that he believed nature had calculated him for great reverses—that he had a soul of marble. After which he made some comparisons of his own conduct with that adopted by his enemies towards him.

"If I had been actuated by the spirit which prevailed with the Bourbons," said he, "or even according to the laws of reciprocity, I should have

caused the Duc d'Angulême to be tried, in retaliation for the attempts he had made upon me, the proscription against my person by the Bourbons, and the declaration of the allied powers,* placing me out of the pale of the law, and inviting my assassination. By the laws of the national assembly, existing against any of the members of his family who should re-enter France, I could have had him shot within twenty-four hours. Instead of doing so, I ordered that every respect should be paid to him, and care taken of his person, and that he should be conducted to Cette for embarkation."

"Maitland," said Napoleon, "was not an accomplice in the snare that was laid for me by your ministers, when they gave him orders to receive me on board of his ship.† He is *un brave homme*, and incapable of participating in the infamous transaction that took place. He was deceived, as well as myself, and probably in bringing me to England, thought that I should have been allowed to live there, subject to such restrictions as had been imposed upon my brother Lucien." He then observed, that he had formed too good an opinion of the English, and had believed the influence of the voice of the people upon the ministers, to have been much more powerful than it was in reality

* See Appendix, No. XIII. † See Appendix, No. XIV.

"Previous to going on board of the Bellerophon," added he, "some debates were held upon the propriety of the measure. Some naval officers, to whom it was mentioned, strongly urged that I should not venture on such a step. They said, the English are the most interested people on earth. Interest is their god, and they will calculate what may result from ill or well treating you. If they think that they shall gain any thing by it, they will hurry you away, and bury you in one of their colonies, where you will be exposed to every species of bad treatment, that hatred can suggest. They were right," added he, "some of them had been in the *pontons*, and knew what you were better than I did. I did not conceive it possible that a great nation could countenance the persecution of one man, who had fallen into their hands, after having been twenty-five years their enemy."

He then delivered, as follows, some explanation of the causes which had produced his fall: "Had it not been for that fatal suspension of arms, in 1813, to which I was induced to consent by Austria, I should have succeeded. The victories of Lutzen and Wurtzen had restored confidence in the French forces. The King of Saxony was triumphantly brought back to his capital; one of the corps of the French army was at the gates of Berlin, and the enemy had been driven from Ham-

burgh. The Russian and Prussian armies were preparing to pass the Vistula, when the cabinet of Austria, acting with its characteristic perfidy, advised the suspension of hostilities, at a time when it had already entered into engagements with Russia and Prussia; the armistice was only a delusion to gain the time necessary to make preparations, it being intended to declare against France in May. The unexpected successes obliged it to act with more circumspection. It was necessary to gain more time, and negociations went on at the congress of Prague. Metternich insisted that Austria should have the half of Italy, and made other exorbitant conditions, which were only demanded in order to be refused. As soon as she had got her army ready, Austria declared against France. After the victory of Dresden, I was superior, and had formed the project to deceive the enemy, by marching towards Magdeburgh, then to cross the Elbe at Wittenberg, and march upon Berlin. Several divisions of the army were occupied in these manœuvres, when a letter was brought to me from the King of Wirtemberg, announcing that the Bavarian army had joined the Austrians, and to the amount of eighty thousand men, were marching towards the Rhine, under the command of Wrede; that he, being compelled by the presence of that

army, was obliged to join his contingent to it, and that Mentz would soon be invested by a hundred thousand men.

"This unexpected defection entirely changed the plan of the campaign, and all the preparations made to fix the war between the Elbe and the Oder, became useless. At Leipsic, afterwards, I was victorious on the 16th, and should have succeeded on the 18th, had not the whole Saxon army, which occupied one of the most important positions in the line, deserted to the enemy, with a train of sixty pieces of cannon, which were immediately turned against the French. Notwithstanding this, the field of battle remained in possession of the French, and the allies made a retrograde movement on the same day. During the night I ordered the army to retire upon our supplies behind the Ister. The defection of some other German corps afterwards, and the premature blowing up of the bridge at Leipsic, caused the most disastrous effects. When the army had passed the Saale, it should have rested to recover from its fatigues, and receive ammunition and other supplies from Erfurth. Intelligence, however, arrived, that the Austro-Bavarian army under Wrede, had arrived on the Mein by forced marches, and it was necessary to march against it. Wrede was driven from his position at Hanaw, com-

pletely beaten, and himself wounded. Conferences afterwards took place at Francfort, and proposals for peace were offered on condition that I should renounce the protectorate of the confederation of the Rhine, Poland, and the departments of the Elbe; but that France should be preserved in her limits of the Alps and the Rhine. Those conditions were accepted as bases. This congress, however, like the others, turned out to be a delusion, as at the moment that those pacific proposals were made, the allies violated the neutrality of Switzerland, which they entered in large force. At Chatillon, afterwards, they presented their *ultimatum*, in which they demanded that France should be reduced to the limits she had previous to 1792, which I rejected. Had it not been for the subsequent treachery of Talleyrand, Marmont, and Augereau, the allies would not have succeeded in forcing upon the throne a detested family, against whom, for twenty-five years, the nation has combated; and France would not have been degraded by the spectacle of a king upon the throne, who had the baseness publicly to declare that he owed it to the Prince Regent of England."

28*th*.—Twenty-seven volumes of books were sent to Longwood by Sir Hudson Lowe on the 12th, and seven on this day, with some numbers

of the *Lettres Normandes et Champenoises.* These formed the entire of the supply of books and pamphlets sent by his majesty's ministers,* (or through them,) since the arrival of the Phaeton in 1816. Napoleon, observed, "*C'est une bassesse dont je ne croyais pas même que Lord Bathurst fût capable.*"

It has been a rule† for some time, that all captains of merchant ships which arrive, are obliged to submit a list of their books, newspapers, &c. to Sir Hudson Lowe, and those of a political nature are specifically required to be sent to him, under a pretence of desiring to forward them to Longwood, where, however, none of the books have arrived; and but very few newspapers. The Edinburgh Review is specially sought after by his excellency and staff.

* Mr. Goulbourn promised Count Las Cases on the return of the latter to Europe, that every interesting book and new publication should be sent to Longwood, with a copious and regular supply of newspapers, French and English, of different descriptions. Whether the worthy secretary performed his promise or not, I am not able to say. None, however, except some unconnected numbers of the Times and Courier, Observer, &c. with a few straggling French papers of a very old date, reached Longwood during my residence there. In one instance, in March, 1817, I think, the governor permitted me to take the Morning Chronicle for some weeks, as a great favour, which was not again repeated.

† See Appendix. No. XV.

April 4th.—Some days ago a circumstance occurred which threw some light upon the motives which had induced the governor to oblige me to visit Plantation House twice a week. One of the foreign persons residing in the island informed Count Montholon, that the commissioners had seen an account of the state of Napoleon's health, in the bulletin of that day. Count Montholon knowing that no bulletins were issued by me, asked for explanations, which were given; and by which it appeared that surreptitious bulletins were made by a person who never saw Napoleon, and who consequently could not be a judge of his complaint. Those fictitious reports were sent from Plantation House to the commissioners, and transmitted by them to their respective courts. I apprehend that every conscientious reader will be of opinion that those bulletins ought to have been shewn to me, I being the only medical man who saw the patient, and consequently the only person capable of judging of their correctness.*

10*th.*—Sir Hudson Lowe having failed in the application that he made in London to procure

* Sir Hudson Lowe, when he could no longer refrain from giving some account of this transaction, endeavoured to slur it over, by stating to Count Bertrand that the fictitious bulletins were merely repetitions of my conversations with Mr. Baxter. If this were true, why conceal them from me?

my removal from St. Helena, had recourse to an expedient which insured him success. He caused a letter to be written to me this day by Sir Thomas Reade, in which he informed me that I was not to pass out of Longwood, without assigning any reasons for a measure by which it appeared that the governor had imposed upon me restrictions even more arbitrary and vexatious than those which he had inflicted upon the French; for by confining me to Longwood, within the precincts of which he allowed no persons to enter without a pass, he deprived me of English society; while at the same time he prohibited me from holding any other intercourse, even with the French, than that relating to my profession.* As soon as I received this letter, I went to the Briars, with the intention of laying the affair before Admiral Plampin, who sent word by his secretary that he would not see me. I then wrote a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, tendering my resignation, and another to Count Bertrand, in which I explained the step that I had been compelled to take, and the motives which urged me to adopt it.

14*th.*—Napoleon sent for me to give me an audience prior to my departure. During which he declined receiving any more medical advice from

* It is almost unnecessary for me to explain to the reader that I was neither able nor inclined to obey this arbitrary mandate.

me in the situation in which I was placed by Sir Hudson Lowe, and addressed me in the following words: "*Eh bien, Docteur, vous allez nous quitter. Le monde concevra-t-il qu'on a eu la lâcheté d'attenter à mon médecin? Puisque vous êtes un simple lieutenant, soumis à tout l'arbitraire et à la discipline militaire, vous n'avez plus l'indépendance nécessaire pour que vos secours puissent m'être utiles; je vous remercie de vos soins. Quittez le plutôt possible ce séjour de ténèbres et de crimes; je mourrai sur ce grabat, rongé de maladie et sans secours; mais votre nation en sera déshonorée à jamais.*"* He then bade me adieu.

May 9th.—Sir Hudson Lowe finding that he could not succeed in his plan of establishing

* "Well, Doctor, you are going to quit us. Will the world conceive that they have been base enough to make attempts upon my physician? Since you are no more than a simple lieutenant, subjected to arbitrary power and to military discipline, you have no longer the independence necessary to render your services useful to me. I thank you for your care. Quit as soon as you can this abode of darkness and of crimes. I shall expire upon that pallet consumed by disease, and without any assistance. But your country will be eternally dishonoured by my death." It may be proper to inform the reader, that though Napoleon generally conversed in Italian with me, as I spoke the language with considerable fluency, from having resided several years in that classical country, whenever he became animated, he always broke out into French, and also whenever he was at a loss for a word.

another surgeon with Napoleon ; and that the latter was determined not to receive him, and having been made to comprehend by the commissioners,* that if Napoleon died while he kept me in confinement (without bringing me to a trial, or even preferring any charge against me) or under the hands of any surgeon forced upon him, strange surmises would arise in England and in Europe respecting his death, of which they themselves should be unable to render a satisfactory explanation, decided upon removing the restrictions he had imposed upon me. Accordingly he released me, after having kept me in confinement twenty-seven days; during which time I was successively assailed, in correspondence, by all his staff; and in order to ensnare me, frequently required to return by a dragoon who waited, answers to letters composed after several days' reflection, by the united wisdom of Sir Hudson Lowe and his staff. As this cor-

* I have been informed that some very animated discussions took place at Plantation House on this subject, in one of which the governor, while debating with Baron Sturmer, burst forth into one of the paroxysms of anger he so frequently manifested towards me. The baron very coolly made his excellency stop opposite to a large looking-glass, in which he begged of him to contemplate his own features, adding, that he should not desire to afford his court a better representation of what was occurring at St. Helena, than the figure in the mirror before him.

respondence has been already before the public, I shall not now trouble the reader with it.

In the letter containing the order for my release, his excellency felt himself obliged to acknowledge me as Napoleon's private surgeon, a point which he had contested before.

A despatch sent by Sir Hudson Lowe to Longwood, containing some extracts from a correspondence of Lord Bathurst, stating, amongst other matters, that permission would be given, that a list of persons, not exceeding fifty in number, resident on the island, should be drawn up by Count Bertrand and submitted to the governor for approval, and that such persons should be admitted to Longwood at seasonable hours, with no other pass than the invitation of General Bonaparte; it being understood, that they were on such occasions to deliver in their invitations with their names, as vouchers at the barrier; it being clearly understood, that the governor was to reserve a discretionary power, to erase from the list any individuals to whom he might consider it inexpedient to continue such facility of access.

10*th*.—Previous to allowing me to resume my medical functions at Longwood, Napoleon, in order to put a stop to the fabrication of any more bulletins, required that I should make out a report of the state of his health once a week, or

oftener if necessary; a copy of which should be given to the governor if he required it. This I immediately communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe, who not only did not require it, but absolutely prohibited me from making him (Sir Hudson) any written report.

Napoleon's state of health had become worse since last month. The pain was more constant and severe, &c.

Considerable indignation was excited in the island at the conduct which had been pursued towards Napoleon.

16*th.*—A proclamation issued by Sir Hudson Lowe, and placarded in the most conspicuous places, interdicting all officers, inhabitants, and other persons whatsoever, from holding any correspondence or communication with the foreign persons under detention on it.*

18*th.*—Captain Blakeney ordered by Sir Hudson Lowe to assemble all the English servants at Longwood, and read to them the proclamation of the 16th. This was done without notice being given to their masters. Napoleon, when informed of this, ordered that the English servants, employed at Longwood House, in place of Santini and the others sent away by Sir Hudson Lowe, should be discharged.

* See Appendix, No. XVI.

20*th*.—Had some conversation with the emperor upon the work published by Mr. Ellis on the embassy to China, and the conversation at Longwood which that gentleman had published. Napoleon observed, that having learned that Mr. Ellis had been secretary to a mission to Persia, a short time after General Gardanne had quitted Ispahan, he had questioned him as to the progress that Russia had made on the Persian side. "I told him," added Napoleon, "that if Russia succeeded in attaching the brave Polish nation to her, she would no longer have a rival, because she would restrain England, by menacing the latter's possessions in India; and Austria by the great moral superiority of her troops, and by the followers of the Greek church, who are so numerous in Hungary and Gallicia; and that appearances rendered it probable that a Greek patriarch would one day officiate in Sancta Sophia. I also mentioned to him, that if England adopted the system of founding her power upon her land forces, and on maintaining armies on the continent, those armies would mask her real forces and she would commit the same fault that Francis the First was guilty of at the battle of Pavia, by placing himself with the *élite* of his cavalry before a formidable battery, which would have assured him the victory, had he not prevented it from firing by masking it. I told him that your riots in Eng-

land signified nothing, and that your constables were sufficient to re-establish order, if at the same time your ministers directed all their attention and care towards the amelioration of the administration, to the prosperity of your manufactures and your commerce. That above all, you must not be ashamed of being merchants; from that source your power springs; but that if the misery was real, as asserted by Lord Wellesley, and was caused by the too great efforts made by England during twenty years, in that case too violent measures employed upon the mass of the people would be topical applications likely to produce madness in them. I said that you have amongst you men too wise, not to open, at the same time that they applied these violent remedies, channels which would discharge the acrimonious humours, restore health and ease to the people, and cause misery to disappear.

"During all the conversations I had with Mr. Ellis," continued he, "which lasted about half an hour, not one word was said about St. Helena. Count Montholon had no conversation on the subject with Mr. Ellis, or any other of the legation. Mr. Ellis made no enquiries on the spot, never visited the interior of the establishment, knew nothing, saw nothing, and heard nothing about it, at least from the French. And yet in

his work he has the impudence to play the part of a judge, who had heard the complaining parties on the spot. But that passage has not been written by his hand. It is the invention of some *commis* to Lord Bathurst, who has imposed the insertion of it upon him. Such a prostitution of his name reflects but little credit upon that diplomatic character."*

He made some observations upon the contrast between the governor's proclamation and conduct, and the despatches sent by Lord Bathurst; said that the despatch was merely got up to have the appearance of doing something to benefit his situation, while in reality nothing was done.

In the course of the conversation, Napoleon observed, that but little reliance was to be placed on the writings of a man, in forming a judgment of his private character or conduct, which he illustrated by informing me that Bernardin St. Pierre, whose writings were so sentimentally beautiful, and breathing principles of humanity and social happiness in every page, was one of the worst private characters in France.

June 7th.—The Mangles storeship arrived.

11*th.*—With the exception of the painful inflammatory affection of the cheeks, the so frequent

* Mr. Ellis has since been appointed to a lucrative situation at the Cape of Good Hope, which, I believe, is in the gift of Lord Bathurst.

recurrence of which has been prevented by the extraction of two more teeth, Napoleon's state of health has become much worse. He accordingly consented on this day to adopt the practice recommended to him, which was consequently commenced on this day. He has been confined almost entirely to his apartments for nearly six weeks.

20*th*.—The officers of the 53rd regiment had done me the honour to elect me an honorary member of their mess; and on the departure of that regiment from the island, the officers of the 66th had conferred a similar honour upon me. Sir Hudson Lowe employed Sir Thomas Reade to fill the mind of Lieutenant Colonel Lascelles (the commanding officer) with the most insidious calumnies against me, in consequence of which Lieutenant Colonel Lascelles called upon Lieutenant Reardon of the regiment (a friend of mine), to whom he related that it had been insinuated to him by Sir Thomas Reade, that I had become displeasing to the sight of the governor, that the officers of the regiment ought to expel me from their mess, as a person who had submitted to insults from the governor, who had turned me out of his house, and consequently that I was unfit for their society; insinuating also that my expulsion would be very agreeable to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, he observed, had said that he should consider any person who

was seen to associate with me as his personal enemy. Lieutenant Colonel Lascelles concluded with begging of Lieutenant Reardon to persuade me to withdraw privately from the mess, as my presence there was obnoxious to the governor; protesting however, that personally he had a great esteem for me, and that he would be one of the first to invite me to dine there as a guest.

Reflecting, that if I slunk away secretly, opportunity would be furnished to my enemies to paint me in the blackest colours, and to represent that my conduct had been such as to compel the officers of the 66th to turn me out of the mess, and, being conscious of upright intentions, I immediately wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Lascelles, the letter in the appendix marked No. XVII. In the evening I met him coming to see me. He made many professions of friendship and esteem for me, but said, that as the governor was displeased with me, he begged I would withdraw privately from the mess, that Sir Hudson Lowe desired it, and that he was afraid of his resentment being exercised upon himself, and upon the officers of the regiment, if I did not comply with his wishes. He concluded by stating, that Sir Thomas Reade had shewn him part of my correspondence with the governor, and some secret documents which had never been communicated to me, and, professing his

esteem; in which sentiment he said, he knew he was joined by every officer in the regiment. I replied, that clandestine misrepresentations, from their being unknown to me, might remain unrefuted, that no person was secure from the breath of calumny; that, however, I was ready to submit the whole of the correpondence between the governor and myself to the judgment of the officers of the regiment, or to submit to any other scrutiny that he or they might desire, and to abide by their decision; but that I never would renounce the honour which the officers of the 66th had conferred upon me in granting me a seat at their table unless (according to the custom of the army) by a vote of the mess, or by an order from the governor.

This reply was communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, probably having his own reasons for not allowing the correspondence to be submitted to the judgment of a corps of officers, sent an order by Brigadier General Sir George Bingham (as I have been informed) to Lieutenant Colonel Lascelles, to exclude me from the mess, which was comunicated to me by the following letter, without assigning any reason for such act.

Deadwood, 23rd June.

Dear Sir,—As commanding officer of the 66th regiment, I beg leave to inform you, that I feel it

expedient on my part to say, that I cannot any longer allow you to be an honorary member of the 66th's mess,

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

C. LASCELLES.

Barry O'Meara, Esq.

Being desirous of obtaining every authentic information to establish the fact, that this new outrage had been effected by the orders of Sir Hudson Lowe, I waited upon Sir George Bingham, by whom I was very politely received, and informed, that he had been commanded to carry into execution the above order.

25*th.*—Sent the following letter to the Dead wood camp:—

To the Officers of the 66*th Regiment.*

Gentlemen,—In consequence of the extraordinary mission which I accepted, having been detached from that branch of the service to which I belong, the officers of the 53rd regiment, taking into consideration the isolated situation in which I was placed, were pleased to do me the honour of electing me an honorary member of their mess, in which I continued as long as the regiment remained in the island. You, gentlemen, shortly

after your arrival, condescended to confer upon me a similar honour, by which I have benefited for nearly a year. By a fatality, which at this moment persecutes me, *orders emanating from a superior power prohibit me from any longer enjoying, in your society,* the great, the only consolation it was possible for me to experience in this dreary abode. I cannot, however, return to my solitude, without returning my most sincere thanks to you for the many marks of friendship and kindness with which you have honoured me, and to assure you, that the esteem, respect, and gratitude, which I bear to you, individually and collectively, are indelibly engraven upon the heart of one, who at his last moments, will exult in saying that he was deemed worthy a seat at your table.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
With the greatest respect,
Your most obliged Friend,
(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA,
Surgeon, Royal Navy.

Longwood, 25th, June, 1818.

26th.—The officers of the 66th regiment were pleased to return the following reply:—

Deadwood, 26th June, 1818.

Dear Sir,—As president, last night, I had the

honour of communicating to the mess the contents of your letter of the 25th instant, and am directed by the *commanding officer and officers composing it, to say it is with much regret they hear of your departure as an honorary member of the mess,* and to assure you, they always conceived your conduct while with them, to be perfectly consistent in every respect with that of a gentleman.

I am also directed to say, the mess feel much indebted for the very flattering expressions of esteem contained in your letter.

And have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

(Signed) CHS M'CARTHY,

Lieut. 66th Regiment.

To Barry O'Meara, Esq.
Surgeon, R. N. Longwood.

27*th.*—Napoleon much affected by a severe catarrhal affection, caused by the extreme humidity of his rooms. Discontinued some of the remedies he was taking, and reported the state of his health to the governor.

July 15*th.*—Several cases of wine, sent by the Princess Borghese through Lady Holland, arrived last month. A few were sent to Longwood, and

the remainder deposited in the government stores by order of Sir Hudson Lowe. Napoleon expressed on this, as well as on many other occasions, sentiments of great affection towards the Princess Pauline, and declared his conviction that no sacrifice would be too great for her to make for his benefit; adding, that he had no doubt she would endeavour to obtain permission to come out to St. Helena.* He also spoke of the Princess Hortense in very high terms, whom he pronounced to be a lady possessed of very superior talents. Likewise of the Princess Eliza. He expressed in a very handsome manner his sense of the attention and kindness manifested for him in his misfortunes by Lady Holland, at a time when he was abandoned by many, from whose gratitude he had reason to expect some little notice. He observed that the members of the family of the great Fox abounded in liberal and generous sentiments.

20*th*.—Went to town, and tried to procure a copy of the observations on Lord Bathurst's speech, some of which I was informed had arrived on the island. Captain Bunn, of the Mangles, to whom I applied for one, professed his surprise

* The princess subsequently demanded permission to proceed to the place of her brother's exile, as will be seen in the Appendix, No. XVIII.

that such an application should be made from a person belonging to Longwood, for immediately after his arrival, Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir Thomas Reade had taken five copies of the pamphlet from him, assigning as a reason for taking so many, that they wanted to send two or three to Longwood. He added, that those two persons had been very particular in requiring him to render an account of the books that he he had brought out, and had possessed themselves of all the modern publications on political subjects, making a demand for all the copies of the Edinburgh Review he might have brought with him.

25th.—After having paid a professional visit to Napoleon, whose malady was by no means altered for the better, and while entering my room at about half past four o'clock, Captain Blakeney delivered to me the following letter:*

Plantation House, July 25th, 1818.

Sir,—I am directed by Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe to inform you, that by an instruction received from Earl Bathurst, dated the 16th of May, 1818, he has been directed to withdraw you from your attendance upon General Bona-

* A letter of a similar import was sent to Count Montholon by Sir Hudson Lowe, containing instructions from Lord Bathurst, that Mr. Baxter should be directed to attend in my place.

parte, and to *interdict you all further interviews with the inhabitants at Longwood.*

Rear-admiral Plampin has received instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty as to your destination when you quit this island.

You are in consequence to leave Longwood immediately after receiving this letter, without holding any further communication whatsoever with the persons residing there.

I have the honour, &c.

EDWARD WYNYARD,
Lieut-Col. Military Secretary.

Barry O'Meara, Esq. Longwood.

Humanity, the duties of my profession, and the actual state of Napoleon's health, alike forbade a compliance with this unfeeling command, especially as my situation was of a civil nature, similar to other naval officers in the employ of the excise or customs. My resolution was adopted in a moment. I determined to disobey it, whatever might be the consequences; Napoleon's health required that I should prescribe for him a regimen, and prepare the medicines which it would be necessary for him to take in the absence of a surgeon, an absence likely to be of long duration, as I was perfectly sure he would accept of none recommended by Sir Hudson Lowe. I accordingly

went instantly to Napoleon's apartment. Having obtained admission, I communicated to him the order which I had received. "*Le crime se consommera plus vite,*" said Napoleon, "I have lived too long for them. *Votre ministère est bien hardi,*" added he; "when the Pope was in France, sooner would I have cut off my right arm than have signed an order for the removal of his surgeon."

After some more conversation had taken place, and I had given him such medical instructions as I could upon the sudden, Napoleon said, "When you arrive in Europe, you will either go yourself, or send to my brother Joseph. You will inform him, that I desire he shall give to you the parcel containing the private and confidential* letters of

* On my return to Europe, I used every exertion to obtain the important letters in question. Unfortunately, however, for posterity, my efforts have not been attended with success. Before the Count de Surveillers had left Rochefort for America, apprehensive that he might be seized by the allied powers, he judged it prudent to deposit his precious charge in the hands of a person upon whose integrity he thought he could rely; but who it has appeared since, basely betrayed the Count, as some months ago a person brought the original letters to London for sale, for which he demanded 30,000*l.* This was immediately communicated to some of his majesty's ministers, and to the foreign ambassadors, and I have been credibly informed, that the Russian ambassador paid 10,000*l.* to redeem those belonging to his master. Amongst other curious passages, which have been repeated

the Emperors Alexander and Francis, the King of Prussia, and the other sovereigns of Europe with me, which I delivered to his care at Rochefort. You will publish them, to *couvrir de honte* those sovereigns, and manifest to the world the abject homage which those vassals paid to me, when asking favours or supplicating for their thrones. When I was strong and in power, *ils briguèrent ma protection et l'honneur de mon alliance*, and licked the dust from under my feet. Now, in my old age, they basely oppress, and take my wife and child from me. I require of you to do this, and if you see any calumnies published of me during the time that you have been with me, and that you can say, 'I have seen with my own eyes that this is not true;' contradict them."

He soon after dictated to Count Bertrand the letter, an extract of which is given in another part of this work, which he signed, adding a postcript in his own hand-writing, and assuring me, that those few words would say more to the empress for me, than if he had written pages in quarto; he then presented me with a superb snuff-box, and a statue of

to me by those who have been favoured with their perusal, the following occurs in reference to Hanover. His majesty of Prussia stated that *"he always entertained a paternal regard for that country;"* and it appeared that the sovereigns in general, *made earnest supplications for territory.*

himself; desired me, on my arrival in Europe, to make inquiries about his family, and communicate to the members of it, that he did not wish that any of them should come to St. Helena, to witness the miseries and humiliations under which he laboured. "You will express the sentiments which I preserve for them," added he. "You will bear my affections to my good Louise, to my excellent mother, and to Pauline. If you see my son, embrace him for me; may he never forget that he was born a French prince! Testify to Lady Holland the sense I entertain of her kindness, and the esteem which I bear to her. Finally, endeavour to send me authentic intelligence of the manner in which my son is educated." The emperor then shook me by the hand, and embraced me, saying, "*Adieu, O'Meara, nous ne nous reverrons jamais encore. Soyez heureux.*"

For the authenticity of the foregoing conversations and details, I pledge myself. I think it right also to mention, that I am in possession of other conversations, and documents of great importance, delivered by Napoleon himself, which it might be imprudent to make known at present. Their publication will be a matter for future consideration.

APPENDIX.

The island of St. Helena is situated in latitude 15° 55′ S., and longitude 5° 46′ W., in the south-east trade wind. It is about ten miles and a half in length, six and three-quarters in breadth, and twenty-eight in circumference. The highest part of it is Diana's Peak. It is distant from the nearest land (Ascension), about six hundred miles, and twelve hundred from the nearest continent, the Cape of Good Hope. Its appearance is the most desolate and unpromising that can be imagined. Its exterior presents an immense mass of brown rock, formed of different sorts of lava, rising from the ocean in irregular, rugged, and perpendicular precipices, of a burnt and scorified appearance, totally void of vegetation, from three to fifteen hundred feet high, diversified with hideous, deep, and narrow ravines, descending to the sea, and in some places forming landing-places. The island is composed of lava, cooled in different

states of fusion, which, with the total absence of any primitive substance, its conical hills, the *puzzolana*, and other volcanic productions found in it, clearly shew that it has undergone the action of fire, James Town, the only one in the island, is situated in the bottom of a deep wedge-like ravine, flanked on each side by barren and tremendous overhanging precipices, on whose sides and summits, huge loose rocks continually menace the inhabitants with destruction. The one on the left from the sea is called Rupert's Hill, and that on the right, Ladder Hill. There is a steep and narrow road, called the side path, cut along the former, and a good zig-zag road leads along the latter to the country-seat of the governor. The first view of the town is pleasing, especially to those who have been long at sea, and resembles that of a scene at the theatre. Opposite to the town is James's Bay, the principal anchorage, where the largest ships lie perfectly secure, as the wind never varies more than two or three points, and is always off the land, and favourable for sailing. The town consists of a small street along the beach, called the Marino, and the main street, commencing from this, and extending in a right line to a distance of about three hundred yards, where it branches off into two lesser ones. There are about one hundred and sixty-houses, chiefly

built of stone, cemented with mud, lime being scarce on the island. The principal houses, however, are plastered with this article, generally white-washed, and roofed with shingles. The others are covered with boards and earth. There is a church, a botanical garden, an hospital, a tavern, and barracks. On the left from the beach is situated the Castle, the town residence of the governor. There are some breweries, in which beer is brewed of a quality equal to our best table-beer.

The houses are in general neat on the exterior, though deficient in many of the conveniences and comforts of England. They chiefly consist of shops, and boarding or lodging houses. East-India and English goods are to be had, but the latter at an enormous price. Tea is the only commodity to be purchased cheap. We found on our arrival that provisions were very scarce; indeed the necessaries of life were to be procured with great difficulty, and at an exorbitant rate. Such was the scarcity of cattle, that killing a bullock was an affair of state, and a regulation existed prohibiting the inhabitants from slaughtering even their own cattle, without first having obtained official permission from the governor and council.*

* The difficulty of obtaining permission to slaughter cattle induced some of the inhabitants to have recourse to the expedient

The sheep are very small, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds each. Mutton, when to be had, sells from about one shilling and sixpence per pound, to two shillings. Fowls are very dear, from six to ten shillings each. Ducks, ten shillings; geese, fifteen; and a turkey, from one pound five, to two pounds sterling. Veal very difficult to be had, and about two shillings per pound; Pork, one shilling and three pence. Cabbages, from ten pence to half a crown each. Carrots, a shilling per dozen. Potatoes, six to eight shillings per bushel. Eggs per dozen, five to six shillings. Peas sometimes to be had, but exorbitantly dear.

The principal supply of fish is mackerel, which is caught in abundance. There are albicore, boneta, bull's eyes, cavally, and many other kinds, and at times, but very rarely, turtle. There is also a sort of cray-fish called long legs, and some species of crabs.

There are a few wild peacocks, some partridges and pheasants, which constitute the only game on the island. These last are royal game, and are solely reserved for the governor, there being a heavy penalty liable to be levied upon any person killing one, who does not immediately send it to

of precipitating a bullock down the steep sides of the ravines, in order to break some of his bones, and thus have a pretext to kill him.

the governor. No hares are to be found, and but few rabbits. Lodging is excessively dear; five shillings a night being the price for residents, and ten for passengers. Board and lodging is thirty shillings a day for a grown person, fifteen for a child, and ten for a servant; for which there is a middling table, and a modicum of wine. English porter, and all wines, except Cape are dear. The sale of every description of spirits is prohibited. The goats, which were once so numerous, and so destructive to the young trees, are nearly extirpated. The houses are overrun with rats and mice, which abound in numbers scarcely credible to those who have not been at St. Helena; and the ravages they commit are incalculable.

There are also swarms of musquitoes of two kinds, one called the day, and the other the night musquito whose bites are tormenting; numbers of cock-roaches, some scorpions and centipedes, and a sort of fly, extremely annoying to the cattle and horses. Caterpillars and grubs are astonishingly numerous, and the ravages they commit upon the young green plants are almost incredible, whole plantations of vegetables are said to have been sometimes destroyed by the former in a night. Fuel is extremely scarce and dear; coals are obliged to be sent from England. The resources of the island are very few, and I may

with truth venture to assert, that on board of the Northumberland alone, there was a greater number of artificers and mechanics than it contains. Labour is excessively dear, the common wages of a working man being a dollar a day, and those of a mechanic from seven to ten shillings.

James Town is defended by a line of works along the beach, to the left of which (from the sea) is the landing place; and by strong sea-works on Ladder Hill, Rupert's Hill, by Munden's and Banks's batteries. Across the sea-line there is a draw-bridge, and a gate leading into the main street, which is closed at night. The approach to the town is round a conical hill called Sugar Loaf Point, where ships are obliged to send a boat to declare their names, country, &c. before they are permitted to anchor. There are besides this landing place, five or six others, not however easily practicable, excepting to a sailor.

A stream of water runs through and supplies the town and shipping in the bay, which, with water-cresses, a few vegetables, and beer, are the principal refreshments to be had by those passengers, or others, whose pockets are not well supplied.

The population of the island, (exclusive of the military,) is reckoned at about two thousand nine hundred souls, of whom about seven hundred

and eighty are whites, thirteen hundred blacks, and the rest Lascars, Chinese, &c. The whites are either of British descent, or natives of Great Britain. The islanders are, however, very jealous of these last, and look upon them as intruders, who in return have nicknamed the natives, *Yam Stocks*. The English language is spoken with a barbarous pronunciation. The religion of the established church prevails. Their customs are a mixture of English and tropical. Their chief food consists of salt meat, rice, and fish, the first of which they obtain in allotted quantities from the East India Company's stores, at a reduced price; fresh meat is a luxury rarely indulged in, except by the upper classes, and is with difficulty to be had even by them. Their vegetables are generally sold or bartered to the ships and troops. A very few years ago, there was not a plough upon the island. Latterly, however, owing to the exertions of the late governor, Major General Beatson, there are several. The majority of the inhabitants are shopkeepers, and live in the town, resorting to the country for amusement or health. Generally speaking, their minds are but little improved by education, and the few who have been brought up in Europe, on their return soon acquire a sovereign contempt for their relatives and neighbours.

The enormous price of provisions, and other necessaries of life, necessarily prevents much hospitality from being manifested by the inhabitants. With the exception of Mr. Balcombe's family, in general the stranger could only hope to meet attention from the proprietor of the boarding-house where he lives, some of whom are the principal persons on the island, and a few years ago included amongst their number the second member of council. Evening parties are, however, occasionally given, and the young ladies in the island, some of whom are very pretty, and very uneducated, do not require a long courtship, or much persuasion, to induce them to quit the rock where they had their birth.

The interior of the island is composed of alternate ridges of mountains and ravines, the former of which vary in height from six hundred to two thousand six hundred feet. Diana's Peak, the highest in the island, is two thousand six hundred and ninety-seven feet above the level of the sea. The face of the country presents a most striking contrast, being composed of a great variety of mountains and valleys, of barrenness and verdure. Some parts consisting of immense stupendous and sterile rocks, separated by deep and frightful dingy coloured chasms, several hundred feet perpendicular, with huge detached masses of

naked rock sticking up here and there, with an occasional patch of green; others, of verdant pasturages and gardens, ornamented with trees, and houses erected in the valley or on the declivities, which, with a few cattle, some sheep, and occasionally a horse grazing along the steep sides of the hills, give an agreeable relief to the eye, fatigued with the view of the tremendous precipices, and gaping red ravines in the neighbourhood. This contrast induces the beholder to consider the cultivated portion picturesque and romantic. The view from Sandy Bay ridge, and from the summit of Diana's Peak, is sublime. The greatest part of the island, however, is barren, and inexpressibly desolate and repulsive in its appearance, and even a large portion of that which is susceptible of culture is now overrun with the blackberry,* which was introduced a few years ago as a curiosity. The roads are in general bridle-paths, twining round the brows of the hills, or creeping up the steep sides, and over the sharp ridges of the mountains, and sinking into the profundities of the ravines. There were only two carriages on the island, which belonged to the governor, and were dragged along by bullocks.

Amongst the prettiest and most desirable spots on the island may be mentioned, first, Plan-

* Rubus Pinnatus.

tation House, next, Colonel Smith's, Rosemary Hall, Mr. Doveton's at Sandy Bay, the Briars, and Miss Mason's. All of these have the advantage of good gardens, shady walks, verdure, and brooks of water, and comparatively, are pleasant abodes. Plantation House and grounds, in particular, would, in any part of Europe, be esteemed a handsome and romantic residence.

That the reader may not be led to imagine that I am inclined to enhance its beauties, I shall extract the description given of it in the last work published upon St. Helena. "Proceeding about three quarters of a mile is the entrance to Plantation House, the official country establishment for the governor; it is a mansion of considerable elegance, pleasantly situated with extensive gardens and cultivated lands, laid out in good style, and kept in excellent order, adorned with a variety of fine trees and shrubs, collected from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, brought from the most remote parts of the world, and from climates the most opposite, yet all thriving in great luxuriance —all flourishing alike."

It is sheltered by the immense ridges of mountains* forming Diana's Peak, and Halley's Mount,

* In the journeys which I was obliged to take twice a week to Plantation House, I frequently left Longwood amidst fog and drizzling rain, and found fine weather at Plantation estate; and in-

intersecting the island, and trending to the south, from the south-east wind, which, in exposed situations, is so destructive to vegetation.

When it was understood that Longwood had been fixed upon for the abode of Napoleon, it at first excited some surprise in the minds of the islanders, as the situation was so bleak and exposed, that it had never been inhabited by any family for more than a few months in the year; but this surprise soon subsided, as it was supposed that a suitable winter residence would be provided for him when the new governor arrived.

Longwood is a large plain, situated on the summit of a mountain on the *windward* side of the island, nearly two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and containing a number of gum-wood trees, *(conyza gummiffera,)* which being nearly all of the same size and inclination, in consequence of the trade-wind continually blowing from the south-east, present a monotonous and melancholy ap-

deed the change generally began after having passed the mountains above Hut's Gate. This may be accounted for by the clouds having been attracted by the high mountains, called the backbone of the island. Fine weather in the town, and very bad in the mountains at one and the same time, was an every-day occurrence. It is singular that thunder and lightning are unknown in St. Helena. This arises probably from the electric fluid being attracted by Diana's Peak and the other conical hills, and conducted into the sea.

pearance. The leaves of the gum-wood are small, narrow, and chiefly confined to the ends of the branchlets, consequently do not afford that thick foliage necessary to intercept the rays of the sun. There is no water, except what is brought from the distance of nearly three miles. No continuous shade. Exposed to a south-east wind constantly charged with humidity, its elevated situation causes it to be enveloped in fog, or drenched with rain for the greatest part of the year. The soil is a tenacious argillaceous clay, which in wet weather collects and adheres to the shoes of the pedestrian forming so ponderous a mass as materially to impede his progress. For a month or six weeks during the year there is fine weather, for two or three a powerful vertical sun prevails, and for seven or eight, the weather is wet and most disagreeable. Though Longwood is generally covered with fog and wet, the sky occasionally clears up, and the rays of the sun beam forth in transitory splendour. Soon after, the hemisphere becomes again obscured, thick fogs cover the plain, and rain, impetuously forced along by the eternal south-east trade wind, drenches whoever has been induced to hazard a walk by the delusive appearance of sun-shine. These changes of temperature often occur several times in the course of the day, and are one cause of the

unhealthiness of St. Helena. In consequence of the tenacious nature of the clay, the rain penetrates very little into the surface, and runs off to the ravines in the neighbourhood. The violence of the wind is destructive to vegetation, and, together with the ravages of the grub, and the want of water for two or three months, renders abortive almost every attempt towards cultivating the garden. The plant which thrives best at Longwood is the spurge, a most offensive weed.

That some readers may not be led to suppose that I have exaggerated any of the inconveniences of Longwood, I shall take the liberty of making two extracts from the history of St. Helena, written by Mr. Brooke, an inhabitant of the island for about forty years; senior member of council, and now acting governor, possessing a large property in the island, and much more inclined to enhance its merits, than to point out its defects, "But it is only in the most sheltered spots of the island that the oak attains perfection; in exposed situations, the trade wind, blowing continually in the same direction, produces very baneful effects upon this, as upon most other trees not indigenous to the soil,"—page 288. And again, page 255. "Governor Dunbar was unwearied in his exertions to watch over the resources and fertility of the island. Experiments in the cultivation of

oats, barley, and wheat, at *Longwood*, gave rise to such hopes of success, that a *barn* was erected there; but on a failure of subsequent crops, it was converted into a residence for the lieutenant governor. This disappointment is supposed to have arisen either from drought, or some peculiarity of the climate or soil, and not as has sometimes been asserted from the depredations of rats."

A stronger proof that Longwood is the worst and the most unpleasant part of the island,* cannot be afforded, than by the fact of its not having been inhabited before Napoleon came to the island, except by the lieutenant governor as a country residence for three or four months annually, and by the occasional presence of the company's farmers in a small hovel. None of the inhabitants of the island *ever made it a permanent abode*, well knowing its inconveniences. This incontrovertible *fact* "speaks volumes."†

* In the sketch which I have given of the customs of St. Helena, I have omitted to mention one which perhaps may not be considered favourable to morality. Should pregnancy take place in the instance of any unmarried female of a respectable family, the seducer, if in either the civil or military employ of the Hon. the East India Company (who constitute about four-fifths of the inhatants of respectability), is compelled to marry her under pain of losing his situation. I am not able to state whether this be a *custom* or a bye-law of the company.

† I have been informed by Colonel Skelton, since the publica-

Upon the climate of St. Helena, I hope the following remarks, founded upon actual observation and experience will not be deemed superfluous on the present occasion; and to render them more intelligible to the unprofessional reader, I beg leave to offer a few preliminary observations.

To sudden diurnal vicissitudes of temperature, especially when accompanied with rain or humidity, may be ascribed the greatest part of the diseases which affect the human constitution. Rapid transitions from heat to cold render the extreme vessels on the surface of the body torpid, impelling at the same time a quantity of blood upon some of the internal organs. Sudden atmospherical changes injure by the consent of parts between the exterior, and the interior, producing, in some climates, such as that of England, affections of the lungs; in tropical ones, where the bi-

tion of the Fourth Edition, that himself and family had resided at Longwood, with the exception of an interval in town. Colonel Skelton was only a sojourner on the island; and I still repeat that none of the *inhabitants* ever made it a permanent abode. The Colonel does not say that he made it his country residence from choice: in fact, like Napoleon he had no option; and I am quite certain that he will himself admit, that he never would have selected it for pleasure. However, he has omitted altogether to say how long he resided there; and I will venture to say, that even for a sojourner, Colonel Skelton's is a *solitary* instance.

liary system is so liable to derangement, affections of the liver. The great sympathy existing between the skin, liver, and intestines, has never been more strongly exemplified than by the number of violent and fatal affections of the two latter organs, which have occurred, and are daily occurring, in St. Helena, where the atmospherical vicissitudes are so frequent and so rapid, and where such humidity prevails.

The interior of St. Helena, as has been already mentioned, is chiefly formed of successions of high, steep, and unequal ridges of hills, the most elevated of which are two thousand six hundred feet above the level of the ocean, divided by deep, narrow and long ravines, some of which at the bottom are not more than a few feet above the level of the sea. Whoever therefore would ride a few miles, must calculate on passing through different climates every half hour; one moment becalmed in the bottom of the ravines, he experiences the heat of the tropics, in a latitude of 15° 55′ south; a moment afterwards, passing the aperture of some chasm, perspiring from every pore, the temporary lull is succeeded by a sudden and bleak blast from the mountains, the effects of which, combined with the humidity accompanying it, are to produce a rapid evaporation and abstraction of animal heat from the surface of the body, driving thereby the

blood to the interior. Emerging from the valley, covered with perspiration, a similar cutting blast, producing the same effects, strikes you on reaching the summit of the mountains.

Reckoning one degree of reduced temperature for every two hundred feet of elevation, there will be found a difference of ten degrees of temperature between Longwood, which is about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the town; to which may be added two or three degrees more, arising from the sharp south-east wind, loaded with humidity, generally prevailing in the high regions, producing a difference of evaporation between the mountains and the valleys, which, combined with the increase of elevation, reduces the temperature of Longwood twelve or thirteen degrees. Add to the foregoing, the frequent vicissitudes of temperature; at one moment assailed by a shower of rain and enveloped in fog, to the force of which the wind communicates such an impetus, as to cause it to penetrate the best great coat in a few minutes: shortly afterwards, the sky brightening, the weather clearing up, and the scorching rays of a tropical sun beaming forth. This continues for a short time, and is suddenly followed by a repetition of fog, rain, and mist.* This alternate

* "Hence it appears, that St. Helena, during these last three years, had its full share of rain, and in much greater quantity than

drenching and scorching is, of itself, sufficient (as every medical man will allow) to produce the most violent inflammatory affections of the viscera, particularly in those of the abdomen.

It would thus appear that St. Helena, in addition to the general cause of insalubrity to Europeans, which are inseparable from a tropical climate, has also local and peculiar causes for being particularly unhealthy, as the great mortality, to be hereafter described, amply proves. The most trifling cold or irregularity is frequently succeeded by a violent attack of dysentery, inflammation of the bowels or fever proving fatal in a few days, if the most active and efficacious practice is not instantly adopted. A surfeit in a child, which in Europe would require nothing more than a little warm water to produce evacuation, there becomes a formidable disease, requiring the most powerful remedies; and if neglected only for a few hours, terminates fatally. To Europeans the climate is peculiar unfriendly; and indeed, it is unfavourable to longevity in all subjects, even to the natives; as, on examination of the parish registers, it will be seen, that very few persons pass their

usually falls in London, which by an average of eleven years, is no more than 21,25 inches, whereas the average of four years at St. Helena was 33,38 inches."—*Major General Beatson's introductory Chapter, relative to the Island of St. Helena*, page xxxvi.

forty-fifth year.* The most prevalent complaints are, dysenteries, inflammations of the bowels, liver affections, and fevers, all of them generally of a violent form. Dysenteries especially, and liver affections, (which are indeed frequently combined,) appear with the most concentrated and fatal symptoms, baffling the prompt exhibition of the most active and powerful remedies, and in spite of the acknowledged skill and experience of several able practitioners, these terminate fatally, in a proportion rarely witnessed in any British colony. During the first twelve or thirteen months after its arrival at St. Helena, the second battalion of the 66th regiment lost, by these diseases, FIFTY-SIX men, out of a strength of six hundred and thirty, being one in eleven; and still more recently, the Conqueror, which ship arrived in July, 1817, has lost, in eighteen months almost entirely by the same complaints, ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MEN, out of a complement of six hundred, besides ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN INVALIDED, and sent to England, being more than a third of her complement.

* "The only endemic disorders, to which the natives are subject, are of the catarrhal kind; these, as they belong to the inflammatory class, may in some measure account, nowithstanding their general robust health, for the *few instances among the islanders of longevity*, according to the information of a professional friend, who has assisted this account with his opinion and judgment."—*Vide Brookes's History of St. Helena, page* 34.

The number of deaths in the two battalions of the 66th regiment, I cannot positively state, but believe it to have exceeded one hundred and twenty men. A reference to the official returns will, however, sufficiently elucidate this point. In the West Indies, the proportion of deaths to the strength was, in the year 1814, as one to twenty-five; and of deaths to diseases, as one to thirty-six, and two thirds. Yet how trifling does the mortality there appear, when compared with that of St. Helena. At the latter place it was so great, that the governor and admiral, apprehensive of the effects which might be produced by a longer residence in the island, and, doubtless, desirous of alleviating their miseries as far as they could, sent upwards of seventy of the sick in one month to England and the Cape. Above half of those sent to the last named place, (who were the worst cases,) have been long ere now laid in their quiet graves."

The Conqueror was also ordered to cruise to windward of the island for six weeks, without, however, much benefit having accrued from the measure. It is worthy of observation, that the Racoon's ship's company had suffered severely from dysentery and hepatitis, while stationed at St. Helena; but when sent to the Cape, they recovered, and became very healthy; which state of health continued as long as the vessel remained *there*;

but, on her return to St. Helena, *dysentery* and *hepatitis* again appeared, and a heavy sick list followed.*

The loss of life among the crews of the following small ships, whilst they were on the St. Helena station, is also very great, viz. *twenty-four in the Mosquito*, complement one hundred men; sixteen in the Racoon, one hundred men; eleven in the Leveret, seventy-five men; fifteen in the Griffon, eighty-five men; besides numbers invalided, and sent to England on account of the same complaints. It is well known to naval officers, that, unless in *very sickly stations*, small vessels are generally very healthy, frequently not losing a man in a year. I was myself surgeon

* Another strong instance of the insalubrity of the climate is to be found in the instance of the female convict-ship Friendship, which vessel arrived at St. Helena from England in the month of November, 1817. She had not remained more than eight or ten days to water, before dysentery made its appearance; and in the course of a few weeks, above one hundred cases occurred. Previous to her arrival at St. Helena, no one instance of the complaint had occurred.

From the 20th Nov. 1815, to the 20th of the same month, 1816, there were admitted into the regimental-hospital four hundred and thirty-eight patients, one hundred and seventy-nine of whom were afflicted with bowel complaints. The regiment was between five and six hundred strong.

of a sloop of war in the West Indies, in which ship not a single death occurred during twelve months, though exposed for a considerable portion of that time, to the influence of the noxious climate of Surinam.

The undeserved reputation for salubrity which St. Helena has hitherto enjoyed, has probably arisen from its being so little known, except to seamen and others, who, arriving after long voyages, were enchanted, like Dampier's sailors, to find themselves on shore any where; and who, during the few days they remained, found themselves relieved from scorbutic complaints by the use of the water-cresses with which it abounds, and from its population being small, and chiefly composed of natives, who, of course, do not suffer so much as strangers from the effects of the climate in which they were born. Until the arrival of the state prisoner, very few Europeans resided for a continuance upon the island; and I can assert, from personal observation, that the greatest number of those now there, even of the officers, have suffered attacks more or less severe, either of dysentery or hepatitis, in which number, I regret to say, I was myself included; and that the opinion of the medical officers, who had the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion, from actual experience on the island, is, *that the climate is ex-*

tremely unhealthy; and especially, that hepatitis and dysentery prevail to an extent, and with a severity seldom to be paralleled. In order to convince the public, that I am neither singular in my opinions, nor inclined to exaggerate, I beg leave to refer the reader to a medical inaugural Dissertation* upon Dysentery and Hepatitis in St. Helena, composed by the candidate for the degree

* "Est nullus morbus perniciosior dysenteriâ exercitibus in omnibus partibus orbis terrarum degentibus; sed in tropicis regionibus grassatur vi maximâ inter milites et alios ex Europa: et videtur intimus nexus inter hanc et hepatitidem existere, nam sæpe conjunguntur, et raro accidit unum sine altero." *Dissertatio Medica*, p. 15.

In an official letter from Dr. Baildon, dated Nov. 24, 1808, he expresses himself as follows: "It will hardly be credited, that soldiers and others are frequently brought to the hospital as far advanced in real scurvy as if they had just landed after a long voyage, and many who are brought for other complaints are considerably tainted with this disease." "On my arrival, I was much surprised with the great number of patients attacked with liver complaints."

Both of those diseases Dr. Baildon attributes to the "excessive use of *spirituous liquors*." Now, as in 1810, the government of St. Helena adopted measures to prevent any spirits from being landed, which had completely the desired effect, and as all houses for retailing spirits were abolished on the 15th of May, 1809, and wholesome beer substituted in lieu; it is clear that the prevalence of liver complaints in St. Helena since that period, must be ascribed to other causes than to the "excessive use of spirituous liquors."

of doctor in medicine in Trinity College, Dublin. The essay in question was written by Dr. Leigh, formerly surgeon to the second battalion of the 66th regiment, stationed at St. Helena.

No. I.

Letter from the Author to Admiral Lord Keith.

His Majesty's ship Bellerophon,
Torbay, 7th August, 1815.

My Lord,—Application having been made to me yesterday by Count Bertrand, to accompany General Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena, in quality of surgeon (as the surgeon, who embarked with him in France, is unwilling to proceed further); I beg to inform your lordship, that I am willing to accept that situation (provided it meets with your lordship's approbation), and also on the following conditions, viz. that it should be permitted me to resign the above situation, should I find it not consonant to my wishes, on giving due notice of my intention thereof. That such time as I shall serve in that situation, shall be allowed to count as so much time served on full pay in his majesty's navy, or that I shall be indemnified in

some way for such loss of time as surgeon on full pay, as it may occasion to me. That I am not to be considered in any wise depending upon, or to be subservient to, or *paid* by the aforesaid Napoleon Bonaparte; but as a *British officer* employed by the British government; and lastly, that I may be informed, as soon as circumstances will admit, of what salary I am to have, and in what manner and from whom I am to receive it.

I have the honour to remain,
My Lord,
With the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most
Obedient humble Servant.

BARRY E. O'MEARA.
Surgeon, H. M. S. Bellerophon.

To the Right Honourable Viscount Keith,
Admiral of the Red, G. C. B.
Commander-in-Chief.

No. II.

Downing Street, 1° Janvier, 1816.

Je dois à present vous faire connaître, que la

plaisir de S. A. R. le Prince Regent, est, qu'à votre arrivée à Ste. Hélène, vous communiqueriez à toutes les personnes de la suite de Napoléon Bonaparte, y compris les serviteurs domestiques, qu'ils sont libres de quitter l'isle immediatement pour réto rner en Europe; ajoutant, qu'il ne sera permis à aucun de rester à Ste. Hélène, excepté ceux qui déclareront par un écrit que sera déposé dans vos mains, que c'est leur désir de rester dans l'isle et de participer aux restrictions qu'il est nécessaire d'imposer sur Napoléon Bonaparte personnellement.

(Signé) BATHURST.

Ceux qui parmi eux se détermineront à retourner en Europe, devront être envoyé par le premier occasion favorable au Cap de Bonne Espérance, le gouverneur de cette colonie sera chargé de pourvoir aux personnes des moyens de transport en Europe.

(Signé) BATHURST.

No. III.

Letter from the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, to Count Montholon.

Plantation House, August, 17th, 1816.

Sir,—In pursuance of the conversations I have already had with you on the subject of the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, I do myself the honour to acquaint you, that having used all efforts to effect a reduction in them without diminishing in any very sensible manner from the convenience or comforts of General Bonaparte, or any of the families or individuals that form his suite, *(in which operation I am happy to acknowledge the spirit of concert with which you have assisted,)* I am now enabled to transmit to you, for General Bonaparte's information, two statements, furnishing sufficiently precise data whereon to found a calculation of the probable annual expense, should matters continue on the same footing as at present established.

The statement No. I. has been furnished me by Mr. Ibbetson, head of the commissariat department in this island; the latter has been framed by my military secretary.

The instructions I have received from the Brit-

ish government, direct me to limit the expenditure of General Bonaparte's establishment to 8,000*l.* per annum, *they give me liberty at the same time to admit of any further expense being incurred,* which he may require *as to table and so forth,* beyond what this sum would cover, *provided he furnishes the funds whereby the surplus charges may be defrayed.*

I am now therefore under the necessity of requesting you would make known to him the impossibility I am under of bringing the expenses of his household on its present establishment in point of numbers, within the limits prescribed, unless I make such a reduction under several heads as might naturally abridge from the conveniences which the persons around him now enjoy; and having been already *very frankly informed by him as well as by yourself,* that he has at his disposal in various parts of Europe, means whereby the extra or even the whole expense may be defrayed* I beg leave to request being informed, previous to attempting any further considerable

* *Explanatory Note.*—This part of Sir Hudson Lowe's letter was answered by the postcript of the letter of the 23rd August, and he had been told, that if there were a free correspondence, and if the wants here experienced were known in Europe, there was no doubt that millions would be offered from the different countries of Europe.

reduction, and which might prove inconvenient to him or the persons of his suite, if he is content such an attempt should be made, or *if he is willing to place at my command* sufficient funds to meet the extra charges which must otherwise be unavoidably incurred.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) H. Lowe, Lieut. General.

STATEMENT,

SHEWING THE PROBABLE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF GENERAL BONAPARTE AND SUITE ON THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

			£	s.	d.	Total Amount per Ann. £	s.	d.
Supplied.	By Commissariat Department.	Forage for 18 horses daily	720	4	7	794	2	3
		Transport forage for one mule conveying the same	46	10	2			
		Pay of soldier in charge of the mule	27	7	6			
Expense.	Of English servants attached to General Bonaparte's establishment					675	0	0
Ditto.	Of public transport conveying the supplies furnished by the Purveyor to Longwood	Forage for 8 mules daily	372	1	4	577	7	7
		Pay of 2 muleteers in charge of the same	109	10	0			
		Rations of ditto	68	8	9			
		Pay of 2 soldiers ditto ditto	27	7	6			
Ditto.	Of public mechanics employed at Longwood House, whose services are likely to be wanted for a considerable time.	2 overseers, 6 carpenters, 4 sawyers, 9 masons, 3 plasterers, and 1 painterers				939	17	6
Supplied.	By Mr. Defountain in charge of the stores belonging to the East India Company	Table stores and other necessaries for the house				2020	5	3
Ditto.	From Government stores sent from England.	Wines: Claret, Grave, Champagne, Madeira				2445	10	0
	Do. by Mr. Balcombe, purveyor	House and table expenses				11700	0	0

Proposed.	Allowance to be granted to Mr. Balcombe, purveyor, at 5 per cent. on the account of the supplies, &c. furnished by hire, on the sum as above mentioned.	To be added	
Proposed.	Salary to Surgeon O'Meara, attached to General Bonaparte and suite not yet defined.	To be added	
			19152 2 7

(Signed) D. IBBETSON,
A. Com. General.

Nota Bene.—In the sum of £11,700 is comprised a fixed expense of £672 for the table of the English Officers on guard at Longwood. The statement, No. 2, is in every respect similar to this, with the single difference, that it enters less into detail, and is made in round numbers to £19,450, including the emoluments attached as a memorandum to the present Statement.

No. IV.

Supplies allowed by Government, to the establishment at Longwood, consisting of forty-five persons, from October, 1816, to June, 1817.

DAILY.

Meat, Beef and Mutton included, (lbs.)	82
Fowls (No.)	6
Bread (lbs.)	66
Butter (lbs.)	5
Lard (lbs.)	2
Salad Oil (pints)	$3\frac{1}{4}$
Sugarcandy (lbs.)	4
Coffee (lbs.)	2
Tea, Green (lbs.)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Tea, Black (lbs.)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Candles, Wax (lbs.)	8
Eggs (No.)	30
Common Sugar (lbs.)	5
Cheese (lbs.)	1
Vinegar (quarts)	1
Flour (lbs.)	5
Salt Meat (lbs.)	6
Fire Wood (cwt.)	3
Porter, or Ale (bottles)	3

Vegetables (in value)	1*l.*
Fruit (in value)	10*s.*
Confectionary (in value)	8*s.*

PER FORTNIGHT.

Ducks (No.)	8
Turkeys (No.)	2
Geese (No.)	2
Loaf sugar (loaves)	2
Fine Rice (bag)	½
Hams (not to exceed 14lbs. each)	2
Coals (bushels)	45
Fish (in value)	80*s.*
Milk (in value)	98*s.*
Fresh Butter, Salt, Mustard, Pepper, Capers, Lamp Oil, Peas, (not to exceed in value)	7*l.*

WINE DAILY.

Champagne, or Vin de Grave (bottles)	1
Madeira (bottles)	1
Constantia (bottles)	1
Claret* (bottles)	6

N. B. After the departure of the Count de Las

* Cape and Teneriffe wine for the servants, at the rate of a bottle a day, was also given by government, not included in the Schedule; being one pint more than the quantity daily allowed to the soldiers and sailors stationed at St. Helena.

Cases and Piontkowski, the meat was reduced to 72lbs. daily, and the number of fowls to *five*.

DAILY EXTRA EXPENDITURE, PAID BY THE FRENCH.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
One dozen of Eggs	0	5	0
Eight pounds of Butter, at 3*s.* per pound	1	4	0
Two pounds of Wax Candles, at 3*s.* 6*d.*	0	7	0
Three Fowls, at 6*s.* each	0	18	0
Four pounds Sugarcandy	0	8	0
Two pounds of Loaf Sugar	0	6	0
One pound of Cheese	0	3	0
Vegetables	0	10	0
Two pounds of Salt Pork	0	2	6
One pound of Lard	0	1	0
One bottle of Oil	0	8	0
One pound of Rice, and one of Flour	0	1	0
Five pounds of common Sugar	0	1	6
One bottle of Vinegar	0	1	0
Paper for Kitchen and Packthread	0	1	0
Four loaves of Bread at 1*s.* 6*d.* each	0	6	0
	£5	3	0

WEEKLY EXTRA, DITTO.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Two Turkeys	3	0	0
One Ham	3	0	0

One Roasting Pig	0	11	0
One bottle of Pickles	0	12	0
Three bottles of Olives	1	4	0
	£8	7	0

The above expenditure does not contain the quantity of meat bought by the French, amounting to from three to five sheep weekly, and two calves monthly.

No. V.

Restrictions made by Sir Hudson Lowe, and communicated at Longwood, on the 9th of October, 1816 *; but which he had already put in execution by different orders, ever since the month of August preceding, and which he never communicated to the English officers of the service, ashamed, no doubt, of their contents.*

Heads of some proposed Alterations in the Regulations hitherto established for the persons under charge at Longwood.

I. Longwood, with the road along the ridge, by Hut's Gate, to the signal-gun near the alarm-house, will be established as the limits.

II. Sentries will designate the external boundary, as well as that beyond which no person can approach Longwood House and garden, without the governor's permission.

III. The road to the left of Hut's Gate, and returning by Woody-ridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte, since the governor's arrival, the posts which observed it will for the greater part be withdrawn. Should he however wish at any time to ride in that direction, by giving the orderly officer timely notice of it, he will meet with no impediment.

IV. If he is desirous to extend his ride in any other direction, an officer of the governor's personal staff will always (on being informed in sufficient time,) be prepared to attend him; and, should time not admit, the orderly officer at Longwood.

The officer who attends him, will be instructed not to approach towards him, unless so requested, nor to interfere in any respect with him during his ride, except so far as duty may require, on observing any departure from the established rules, when he will ride up and respectfully inform him of it.

V. The regulations already in force, for preventing communication with any persons without the governor's permission, will be required to be

strictly adhered to: it is *requested!* therefore, *General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet,* (except so far as the *ordinary salutations of politeness,* with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require,) *unless in the presence* of a British officer.

VI. Persons, who, with General Bonaparte's acquiescence may at any time receive passes from the governor to visit him, *cannot use such passes* to communicate with the *other persons* of his family, unless it is so *specifically expressed* in them.

VII. At sun-set, the garden inclosure round Longwood House, will be regarded as the limits. Sentries will be placed round it at that hour, but will be posted in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte with their personal observation of him, should he continue his walks in the garden after that time. They will be drawn round the house, as heretofore during the night, and the limits will remain closed until the sentries are withdrawn entirely from the house and garden in the morning.

VIII. All letters for Longwood will be put up by the governor under a sealed envelope, and the packet sent to the orderly officer, to be delivered sealed to any officer in attendance upon General

Bonaparte, who will thus be assured the contents will have been made known to no other person than the governor.

In the same manner, all letters from persons at Longwood must be delivered to the orderly officer, put up under an outer envelope sealed, to the address of the governor, which will insure that no other person than himself will be acquainted with their contents.

IX. No letters are to be received or sent, *nor written communications of any kind pass or be made known,* except in the above manner: nor can any correspondence be permitted *within the island,* except such communications as may be indispensable to make to the purveyor; the notes containing which must be delivered open, to the orderly officer, who will be charged to forward them.*

The above alterations will take place from the 10th instant.

(Signed) H. Lowe,

St. Helena,
9th Oct, 1816.

* Nothing can surpass the *elegance* of this composition, excepting its *grammatical correctness!* or, indeed, the *humanity* of the regulations themselves!

No. VI.

Translation of the Proposal made by the Emperor, to assume the incognito.

It occurs to me, that in the conversation which has taken place between General Lowe and several of those gentlemen, things have been stated relative to my position, which are not conformable to my ideas.

I abdicated into the hands of the representatives of the nation, and for the profit of my son. I went with confidence to England, with intentions to live there, or in America, in the most profound retreat; and under the name of a colonel, killed at my side, resolved to remain a stranger to every political occurrence, of whatever nature it might be.

Arrived on board of the Northumberland, I was informed that I was a prisoner of war; that I was to be transported beyond the line; and that I was named General Bonaparte. In opposition to that of General Bonaparte, which it was wished to impose upon me, I was obliged to bear, ostensibly, my title of emperor.

Seven or eight months ago Count Montholon proposed to remedy those little difficulties, which were produced every moment, by adopting an or-

dinary name. The admiral thought it to be his duty to write on the subject to London; there the matter at present rests.

A name is now given to me, which has the advantage of not prejudging the past, but which is not in the forms of society. I am always disposed to take a name which enters into ordinary usage, and I reiterate that when it shall be judged proper to discontinue this cruel abode, I am willing to remain a stranger to politics, whatever event may occur in the world. This is my opinion; whatever else may have been said on this subject is incorrect.

No. VII.

Translation of the Remarks made by Napoleon on the slip of paper, containing the Governor's reply.

1. The conduct which has been pursued here for six months, cannot be justified by some detached phrases of a correspondence with the minister. A long and voluminous ministerial correspondence, is an arsenal provided with arms of every description.

2. The last regulations would be considered as

injurious and oppressive at Botany Bay; whatever may be said upon it, they must be contrary to the will of the English government, which approved the regulations which were in force until the month of August last.

3. All the observations which Counts Bertrand and Montholon have made, have been useless. A free discussion has been interdicted by menaces.

No. VIII.

Letter from Count Bertrand to Sir Hudson Lowe, relative to the presents sent by Mr. Elphinstone.

Longwood, 9th of July, 18—.

Governor, — I have received the five cases which you took the trouble of sending to me, containing a chess-board and men, a box of counters, and two work-baskets in ivory, sent from Canton by Mr. Elphinstone. The emperor was surprised to perceive by your letter, that you think your duty required that those objects should not be sent. "*If I acted,*" you say, "*in entire conformity to the established regulations, I ought to have delayed sending them up.*" In this case, M. Governor, it would have been pleasing to us had you retained them.

But to what does this refer? Is it because those articles have not passed through the channel of the ministers? In the restrictions of the minister, it is said, that *letters* must come through his channel, but not articles of clothing, busts, furniture, &c. We have constantly received from the cape of Good Hope, many articles which have been sent to us. Besides, Lord Bathurst, in his speech, and you, yourself, in one of your letters, have denied, with indignation, that letters sent by the post, or by other opportunities, have been sent to London to be returned to this place. This cannot, nor has not authorized you to retain such objects as busts, furniture, books, or any other goods, which have no connexion with the security of detention.

Can it be because there is a crown upon the counters? No regulation can exist without being made known to us. Now, it never has been signified to us, that we cannot possess objects upon which there is a crown. It would be necessary, in that case, to make a new pack of cards for us, because on those which we possess, there is a crown. The linen, and the *small quantity* of plate, which remains to us, are often sent to town, and are marked with a crown.

But from whom has this regulation, of which you speak, emanated? From your government,

which alone, according to the bill, has the right to make any? Your minister declared before parliament, that no restrictions whatever had been made since those which had been printed and communicated to Europe, and which your predecessor possessed, and which had been sent to you. He added, that you have not made any restrictions, but solely adopted measures of execution. Effectively you have not the right to make any.

The emperor does not desire favours from anybody, and wishes nothing from the caprice of any person whatever; but he has the right to be informed of the restrictions which are imposed upon him. Your government, the parliament, and all nations, have the same right. I therefore beg of you, sir, to communicate to us those new restrictions, and if such exist, they would be in contradiction to the assertion of Lord Bathurst, that they should have no other object than the security of detention. The emperor charges me to protest against the existence of any restrictions or regulations which shall not be legally notified to him, prior to being put in execution.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

No. IX.

Letter from Count Bertrand to the Gunner.

Longwood, 16th July, 1817.

I HAVE received, sir, the marble bust of young Napoleon. I have given it to his father. It has imparted to him the most sensible pleasure. I regret that you have not been able to come and see us and give us some details, which are always interesting to a father in the actual situation of affairs. It results from the letters which you have sent, that the artist esteems the value of his work to be one hundred guineas. The emperor has ordered me to send you a draft for *three hundred pounds sterling*.* The surplus is to indemnify you for the losses which he knows you have sustained in the sale of your little venture, as you were not permitted to land; and the chicaneries you have experienced by that event, which was in itself very simple, and would have procured you marks of esteem from every man of feeling.

Be so good as to communicate the emperor's thanks to the persons who have paid him this amiable attention.

* By means of some unworthy tricks, the poor man did not receive the money for nearly two years.

I beg that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

To M. Radowich, Master Gunner on board of the ship Baring.

No. X.

The Governor's Reply to Count Bertrand's Letter relative to the Presents.

Castle, James Town, July 25th, 1817.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 10th instant. The frequent use in it of the imperial title, and the tone in which you convey your sentiments to me when you employ it, would perfectly warrant me in declining to acknowledge it, as being addressed to me in an inadmissible form, and in referring you to mine of the 30th August, 1816, to Count Montholon. I shall not, however, avail myself of these arguments for not replying to its contents.

The only object I had in view in addressing you on the 8th instant, was to avoid its being conceived I tacitly participated in, or approved the acknowledgment given to the imperial rank, in

the crown placed every where over the initial of Napoleon on presents sent by a British subject particularly, and coming from a British factory.

Had I suffered them to proceed without any remark, the inference would have been obvious I saw no impropriety in it; and I am too well aware how far this precedent might have been alleged, and what complaints would have sprung up on any future deviation from it, had I not explicitly made known the grounds upon which in this instance I had suffered them to reach you.

The donor's sentiments are his own, but I have a free right to the exercise also of my opinion, in not making myself the medium of them; and in suffering the presents to proceed with no other qualification than what my note expressed, I went to the extreme boundary of what any attention to General Bonaparte's desires or expectations could demand of me.

You ask me, sir, *est-ce parceque ces objets ne sont pas arrivés par le canal du ministre ?*" &c.

I should have considered myself fully warranted in keeping them back upon the general principle of my instructions, without reference to the decoration upon them, until there was an express authority obtained from my government for their delivery, unless I assumed upon my own discretion to examine them and satisfy myself they co-

vered no means of communication or assistance by which a clandestine intercourse was attempted.

That the latter was the principle upon which I was always ready to act, instead of waiting the delay of returns from England, was sufficiently apparent by my sending you the letter before the articles were even landed.

You observe, sir, I rejected with indignation the accusation, that letters brought by the post on private occasions should have been sent back to London to return to this country. I rejected, sir, with indignation, this accusation, and the reflections built upon it, because there was no foundation of truth or justice in them: because I revolted at that feeling which extracted injury and reproach from acts of attention, (for in sending their family letters I had exercised a discretion in favour of the persons who addressed me not warranted by my instructions,) but I did not admit that I had not the right, and was not fully justified in sending letters back to England, if I thought proper so to do, when they came by irregular channels. presents may be as obnoxious to the security of detention as a letter, and *might require to be examined with a minuteness that would baffle any purpose of ornament or utility to be derived from them. A letter may be concealed under the squares of a chessboard, or the folds of a book cover*, as

well as in the lining of a waistcoat; and I am not necessarily called upon to place my trust in any person by whom they are sent. If articles have been permitted to reach you, it has been because I have felt satisfied they were not of an objectionable nature; and you certainly have no reason to complain, sir, of the mode I have used my discretion in permitting generally every article that has arrived to be delivered, and in suffering many to proceed that had come addressed to myself, the transmission of which from the delicacy of the persons who sent them, had been left entirely to my option.

You, observe, sir, "*seroit-ce parceque sur les jettons il y a une couronne*," &c. &c. &c.; and ask if any regulation exists, which prevents your possessing an article with a crown upon it.

There is certainly, sir, no specific written regulation prohibiting any article with a *crown* on it reaching Longwood, nor to prevent your possessing an object with such a decoration upon it; but it was in this case the imperial crown over the initial of Napoleon, carved, gilt, or engraved, on almost every article. His own abdication—the convention of Paris—and the acts of the British parliament, supersede the necessity of any regulation upon that head.

The articles now at Longwood, with the impe-

rial crown on them, were thus marked before the abdication. I have never disputed their possession, nor any gratification they might afford.

The quotation from the debates in Parliament, I must beg leave to observe, is inexact, as taken from any newspaper I have seen. The papers themselves differ; for one speaks of regulations, another of instructions, not restrictions, being the same (without any substantive alteration,) as those at first prescribed.

You say, sir, "*Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en faire.*"

The act of parliament, the warrant and instructions I possess, are, sir, my surest guides on this point; whilst I may at the same time, however, be allowed to observe, that the original instructions you wish to refer to as my only rule, have received a more ample interpretation than what their strict letter would imply in the degree of freedom from personal restriction General Bonaparte at present enjoys.

You add, "*L'Empereur ne veut de grace,*" &c. &c.

I have not the pretension to bestow a favour on General Bonaparte, and still less the arrogance of subjecting him to any act of my caprice. He is under no restriction which my government does not know, and which all the world may not know.

It is not irrelevant on this occasion to observe, that at two interviews with General Bonaparte, he personally observed to me that I was a general-officer to act upon instructions, and not execute my duty as a "*consigne :*" at present it is as a *consigne*, it appears I am required to perform it. On another occasion he objected to "*aucune inspection directe ou publique.*" How do these suggestions accord with the narrow limit to which it is at present sought to restrict the exercise of my duties? The views you have now presented coincide most with my own, (seeing that every exercise of my discretion, even in points where I seek to act most favourably, only entails fresh discussion,) but where such opposing sentiments are conveyed to me, you must, sir, admit the difficulty of reconciling them.

You say, sir, "*L'Empereur me charge de protester contre l'existence de toute restriction,*" &c. &c. &c.

Any communication made to me in the proper name of the person whom you thus designate, it is my bounden duty to consider, wherever circumstances will permit it. The notification of a regulation arising from a sudden case cannot, however, be made previous to the occurrence which calls it forth. The matter of which you now speak was not of a nature to require previous

communication, but it was here, at all events, not carried into execution before communicated.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
(Signed) H. Lowe, Lieut.-General.*

Count Bertrand.

No. XI.

Letter from Count Bertrand to the Governor, containing the Grievances of Longwood.

Longwood, 30th September, 1817.

Governor,—I have made known to the emperor, that you did me the honour to come to me the day before yesterday, (Sunday,) that you told me some anxieties had been excited in you respecting his ill health, and that as this was attributed to want of exercise, why did he not ride out on horseback?

I replied to you, what had been said in various circumstances, and I have the honour to repeat to you now, that the existence of the emperor, particularly for the last six weeks, has been extremely

* For the *deep obscurity* and *rambling construction* of some passages in this state-paper, it is hoped the reader will hold only its author responsible.

painful; that the swelling of his legs increases every day; that the symptoms of scurvy which had been remarked in his gums, are already such as to occasion him almost constantly acute pains; that the medical men attribute this to want of exercise; that ever since the month of May, 1816, that is to say, for seventeen or eighteen months, the emperor has not been on horseback, has scarcely ever been out of his apartment, except sometimes, and very rarely, when he came about forty toises, to visit my wife; that you know perfectly well what has prevented, and does prevent the emperor from going out; namely, the restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, which began to be put into execution six weeks after your arrival; that those restrictions contain among others, a *prohibition from speaking or listening to any person we may meet, and from going into any house;* this makes him think that your intention was to compromise him with the sentries, and to outrage his character.

You have observed to me, *that you have suppressed that part* of the restrictions, and such is the case. Admiral Malcolm, on his return from the Cape, made some observations to you on the subject, and you decided on suspending them, which you did by your letter of the 26th December, 1816, *three months afterwards.* But you have several times insinuated, *that you believe*

yourself authorized to re-establish them at any moment, as well as *others equally unreasonable*. The restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, contain other articles of the same extravagant nature, which are not suspended. Fresh restrictions which you made on the 14th of March, 1817, prescribe *that we are not to quit the extent of a road twelve feet wide*. It would thence result, that if the emperor were to quit that road, or enter into any house, *the sentries might fire upon him*. The emperor ought not to recognize such ignoble treatment. Several Englishmen of distinction, at present in the island, on that passage being read to them, (not being acquainted with the restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, and of the 14th March, 1817,) reproached the emperor for sacrificing his health by not going out; but as soon as those restrictions were made known to them, their opinions changed, and they declared that no man of honour could act differently; and that, without pretending to compare themselves with him, they would in such a case have done as he did.

I added, that if you wished to consult the officers who are in this colony, there is not one among them who does not regard the restrictions of the 9th October, 1816, and those of the 14th March, 1817, as unjust, useless, and oppressive; and that all in the emperor's place would act as

he did, holding such conditional leave to go out as an absolute prohibition.

I had also the honour to tell you, that according to the terms of the bill in parliament of the 11th of April, 1816, you have not a right to make restrictions: that the bill grants that right only to the government, which cannot delegate it even to one of its ministers, and still less to an individual officer; that Lord Bathurst in his speech, in the month of March, in the House of Peers, declared that you had made no new restriction, that all his correspondence had been in favour of the detained persons, and that you had the same instructions as your predecessor; that your predecessor had adapted the restrictions of government to local circumstances, in a manner, if not convenient, at least tolerable; that things remained in this state for nine months, during which time the emperor used to go out, received even some English officers at his table, and sometimes had in his society the officers and inhabitants of the island; that this order of things *was not changed by an act of your government;* that during those nine months, no inconvenience took place, and that nothing can have authorized you to substitute for an order of things so reasonable, that which you have established; that the emperor would go out, ride on horseback, and resume the same way of life, if you would re-

store things to the state they were in at the time of your arrival; that in default of this, you would be responsible for the results of the restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, and the 14th of March, 1817, which *you have no right to make*, and which, to the emperor, *are equivalent to an absolute prohibition to quit his apartments.*

You told me, sir, that the emperor's room was too small, that Longwood House was altogether bad, as you had declared it to be to your government; that the emperor having had a tent erected last year, because there was no alley where he could walk in the shade, you proposed to establish a soldier's wooden barrack near the house, where the emperor might take his walks; I undertook to make known to him your proposition. He *considered this offer as a mockery*, (those were his words,) and analagous to the conduct pursued for these two years. If the house where he is be inconvenient, why has he been left there for these two years, and why do not they give him one of those in the island, situated in the midst of gardens, trees, shade, and water? Why leave him upon this uncultivated point, exposed to the winds, and having nothing that can contribute to the preservation of life.

Let me be allowed, sir, to point out to your observation, that if you do not suppress the restric-

tions of the 9th of October, 1816, and of the 14th of March, 1817, and if you do not re-establish things as they were in the time of the admiral, the emperor cannot go out. *He considers, and will consider that determination as a desire on your part to occasion his death.* He is entirely at your disposal. You can make him die of sickness; you can make him die of hunger; it would be a favour to make him die by a musket-shot.

If you assemble the military and naval officers of this place, and the principal officers of health, *there is not one of them but will tell you that your restrictions are disgraceful,* and that a man of honour would sooner die than acknowledge them; that they are of no avail to the security of the detention; that they are illegal. The text of the bill, and the speech of your minister, cannot leave any kind of doubt on this point. The medical officers will tell you that there is no more time to be lost; that in three or four weeks perhaps it will be too late; and although this great prince be abandoned by fortune, and there is an open field for calumnies and libels in Europe, yet a cry of indignation will be raised amongst all people; for there are here several hundreds of persons, French, English, and foreigners, *who will bear witness to all that has been done to put an end to the life of this great man.*

I have, sir, always spoken to you to this effect, more or less forcibly. I shall speak to you of it no more, for denials, subtilties, and arguments, are very useless.

The question lies in two words; *do you or do you not wish to kill the emperor?* If you persist in your conduct *you will yourself have answered in the affirmative;* and unhappily, the object will probably be attained after some months of agony.

Permit me, in concluding to answer, on behalf of the officers who are with the emperor, and also on my own, to your letters of the 29th and 26th July last.—Sir, you misunderstand our character: menaces have no power over us. For twenty years we have braved every danger in his service. By remaining voluntarily at St. Helena, in the *horrible situation* in which we are, and exposed to the strangest proceedings, we sacrifice to him more than our own lives and those of our families. Insensible to your menaces and your insinuations, we shall continue to fulfil our duty; and if there were any subjects of complaint against us before your government, we do not doubt that the Prince Regent, Lord Liverpool, and so many estimable men who form it, would know very well how to appreciate them. They know the respect due to the holy ministration which we fulfil; and even had we to apprehend persecution, we should ad-

here to our maxim, "Do your duty come what may."*

I have the honour to be,
Governor,
Your very humble and obedient Servant,
(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

No. XII.

Letter from Count Bertrand to his eminence Cardinal Fesch, announcing the Death of Cipriani.

Longwood, 22nd March, 1818.

MY LORD,—M. Cipriani, the emperor's maître d'hôtel died at Longwood on the 27th February last, at four o'clock in the afternoon. He was buried in the protestant churchyard of this place, and the ministers of that church have paid the same duties to him as they would have done to a person of their own sect. Care has been taken to insert in the *extrait mortuaire* which I shall send you, (but for which an extract from my letter may now serve), that he died in the bosom of the Apostolical and Roman church. The minister of this place would willingly have assisted the deceased, and this last would have desired a catholic priest; but

* Fais ce que tu dois; advienne que pourra.

as we have none here, he appeared not to wish a minister of another religion. I should be happy if you would make us acquainted with the rites of the catholic church upon this subject, and if it be permitted that an English minister should administer to a dying catholic. We cannot praise too much the good spirit and the zeal which the ministers of religion of this place have manifested on this occasion. Cipriani died of an inflammation of the bowels. He expired on Friday, and on the preceding Sunday he had attended without any foreboding of it. A child belonging to one of Count Montholon's servants died a few days before at Longwood. A *femme de chambre* died a few days ago of the same complaint. It is the effect of the bad climate of this place, where very few men grow old. Liver complaints, dysenteries, and inflammations of the bowels, carry off many victims amongst the natives, but especially amongst Europeans. We felt in this circumstance, and feel daily, the want of a minister of our religion. You are our bishop, we wish that you would send us a French or Italian priest. Be so good as to select a man of information under the age of forty, and who is not prejudiced by anti-gallican principles.

M. Pieron has undertaken the office of maître d'hôtel; but he has been extremely ill, and al-

though now convalescent, is still in a bad state. The cook is in a similar situation. It would be necessary that either you, or Prince Eugene, or the empress, should send a maître d'hôtel, and a French or Italian cook, out of those who have served in the emperor's household, or in those of his family.

Your eminence will find added to this, 1st, Papers A. and B. which were found in M. Cipriani's portefeuille. 2nd. A pin which he was in the habit of wearing, and which I have thought proper to send for his wife. 3rd. The account of what is owing to him, amounting to the sum of 8,287 francs, or 345*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, with a bill of exchange to be paid to his heirs. Knowing that you take care of his son, and that his daughter is with Madame, the emperor defers securing an independence to his two children, until he is made acquainted with the amount of the property left by Cipriani, who, it appeared, had large funds in Genoa.

I shall not afflict you by speaking of the emperor's health, which is very unsatisfactory. It has not, however, become worse since the hot season. I think that these details should be concealed from Madame. Do not give any credit to the false accounts that may be prevalent in Europe. Keep in mind as a rule, and as the sole truth, that

for twenty-two months the emperor has not left his apartments, except rarely to visit my wife. He has seen nobody, but the two or three French who are here, and the English ambassador to China.

I beg that your eminence will present my respects to Madame, and to the persons of the family, and accept the sentiments with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

No. XIII.

Extract of the Declaration signed by the Ministers of the Allied Powers at Vienna, March 13th, 1815.

THE powers who signed the treaty of Paris having reunited in congress at Vienna, and informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and his forcible entry into France, owe to their own dignity and to social order a declaration of the sentiments which this event has made them experience.

In thus breaking the convention which had established him at the island of Elba, Bonaparte has destroyed the only legal title to which his ex-

istence was attached. In appearing again in France, with projects of trouble and subversion, he has deprived himself of the protection of the laws, and has manifested in the face of the world that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

The powers declare in consequence, that *Napoleon Bonaparte is placed out of the pale of civil and social relations;* and that as an enemy and a disturber of the world, he is delivered up to *public vengeance!*

Then follow the signatures:

Austria.	Le Prince de Metternich. Le Baron de Wessemberg.
Spain.	P. Gomez Labrador.
France.	Le Prince de Talleyrand. Le Duc d'Alberg. Latour Dupin. Le Comte Alexis de Noailles.
Russia.	Le Comte de Razoumowski. Le Comte de Stakelberg. Le Comte de Nesselrode.
Great Britain.	Wellington!!! Clancarty. Cathcart. Stewart.

Portugal.	Le Comte Palmela. Saldanha. Lobo.
Prussia.	Le Prince d'Hardenberg. Le Baron de Humboldt.
Sweden.	Lowenhielm.

No. XIV.

Protest of the Emperor Napoleon.

I HEREBY solemnly protest in the face of God and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and my liberty. I came voluntarily on board of the Bellerophon. I am not the prisoner, but the guest of England.

As soon as I was seated on board of the Bellerophon, I was upon the hearths of the British people. If the government, in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me as well as my suite, only intended to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour, and disgraced its flag.

If this act be consummated, the English will in vain boast to Europe of their integrity, their laws,

and their liberty. British good faith will be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

I appeal to history; it will say that an enemy, who for twenty years waged war against the English people, came voluntarily in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What more brilliant proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so much magnanimity? *A hospitable hand was pretended to be held out to that enemy; and when he confided to it in good faith he was immolated!*

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

August, 4th, 1815.

No. XV.

Island of Saint Helena Port Regulations.

1. THE commanders of the Hon. East India Company's ships, and the masters or commanders of all merchant vessels permitted to touch at this island, are not to land themselves, or suffer any person whatever belonging to their ships or vessels to come ashore, until the following regulations have been made known to all persons on board,—a list of passengers, and a roll of the ship's com-

pany sent to the governor, and his permission obtained for such as are to land.

II. The commander of every ship or vessel is required most explicitly to declare in the first instance, whether any disorder whatever prevails, or has prevailed, on board, without regard to its being considered by him, or his surgeon, to be *contagious* or *otherwise*, and report any deaths that may have taken place, and the causes of the same during the course of his voyage.

III. All letters and packets for whatever person addressed, residing on shore (except such as come by regular mails, which are to be sent to the post-office), are to be delivered to the officer by whom these regulations are communicated, who will leave the same at the office of the secretary of government, where those to whom they are addressed will receive them.

IV. Should the commander, or any of his passengers, or any person whatever on board his ship, have under his or her charge any letters, packages, or parcels, to the address of or destined for any of the foreign persons under detention on this island—it is desired they will make it known forthwith to the governor himself, putting the letter or parcel, if of small bulk, under a sealed envelope, to his address, and waiting his directions respecting any package of a larger species.

V. The commander of the vessel only, after these regulations have been read and published on board, is at liberty to land, when he will immediately wait on the governor, if in town, as well as the naval commander in chief; and if the governor should not be in town, will call to report his arrival at the quarters of the deputy adjutant general.

VI. The commanders, officers, and all passengers who are afterwards permitted to land, will call at the town major's office to read and sign the island regulations, before they proceed to their lodgings, or visit any house or person whatever.

VII. No passenger or other person landing from ships touching there is to leave James's Valley without permission, for which they are to apply to the deputy adjutant-general.

VIII. No person whatsoever, having permission to land, is to visit Longwood or the premises belonging thereto, nor to hold communication of any sort by writing or otherwise, with any of the foreign personages detained on this island, without communicating directly his intentions and wishes thereupon to the governor, and obtaining his permission for the same. — And should any letter or other communication, from any of the foreign personages above alluded to, be received by any person whatsoever, it is to be brought

without loss of time to the governor, previous to answering or taking any further notice whatever thereof. The same rule to apply to all packages which may be received, or attempted to be delivered.

IX. The commanders of the East India ships, and the masters of all descriptions of merchant vessels permitted to touch at this island, are not to allow any persons whatsoever, on board of, or belonging to their ships or vessels, to come on shore, *on leave*, without the governor's authority, nor is any person to sleep on shore without his permission.

X. No boat belonging to the ships of the East India Company, or to merchant vessels of any description, is to land between sun-set and sun-rise, nor at any time during the day, without a proper officer being in charge of her, and if she is ordered to remain on shore for any purpose, he must take care to keep her laying at a distance from the wharf to admit of other boats landing without interruption. Boats loading or unloading, are to use every expedition to get out of the way of others.

XI. All boats belonging to the company's ships. or merchant vessels of every description, are to quit the shore by sun-set, and are immediately afterwards to be hoisted in on board their respec-

tive ships, except under such circumstances as the admiral may direct.

XII. No boat belonging to a company's ship, or a merchant vessel of any description, shall board or send a boat alongside any vessel coming in.—No boat will be permitted to land at any other place than at the wharf,

XIII. No company's ship or merchant vessel of any description, is to anchor at this island between sun-set and sun-rise, nor sail after sun-set, nor before ten o'clock in the morning—nor are they to make sail at any time until the permission flag is hoisted to each ship or vessel.

XIV. If the permission flag should be hoisted to any vessel a short time before sun-set, and she not already hove her anchor up and under weigh, she is not to attempt to move until the signal may be repeated the morning following.

XV. The commanders of all ships or vessels are strictly prohibited from permitting any fishing-boat belonging to the island to go alongside, without a permit, signed by the governor, or suffering any boat belonging to their ship to board or otherwise communicate with a numbered fishing-boat of the island.

XVI. Should a fishing-boat attempt to communicate with any vessel, either approaching the island, or at anchor off it, or with any boats be-

longing to such vessel, the commander of her, or his officers, are required to give immediate notice thereof to the flag-ship, and to the deputy adjutant-general, taking the No. of the boat, or detaining her, as circumstances may direct.

XVII. The commanders of ships *possessing newspapers which may contain late or interesting intelligence, are requested to deliver them to the person by whom these regulations are communicated, for the information of the governor*, who will cause them to be carefully returned.

XVIII. No gunpowder is to be landed without previous notice being given to the commissary of stores, and the master attendant, in order that proper precautions may be adopted to prevent accidents.

XIX. No horse, mare, or gelding, can be landed without a permit from the secretary to government.

XX. No wines of any sort whatsoever shall be landed without a permit, signed by the secretary to government.

XXI. The honourable court of directors having prohibited the importation of India spirits, it is regulated, that whoever shall violate this order, shall incur a fine of 100*l.* sterling: nor is brandy, gin, West India rum, cordials, and the like to be landed, except in small quantities, upon obtain-

ing a permit for the same, and upon paying a duty at the rate of 12*s.* per gallon; but the landing of any spirits, in whatever quantity, without a permit, will subject the offender to the penalty as above.

XXII. The Whaling vessels are not to throw their try-works overboard, whilst at this anchorage, under the penalty of 50*l.*, half of which sum will be paid to the informer.

XXIII. The commanders or masters of all ships or vessels are to give forty-eight hours notice previous to their departure—provided they intend to remain for so long a period. This notice is to be left in writing at the office of the secretary to government, and the master attendant, between the hours of ten in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon. The fore-top sail is likewise to be kept loose forty-eight hours previous to the ship or vessel's departure.

XXIV. The commander or master of any ship or vessel is not, on any pretence whatever, to leave any person upon the island, or take any person from it, of whatever description, without written permission from the governor.

XXV. No commander, passenger, or any other person whatever on board the honourable company's ships, or any other, that may anchor at this island, is to take charge of any letters or packets

for conveyance to Europe, the Cape of Good Hope, South America, or elsewhere, unless such as are made up in a regular mail at the post-office, or have been received from the secretary to government, or the deputy adjutant-general.

The commander of the ship or vessel will fill up the report, of which the form is annexed, for the governor's information, and transmit the same by the officer who communicates these regulations.

No. XVI.

Proclamation, issued by Sir Hudson Lowe, a few days after having sent Lord Bathurst's letters, making an offer of allowing fifty persons, selected by Napoleon, to enter Longwood.

WHEREAS it has been ascertained, that a present had been delivered to an inhabitant of this island, in the name or on the part of one of the foreign persons under detention at Longwood; which present was soon afterwards returned, in consequence of the person to whom it had been delivered, becoming sensible, that his acceptance of it, unless with the governor's knowledge and au-

thority, would have been a breach of the Proclamations in force; the governor, however, deems it expedient, in enforcement of the abovesaid Proclamations (with reference also to the general injunction contained in the warrant, dated 16th April, 1816), to give public notice, and public notice is hereby given, *to all officers, inhabitants, and other persons whatsoever residing on, or resorting to this island, that they are not only interdicted (as by the Proclamation of October,* 15, 1815, *from holding any correspondence or communication with the foreign persons under detention on it,* except only such as may be regularly authorized by him; and as farther, by public notice of the 11th May, and Proclamation of the 28th June, 1816) from receiving, delivering, or rendering themselves *the channel for the conveyances of any communication whatsoever* from or to the said persons, without his express authorization; but where any unauthorized communication shall have been or may be conveyed, or attempted to be conveyed, it behoves all those, who are acquainted with it, to give the governor immediate information of the same (or the nearest civil or military authority, should the case so require), in order that the necessary steps may be taken thereupon, under pain of otherwise being considered as privy to the same and held answerable accordingly.

Given at the Castle, James Town, this 16th day of May, 1818.

HUDSON LOWE,
Lieutenant General, Governor and Commander in Chief.

(Signed) By his Excellency's command,
G. GORREQUER,
Act. Mil. Sec.

By order of the Governor, in Council,
T. H. BROOKE,
Secretary to Government.

No. XVII.

Longwood, 20th June, 1818.

SIR.—Having been informed by Lieut. Reardon, of your regiment, that you had charged him to intimate to me, "that you had been informed by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade, that his excellency the governor was very angry at my being an honorary member of the 66th's mess, and that I was not fit society for them; that you had seen part of a correspondence between the governor and myself, which had been sent home; and that you thought I had used the governor ill. That you had intended to call a meeting of the officers, in order to signify to me, that until the business

between the governor and myself was cleared up, I should not have the honour of dining with them, but that you thought it would be better to intimate it to me privately by Lieut. Reardon, in order that I might withdraw quietly."

The assertion which has been conveyed to you, that I have committed any action of a nature to render me unfit for the society of the officers of the 66th regiment, I declare *to be a base and insidious calumny.* I have demanded frequently, and am now ready to appear before any competent court of justice, to repel any thing which may be brought against me, whether in the form of suspicions, conjectures, reports of spies, semi-proofs, or direct charges. If there is any basis whereon to ground such aspersions, why not bring me to, what every Englishman is entitled to by the laws of his country, a trial. But his excellency, himself, in a letter written from his dictation, has disclaimed "*bringing any accusations whatever, against any part of my conduct.*" It is by a fair and open investigation, that the disreputable source from whence the clandestine denunciation against me has sprung, will be clearly shown, and which will manifest, that a refusal to comply with verbal insinuations, contrary to my conscience, has been the cause of the wrath and oppression with which I have been visited.

Let those who are conscious of guilt, have recourse to indirect and secret measures. Publicity, and not concealment is my desire; and in order to clear up the business between the governor and myself, I shall be extremely happy to submit the *whole of the correspondence* alluded to, for the perusal and consideration of the officers of the 66th regiment, by whose decision thereupon I am content to abide, and any other scrutiny which may be thought proper, either by yourself or the officers, I am also perfectly ready to submit to.

I have too much confidence in the justice, honour, and liberality of so enlightened a corps of officers as the 66th, to suppose for a moment that they will condemn unheard to dishonour, (a punishment worse than death,) an officer whom they have considered worthy of a diurnal place at their table; and, therefore beg, sir, that in case of their meeting for the purpose of taking into their consideration the calumnies which have been so insidiously instilled into your mind against me, they will not refuse me what is not denied to the vilest of culprits; but vouchsafe me an audience in my defence prior to coming to any decision, unless indeed his excellency the governor gives an *order* for exclusion; in which case, I beg to have a copy of the same in writing, to shew that such a measure was the arbitrary act of an individual, and not the

result of the opinion of a most respectable corps of officers. I remain, Sir,

With much respect,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA,

Surgeon.

Lieut.-Colonel Lascelles,
Commanding 66th Regiment.

No. XVIII.

Translation of the letter from the Princess Pauline Borghese to Lord Liverpool.

Rome, 11th, July, 1821.

MY LORD,—The Abbé Buonavita who has just arrived at Rome from St. Helena, which he left on the 17th of last March, has brought us the most alarming news of the emperor's health. I inclose you copies of letters which will give you the details of his physical sufferings. The malady by which he is attacked is mortal in St. Helena, and in the name of all the members of the family, I claim a change of climate from the English government. If so just a demand be refused, it will be a sentence of death passed upon him, and in this case I demand permission to depart for St.

Helena, to rejoin the emperor and to receive his parting breath.

I beg of you, my lord, to have the goodness, without delay, to solicit this authorization from your government, that I may be able to depart as soon as possible. As my state of health does not allow me to travel by land, my intentions would be to embark at Civita Vecchia to proceed to England, and to avail myself there of the first vessel which may sail for St. Helena; but I should wish that I may be permitted to go to London, in order to provide myself with whatever may be necessary for so long a voyage.

If your government persist in suffering the emperor to perish upon the rock of St. Helena, I intreat that your Lordship, in order to remove all difficulties which might retard my departure, may extend your care to prevent the court of Rome from opposing obstacles. I know that the moments of the emperor's life are counted, and I should eternally reproach myself if I did not employ all the means in my power to soften his last hours, and to prove my entire devotion to his august person. If there should be any English vessels in Leghorn harbour at the moment of my departure, I would ask as a favour that one might be permitted to take me at Civita Vecchia and bring me to England.

I beg my lord, that you will communicate my letter and the inclosed copies to Lady Holland, who has always given proofs of the greatest interest for the emperor, and assure her of my sentiments of friendship, and receive for yourself those of my consideration.

(Signed) PRINCESS PAULINE BORGHESE.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE LETTERS INCLOSED

From Dr. Antommarchi to Sig. Simeon Colonna.

St. Helena, 17th March 1821.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,—In my preceding letter of the 18th of July last year, I informed you of the disease *(chronic hepatitis)* endemic in this climate, with which the Emperor Napoleon was afflicted, and of the ameliorations which had been obtained by a long and rational treatment, together with the successive considerable changes for the worse, by which the ameliorations were alternated to that epoch. Continuing now to give you an account of the same, I shall tell you, that from the above mentioned time, his majesty has become worse daily, so that in six months, the disease of the biliary viscus has made so great a progress, that

the hepatic functions are entirely disordered, and consequently the digestive functions are almost annihilated.

His majesty is now reduced to such a state as not to be able to take any nourishment except liquids, which quickly pass almost unchanged by the mouths of the absorbent vessels of the lymphatic system. It is not certain that this nourishment of liquids is well adapted to his majesty's stomach, as frequently a few moments after taking, or in the act of swallowing, they are rejected by vomiting. To this effect, and to relieve my own special responsibility, I declare openly to the imperial family, and to all Europe, that the progress of the disease which affects his majesty in this climate, (which is a proximate cause of such complaints,) and the symptoms which accompany it, are most serious.

Dear friend, the medical art can do nothing against the influence of climate; and if *the English government does not hasten to remove him from this destructive atmosphere, his majesty will soon, with anguish I say it, pay the last tribute to the earth.*

Such a crime certainly cannot be attributed to the medical art, but solely to the *unhappy and desolate situation* in which his majesty is placed.

Continue your attachment to me, pay my re-

spectful compliments to our common friends, and believe me to be always with much esteem,

Your affectionate friend,

(Signed) F. ANTOMMARCHI.

P. S.—I offer the *undoubted facts* stated above, in opposition to the gratuitous assertions in the English newspapers relative to the good health which his majesty is stated to enjoy here.

From the Count de Montholon to Her Highness the Princess Pauline Borghese.

Longwood, St. Helena, 17th March, 1821

MADAM,—The emperor charges me to render to your highness an account of the deplorable state of his health; the liver complaint with which he has been attacked for several years, and which is endemic and mortal in St. Helena, has made a frightful progress in the last six months. The benefit which he had experienced from the care of Dr. Antommarchi, has not lasted: several relapses have taken place since the middle of last year, and every day his decay becomes more sensible; his weakness is extreme; he can scarcely bear the fatigue of a ride in the carriage for half an hour with the horses at a walk, and cannot

walk in his room without support. To the liver complaint another disease is joined, equally endemic in this island. The intestines are seriously affected; the functions of digestion are no longer performed, and the stomach rejects every thing it receives. For a long time the emperor cannot eat either meat, bread, or vegetables; he is supported only by soups and jellies. *Count Bertrand wrote to Lord Liverpool in last September to demand that the emperor should be removed to another climate,* and to let him know the absolute need which he had of mineral waters. I have entrusted M. Buonavita with a copy of the letter. *The governor, Sir Hudson Lowe refused to allow it to be sent to his government,* under the vain pretext that the title of emperor had been given to his majesty. M. Buonavita departs this day for Rome. He has experienced the cruel effects of the climate of St. Helena; a twelvemonth's abode here will cost him ten years of his life. The letters which Dr. Antommarchi has given to him for his enimence Cardinal Fesch, will give your highness fresh details upon the emperor's disease. The *London Newspapers* continually publish fabricated letters dated from St. Helena,* the

* At the time Napoleon was in this deplorable state, letters were published in some of the *ministerial newspapers,* purporting to have come from St. Helena, and representing him to be in

intention of which evidently is to impose upon Europe. The emperor reckons upon your highness to make his real situation known to some English of influence. *He dies without succour upon this frightful rock; his agonies are frightful!*

Deign to receive,

Madam,

(Signed) COUNT DE MONTHOLON.

From Count Bertrand to Lord Liverpool, alluded to by Count Montholon in the preceding Letter.

Longwood, 2nd Sept. 1820.

MY LORD,—I had the honour of writing to you on the 25th of June, 1819, to let you know the state of the health of the Emperor Napoleon, attacked as it has been, by chronic hepatitis, since the month of October, 1817.

Doctor Antommarchi arrived at the end of last September, from whose treatment he at first found some relief, but since then, the doctor has de-

perfect health; others describing him to be *in the habit of going about the island shooting wild cats.* Whether those letters were concocted in St. Helena or forged in London, I shall not attempt to decide.

cleared, as will be seen in his journal and reports, that the state of the patient has become such, that the remedies can no longer struggle against the malignity of the climate; that he has need of mineral waters; that all the time he can remain in this abode will only be a state of painful agony; that a return to Europe is the only means by which he can experience any relief, his strength being exhausted by a stay of five years in this frightful climate, a prey to the worst treatment.

The Emperor Napoleon charges me to demand of you that he shall be transferred to an European climate, as the only mode of lessening the evils to which he is a prey.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

P. S.—I had the honour to send this letter to Sir Hudson Lowe under *un cachet volant* which he returned to me with the addition of the inclosed letter. This induces me to send it direct to you. I suppose that he has taken a copy of it, which he will send you along with his own observations, and that this circumstance shall not have caused any delay.

(Signed) COUNT BERTRAND.

Longwood, 3rd Sept. 1820.

Letter sent by order of Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand in reply to the preceding one.

Plantation House, 2nd. September, 1820.

Sir,—The governor's instructions not admitting him to receive any letter from the persons residing with Napoleon Bonaparte, where the title of emperor is given to him, I am directed in consequence to return you the inclosed.

The governor at the same time desires me to observe, that no letter* was ever received by him from you, to the address of Lord Liverpool, of the date of 25th of June, 1819.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) S. GORREQUER,
Military Secretary.

Proclamation, in which the authority of Parliament is assumed by the Governor of St. Helena.

(*Referred to in Vol. II. p.* 283.)

PROCLAMATION by Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K. C. B. Governor and Commander in Chief, for the Honourable East India Company, of the island of St. Helena, and com-

* As Sir Hudson Lowe refused to receive or to forward letters in which Napoleon was not styled as he thought proper to name him, the letter alluded to was sent to England by a private hand.

manding His Majesty's Forces on the said Island.

By virtue of the powers and authority vested in me by a warrant in the king's majesty's name, bearing date the 12th day of April, in the present year, and in the fifty-sixth year of his majesty's reign, authorizing and commanding me to detain in custody Napoleon Bonaparte, and him to deal with and treat as a prisoner of war, under such restrictions, and in such manner as shall have been, or shall be from time to time signified to me under the hand of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and to prevent the rescue or escape of the said Napoleon Bonaparte; in the due execution whereof, all his majesty's officers, civil, naval, and military, and all his loving subjects, whom it may concern, are required to be aiding and assisting as occasion there may be; public notice is hereby given, that two acts have been passed in the present session of the British parliament, the one for detaining in custody the said Napoleon Bonaparte, and adjudging capital punishment on those who may be assisting in his escape; and the other for regulating the intercourse of shipping with the island of St. Helena, during the time Napoleon Bonaparte shall be detained in custody.

Copies of these two acts are hereunto annexed.

In furtherance of the objects for which these acts have been passed, it is hereby publicly made known, that the various regulations hitherto issued on this island, in regard to the safe custody of the said Napoleon Bonaparte, and of the prevention of any undue correspondence or communication with him, his followers, and attendants, are to remain in full force.

It is farther made known, that if, after this notice, any person or persons whatever shall infringe the regulations established for his custody, or *shall hold correspondence or communication with him, his followers, or attendants,* who are by their own acquiescence placed under the same restrictions as himself, or shall receive from or deliver any letters or communications to him or them, *without the express authorization of the governor,* or the officer commanding on the island for the time being, *signified to them in writing under his hand; such person or persons will be considered as having acted against the provisions and express objects of the said acts of parliament, and be proceeded against accordingly. And should, from any infraction of the rules established for his custody, or from any correspondence or communication with either him, his followers, or attendants, the escape or rescue of the said Napoleon Bonaparte be effected, such person or persons will, after this notice be considered as having been knowingly in-*

strumental to, and assisting in the same, and be prosecuted with all the rigour which the law enacts.

It is farther declared, that if any person or persons shall have any information of any attempted rescue or means of escape, and shall not make an immediate communication of the same to the governor, or officer commanding for the time being, or shall not do his or their utmost to prevent the same taking effect, they will be regarded as having connived at, and assisted in the said rescue or escape, and his or their offence be judged by the laws.

Any person or persons who may receive letters or *communications for the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants,* and shall not immediately deliver or make known the same to the governor, or officer commanding for the time being; or who shall furnish the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants, with money, or any other means whatever, whereby his escape might be furthered, *will be considered in like manner to have been assisting in the same, and will be proceeded against accordingly.*

All letters or communications for or from the said Napoleon, any of his followers, or attendants, whether sealed or open, are to be forwarded to the governor without loss of time, in the same state in which they may have been received.

And whereas it is not the object of the regulation hereby promulgated, to induce any unusual or unnecessary rigour, but to enforce the due execution of the rules heretofore established, and to prevent the ill effects which might result from ignorance and inconsiderateness, as well as design; it is in consequence made known to all those persons, whose duty calls upon them to attend near the place where the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers, or attendants, reside, or who have business which has any relation to them, that they will be furnished, upon due application, with regular licences and authorities from the governor of the island, signed with his hand. And nothing is to be construed from the acts of parliament, or these regulations, as warranting any violent or improper demeanour against him or them, so long as he or they observe the restrictions under which the laws and the instructions of his majesty's government *has* placed them.

Given under my hand in James Town, in the island of St. Helena, the 28th day of June, 1816.

(Signed) HUDSON LOWE,
Governor and Commander in Chief.

By command of the Governor,

(Signed) G. GORREQUER,
Act. Mil. Sec.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS.

NOT NOMINATIVELY REFERRED TO, BUT WHICH ARE OF IMPORTANCE TO ILLUSTRATE THE WORK.

Terms of the Capitulation of El-Arish, for the violation of which, part of the Garrison of Jaffa were shot.

The commandant of the Fort of El-Arish, and the other three commandants of the troops, to the general in chief.

We have received the capitulation which you have addressed to us; we consent to deliver the Fort of El-Arish into your hands. We will return to Bagdat by the desert. We send you the list of the Agas of the Fort, who promise, upon oath, for themselves and their troops, not to serve in Djezzar's army, and not to return to Syria for the space of one year, reckoning from this day. We will receive a pass and colours from you. We will leave in the castle all the supplies which are found there. The whole of the Agas in the Fort solemnly swear by our Lord, Moses, Abraham, and by the Prophet, to whom may God be propitious, and by the Koran, to execute faithfully

all these articles, and above all, not to serve Djezzar. The MOST HIGH and HIS PROPHET are witnesses of our good faith.

(Signed) IBRAHIM NIRAN, Commandant of the Fort of El-Arish.

EL. H. HADJEZ MOHAMMED, Colonel of the Maugrebins.

EL. H. HADJY ZADYR, Aga of the Arnauts.

MOHAMMED AGA, Chief of the Commissaries.

Lettre de L'Empereur Napoléon, adressée au Comte de Las-Cases, après son enlèvement de Longwood.

Mon cher Comte Las Cases,—Mon cœur sent vivement ce que vous éprouvez ; arraché il y a quatorze ou quinze jours d'auprès de moi, vous êtes enfermé au secret, sans que j'aie pu recevoir ni vous donner aucune nouvelle, sans que vous ayez communiqué avec qui que ce soit, Français ou Anglais ; privé même d'un domestique de votre choix.

Votre conduite á Sainte-Hélène a été, comme votre vie, honorable et sans reproche ; j'aime à vous le dire.

Votre lettre à votre amie de Londres n'avait

rien de répréhensible ; vous y épanchiez votre cœur dans le sein de l'amitié. Cette lettre est comme les huit ou dix autres que vous avez écrites à la même personne, et que vous avez envoyées ouvertes. Le commandant de cette île ayant eu l'indélicatesse de scruter les expressions que vous confiez à l'amitié vous les a reprochées. Dernièrement il vous a menacé de vous renvoyer de l'île, si vos lettres contenaient encore quelques plaintes. En agissant ainsi, il a violé le premier devoir de sa place, le premier article de ses restrictions, et le premier sentiment de l'honneur. Il vous a ainsi autorisé á chercher les moyens de répandre, par effusion, vos sentimens dans le sein de vos amis, et de leur faire connaître la conduite coupable de ce commandant ; mais vous êtes sans artifices ; il a été bien facile de surprendre votre confiance !

On cherchait un prétexte de saisir vos papiers. Une lettre à votre amie de Londres ne pouvait autoriser une visite de la police chez vous ; car elle ne contient aucun complot, aucun mystère : elle n'est que l'expression des sentimens d'un cœur noble et franc. La conduite illégale et précipitée que l'on a tenue en cette occasion porte le caractère d'une haine basse et personelle.

Dans les contrées les moins civilisées, les exilés, les prisonniers, et même les criminels, sont sous la protection des lois et des magistrats. Les personnes nommées pour les garder ont des chefs,

soit dans l'administration, soit dans l'ordre judiciaire, pour les surveiller. Mais sur ce roc, le même homme qui fait les réglemens les plus absurdes, les exécute avec violence ; il transgresse toutes les lois, et il n'est personne pour restreindre les excès de son caprice.

On enveloppe Longwood d'un voile que l'on voudrait rendre impénétrable, pour cacher une conduite criminelle. Ce soin fait suspecter les intentions les plus odieuses.

Par des bruits artificieusement semés, on a essayé de tromper les officiers, les étrangers, les habitans de cette île, et même les agens étrangers qui, à ce que l'on dit, sont entretenus ici par l'Autriche et la Russie. Certainement le gouvernement anglais est trompé de la même manière par des rapports artificieux et mensongers.

Vos papiers, parmi lesquels on savait qu'il y en avait qui m'appartenaient, ont été saisis sans aucune formalité, près de mon appartement, *avec des exultations d'une joie féroce.* J'en fus instruit quelques momens après ; je regardai par la fenêtre, et je vis qu'on vous enlevait. Un nombreux état-major caracolait autour de vous ; je crus voir les sauvages des îles de la mer du Sud, dansant autour des prisonniers qu'ils vont dévorer.

Votre société m'était nécessaire : seul vous lisez, vous parlez et entendez l'Anglais. Combien vous avez passé de nuits pendant mes maladies ;

cependant je vous engage et, au besoin, je vous ordonne de requérir le commandant de cette île de vous renvoyer sur le continent ; il ne peut point s'y refuser, puisqu'il n'a action sur vous que par l'acte volontaire que vous avez signé. Ce sera pour moi une grande consolation que de vous savoir en chemin pour de plus fortunés pays.

Arrivé en Europe, soit que vous alliez en Angleterre, ou que vous retourniez dans la patrie, perdez le souvenir des maux qu'on vous a fait souffrir. Vantez-vous de la fidélité que vous m'avez montrée, et de toute l'affection que je vous porte.

Si vous voyez un jour ma femme et mon fils, embrassez-les ; depuis deux ans je n'en ai aucune nouvelle ni directe, ni indirecte. Il y a dans ce pays, depuis six mois, un botaniste allemand, qui les a vus dans le jardin de Schœnbrunn, quelques mois avant son départ. Les barbares ont empêché qu'il vînt me donner de leurs nouvelles.

Toutefois, consolez-vous, et consolez mes amis : mon corps se trouve, il est vrai, au pouvoir de la haine de mes ennemis ; ils n'oublient rien de ce qui peut assouvir leur vengeance. Ils me tuent à coups d'épingles ; mais la Providence est trop juste pour permettre que cela se prolonge longtemps encore. L'insalubrité de ce climat dévorant, le manque de tout ce qui entretient la vie,

mettront, je le sens, un terme prompt à cette existence, *dont les derniers momens seront l'opprobre du caractère anglais.* L'Europe signalera un jour avec horreur cet homme hypocrite et méchant, que les vrais Anglais désavoueront pour Breton,

Comme tout porte à penser qu'on ne vous permettra pas de venir me voir avant votre départ, recevez mes embrassemens, l'assurance de mon estime et de mon amitié. Soyez heureux.

Votre affectionné,

(Signé) NAPOLEON.

Longwood, 11 *Décembre,* 1819.

Translation of the Declaration of the Emperor Napoleon.

ON the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 16th August 1819, attempts were made for the first time to violate the pavilion inhabited by the Emperor Napoleon, which to this epoch had been constantly respected. He resisted against this violence by shutting and locking the doors. *In this situation, he reiterates the protestation which he has made, and caused to be made several times, that the right of his door shall not be violated unless by walking over his corpse.* He has given up every thing, and for three years has lived concentrated in the interior of six small rooms, in order to escape

from insults and outrages. If baseness is carried to the degree of envying him this refuge, it has been determined to leave him no other than the tomb. Labouring for two years under a chronic hepatitis, a disease endemic in this place, and *for a year deprived of the assistance of his physicians by the forcible removal of Doctor O'Meara in July*, 1818, *and of Doctor Stokoe in January*, 1819, he has experienced several crises, during which he has been obliged to keep his bed, sometimes for fifteen or twenty successive days. At the present moment, in the midst of one of the most violent of the crises that he has yet experienced, confined to his bed for nine days, having only patience, diet, and the bath, to oppose to the disease; for *six days his tranquillity has been disturbed by threats of an attack, and of outrages which the Prince Regent, Lord Liverpool, and all Europe well know he will never submit to.* As the wish *to debase and to insult him is daily manifested,* he reiterates the declaration he has already made. That he has not taken, nor will he take any notice, nor has he ordered, nor will he order any answer to be given to any despatches or packets, the wording of which shall be done in a manner injurious to him, and contrary to the forms which have been established for four years, to correspond with him through the intermediation of his

officers; that he has thrown, and will throw into the fire, or out of the windows, those insulting packets, not wishing to innovate any thing upon the state of affairs that has existed for some years.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Longwood, 16th August, 1819.

This declaration I have been informed was called forth by the following circumstance: while Count Montholon was sick, Sir Hudson Lowe, ingenious in inventing new vexations, refused to correspond with Count Bertrand, and wanted to insist upon having a direct correspondence with the emperor, *either by the visit of one of his officers twice a day to him, or by letter.* To attain this, he sent Sir Thomas Reade or another staff-officer to Longwood several days, who entered the house, proceeded to the outer door of Napoleon's apartments, against which they continued to knock for some time, exclaiming, "*Come out Napoleon Bonaparte!*" — "*We want Napoleon Bonaparte!*" &c.; concluding this scene of uncalled for outrage by leaving behind them packets of letters addressed to "Napoleon Bonaparte," written in the usual Plantation House style.

The following extract of an official letter transmitted by me to the Lords of the Admiralty, and dated the 28th of October, 1818, *containing a statement of the vexations inflicted upon Napoleon, will shew that the fatal event which has since taken place at St. Helena, was most distinctly pointed out by me to His Majesty's ministers, possibly in sufficient time to have* PREVENTED *its occurrence, had they thought proper to have altered the system pursued towards that illustrious personage.*

" I THINK it my duty to state, as his late medical attendant, that considering the disease of the liver with which he is afflicted, the progress it has made in him, and reflecting upon the great mortality produced by that complaint in the island of St. Helena, (so strongly exemplified in the number of deaths in the 66th regiment, the St. Helena regiment, the squadron, and Europeans in general, and particularly in his majesty's ship Conqueror, which ship has lost about one sixth of her complement, nearly the whole of whom died within the last eight months,) it is my opinion, that the life of Napoleon Bonaparte will be endangered by a longer residence in such a climate as that of

St. Helena, especially if that residence be aggravated by a continuance of those disturbances and irritations to which he has been hitherto subjected, and of which it is the nature of his distemper to render him peculiarly susceptible."

(Signed) BARRY E. O'MEARA.
Surgeon, R. N.

To John Wilson Croker, Esq.
Secretary to the Admiralty.

The document in the Preface to the Second Edition, containing the Protocol of the conference at Chatillon was first read by Sir Robert Wilson in his place in the House of Commons in the presence of Lord Londonderry, who, when questioned by Sir Robert admitted it to be authentic.

The following lively Description of an Excursion from James's Town to Longwood, and of some of the Peculiarities of the Island, was written on the spot by a Lady who resided there for a considerable time afterwards.

"*St. Helena, November,* 1815.

* * * * *

"ST. HELENA is a shocking place to travel in. Such roads, such hills, such precipices. They call it five miles, but I am sure it seemed to me to be fifteen. Mountain upon mountain, rock upon rock: I verily believed that I had reached the clouds. But this I am certain of, that I passed through three distinct climates. After leaving the town, and until I reached the Briars, the scorching heat of the sun took the skin from my face and blistered my lips. The narrow road between two black and barren rocks was so suffocating that I was nearly overcome. Then when I reached the Alarm-house, only a mile and a half farther, a strong gale of cold wind blew my hat into the Devil's Punch-Bowl: I expected that myself and my horse would have followed it, as the animal could scarcely keep his legs. On arriving at Hut's Gate, about three-quarters of a mile further, the climate again changed, and thick mist came scudding down from Diana's Peak, which enveloped

me for some time in obscurity. Suddenly this dense mist cleared up, as if by magic, and my eyes were delighted by the view of a range of verdant mountains and a blooming valley beneath. I had scarcely time to admire the prospect, when a violent shower of rain came on, and I was completely drenched before I reached Longwood Gate. I at first thought that I had been rather unlucky in the weather, but on asking the servant in attendance, (a native of the island) if such extraordinary changes were common here? he stared and replied that, "he saw nothing extraordinary and that there was always just such weather in those spots."*

"On my way, I saw a vast variety and so odd a jumble of nations, colour, and costume, as I believe are not to be met with in any other spot of the globe so circumscribed in extent as St. Helena. Soon after I left the town, I overtook a party of Chinese, who were dragging carts laden with the baggage of the officers of the 53rd up to the camp. Nothing can be more hideous than their appearance; but they are very useful, as they perform the work of horses as well as that of men. On

* The reader will recollect that "those spots" were the only ones in which Napoleon could ride or walk for exercise without a *keeper*; and that even, in such or any other weather, he was prohibited from entering any human habitation.

arriving near the Alarm-house, I met a party of poor black slaves with such heavy loads of wood upon their heads, as made me shudder; I expected every moment to see them sink under their enormous burdens, but to my amazement, they trudged down the almost perpendicular path of the rocks with as much ease and celerity as if they had only a few feathers for a load. Shortly after, I met a number of slave women and girls, black and brown all dressed very smartly in India worked muslins, with earrings and necklaces, marching with all the confidence and conceit of Bond-Street belles. I imagined at first that they were going to some ball, but on looking down to see what sort of dancing pumps those gay ladies wore, I perceived that they had neither shoes nor stockings. I had scarcely finished making reflections upon female vanity in all countries, ere I was terrified by the approach of a large cart drawn by six bullocks, in so frightfully narrow a part of the road, that I scarcely saw any other alternative than being crushed between the cart and the rock on the one side, or hurled down the tremendous precipice on the other. My horse fortunately was imbued with none of my fears, and glided between the cart and the rock with the most dexterous composure. My ears were now saluted by the sound of the merry drum and fife, and I came up

to a party of about two hundred soldiers of the 53rd regiment, who were carrying part of their wooden barracks on their backs, which had arrived from England, to be erected at Deadwood camp, situated on a mountain nearly two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The soldiers seemed to be greatly fatigued, and to stand in need of enlivening music to raise their spirits. They were attended by a Captain and two subalterns. I had not long lost sight of them, when I came up with a party of about one hundred and fifty jolly tars, belonging to his majesty's ship Northumberland, carrying immense planks of wood for the improvements making at Longwood House. They were accompanied by a lieutenant and two midshipmen. Near Longwood I met Admiral Sir George Cockburn and his secretary, and farther on two French officers in splendid uniforms, with two ladies magnificently attired, all mounted on horseback and attended by some smart French servants. Near the telegraph, I met a party of young ladies, natives of the island, on horseback, riding at full speed, with a fearlessness almost incredible: they were escorted by a captain of an Indiaman and two officers of the king's and company's artillery.

"The observations I made on the face of the country were as follows: I began to ascend from

the moment that I left James's Town, and continued to do so for nearly three miles to the top of the first hill. The road is so steep, craggy, and narrow, that there is barely room for two horses a breast.

"I soon got so high, that my head became dizzy when I looked down on the environs of the town, which extend for some distance in a narrow valley between two black, high, barren rocks. No trace of vegetation is to be seen in them, and in some places they look as if they would crumble and fall upon the heads of the inhabitants. This scorching dreary road is called "Side Path." I was surprised by the prodigious number of mice, which were continually issuing from the rocks and running under the horse's feet, which rendered me fearful that the animal would stumble, but he took no notice of them. When arrived at the hill above the Briars, (which is the temporary residence of Bonaparte) I stopped and looked down with indescribable emotion upon the small cottage which he inhabited, and had soon the good fortune to see the ex-emperor walk forth, attended by his secretary the Count Las Cases. The Briars is situated in a sort of valley, in an amphitheatre of rocks. It is a patch of beauty and cultivation in the bosom of desolation. When I had ascended the summit of the Briars'

hill, I thought it impossible that I should have to mount any higher, but to my great amazement on turning the corner, I perceived nearly perpendicularly before me, one infinitely more steep than that which I had ascended, and was informed that I still had three more to mount before I reached Deadwood camp. On arriving at the summit of the second hill, I turned to look down upon James's Town, which from this spot seemed to me like a parcel of card houses scattered about in a narrow passage. The road now became more open, but nothing like trees or vegetables are to be seen, on every side wild staring ravines and fantastic or hideous rocks. Arriving at the Alarm House, (a post from which ships are seen at a great distance,) I had a fine view of the ocean, and the roads, with many ships lying at anchor, and the guard brigs cruizing to windward and to leeward of the island. For the first time I now obtained a distant sight of Longwood, at the other side of the Devil's Punch Bowl. This "bowl" is most properly so named, for it is really a hollow of enormous volcanic horrors, truly diabolical in their appearance; nothing is seen to relieve the eye but a small cultivated patch on one side near to the bottom, which forms a strange contrast to the surrounding barrenness. You there behold two neat cottages with gardens of

fruits and flowers,* which seem as if they had dropped from some happier region into this demoniac bowl. On arriving at Hut's Gate, the scene again changed. Diana's Peak, clothed with verdure, and reaching nearly to the clouds, opens to view Fisher's Valley,† which winding beneath in varied beauty, adorned with a handsome house, and groves of trees, psesents a charming relief after the painful scene of desolation and barrenness through which I had passed. After passing Longwood gates, I perceived Deadwood camp. The picturesque appearance of the tents in the wood, their snowy whiteness contrasted with the dark *blue* shade of the gum-wood trees, produced a novel and theatrical effect upon me; and I thought that I had never beheld a *tout ensemble* more interesting. On a nearer approach, however, I admired less the appearance of the trees; they were all blown to one side by the trade wind, and upon examination and inquiry, I was surprised to find that they are of so baleful a nature, that a large space under each tree is rendered black and unproductive by their pernicious

* The reader will observe, that care was taken to exclude Napoleon from any little enjoyment which those few fortunate spots might offer, by confining him to the high road.

† Before Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival, this was a favourite ride of Napoleon's; soon after, the governor excluded it from the limits allotted for the French prisoners.

droppings. They are of a singular shape, being formed somewhat like an umbrella, with a very small narrow leaf."

* * * * *

Deadwood, December, 1815.

"I have scarcely closed my eyes all night, for those abominable fleas. I am covered with bites, and there are this very minute seven or eight skipping upon my pillow. The rats have been running about all night in swarms. When I was tired of driving them away and at last fell asleep, they gnawed holes in the quilt of the bed over me. The rain has poured in at the sides of the tent so much during the night, that my feet were in a puddle up to my ankles. We cannot procure even a few boards to put under our feet, to keep us dry, as wood is so scarce in the island, and our only hopes are, that by patiently waiting a few weeks until some storeship arrives, we may be able to purchase some old packing cases, and contrive to make a sort of floor of them to keep our feet dry. The rats have gnawed through the tub which contains our Cape salt butter, and no fresh butter is to be obtained.* The rain

* During Sir George Cockburn's time, a small portion of fresh butter was made for Napoleon's use. After the arrival of his successor, this was discontinued.

has come through the book-shelves and all my books are spoiled: on sending them to be dried in the kitchen, I found that the rain had penetrated entirely through the sods of the roof, and the servant was up to his knees bailing it out in pails full. The wet in the tent has rendered my piano quite mute, and I cannot execute a single tune. We sent to the messman to request him to spare us two or three pounds of fresh meat for dinner, but he replied that he had not enough for the officers' dinner; we then sent to the quartermaster serjeant, to beg of him to let us have some salt ration pork or beef, some bread, and a few potatoes: he sent us word that no bread had arrived from town as the roads were so bad as to be nearly impassable; that he had received no potatoes for some days; and very little ration pork, of which he spared us a small piece with a little rice. We sent John with some dollars amongst the farmers to purchase a few potatoes, or other vegetables; but he returned after several hours' fatigue without any thing, as the natives seldom take the pains to plant other vegetables than potatoes, which they send to the town in sacks to sell or barter at a high price to the East Indiamen, living themselves on salt pork and rice. We were, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with this St. Helena fare, and to order the cook

to keep the skimmings of the fat pork to burn in our lamp as our candles are almost gone, and none will be issued from the stores until next month. We could procure no firewood, as there is a prohibition from cutting down the gum-wood trees without leave from the government, and were obliged to make our servant cut some of the brambles called *bringels* to cook our dinner."

NAPOLÉON,

Né à Ajaccio le 15 Août, 1769.
Mort á Ste. Hélène le 5 Mai, 1821.

Cette plaque d'argent destinée à être placée sur le cerceuil de L'Empereur Napoléon, a été ordonné à M. Darling par le Comte de Montholon. Le gouverneur de Ste. Hélène, en ayant été instruit, a déclaré au Comte de Montholon qu'il s'y opposait, et que d'après les instructions de son gouvernement, s'il y avoit une inscription sur le cercueil, elle seroit le *Général Buonaparte.*

(Signé) LE CTE. DE MONTHOLON.

Londres, le 2nd Oct. 1821.

THE END.

J. M'Gowan and Son, Great Windmill Street.

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